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Perspectives from the Deaf Community: Representations of Deaf Identity in the Toronto Star Newspaper (2005-2010)

Keywords: Deaf, Identity, Representation, Media

Abstract

This thesis is an analysis of the representations of Deaf identity in a major English Canadian newspaper, the Toronto Star. A qualitative case-based discourse analysis was used to examine a documented interaction between the Toronto Star and eleven Deaf community leaders and allies. This research found that the most frequent use of 'deaf' is metaphorical and of the non-metaphorical uses, 'Deaf' identity is predominantly constructed from a pathological paradigm. The findings of this research provide a valuable perspective from a non-dominate cultural group, the Canadian Deaf community, on the representation of Deaf identity in mainstream print news media. It also makes linkages between the representations of Deaf identity and the experiences of these representations by Deaf people, and links the perspectives of this cultural group to the broader body of research related to minority identity negotiation in mainstream media.

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Messages found in social discourse are not simply a network of random interconnected ideas; they occur in a particular social location. They occur in a space comprised of interconnected ideologies, knowledge, language, culture, identity and time. It can be problematic to have a particular minority group's identity representation controlled by the dominant cultural group. It can reinforce and create social discourse through a majority-positioned perspective, and this appears to be the experience of Deaf people in Canada. Newspapers, in particular, are an important medium for inquiry. They are understood by society to convey images and messages that are accurate reflections of reality. Messages are expected to be both relevant and truthful and to provide a source of social knowledge. In terms of identity construction, Hall points out that identity also consists in part by the ways in which we are represented (cited in Pietikainen, 2003, p. 582). Therefore, to examine discourse in Canadian newspapers is to examine the social use of language in general. Various public and private institutions are informative sites that allow us to examine societal practices and beliefs. Newspapers are, indeed, powerful forums that provide material contributing to how individuals and groups make sense of themselves, of others, and of the world at large. To explore the representations of Deaf identity in print news media, this research will perform a qualitative case-based study. The case is of an interaction between a major English Canadian newspaper, the Toronto Star, and eleven Deaf community leaders and allies. In 2007-2008, the Toronto Star, wrote and ran two articles. The first entitled, "McGuinty's plea for municipal rate relief falls on deaf ears," (published on November 9, 2007). This title prompted one letter to the editor from a Deaf community leader, published by the Toronto Star, which stated: "This statement is clearly offending Deaf individuals and Deaf community" (Malkowski, 2007). On January the 5th 2008, the chief editor of the Toronto Star published a response to this letter entitled: "Standing by the Tools of our Craft," which instigated ten additional letters to the editor to be written by Deaf leaders and community allies. The data for this case study is comprised of these two articles, written by

the Toronto Star, and the eleven letters to the editor. To further contextualize the case-study, a Factivia database search was conducted on 101 newspaper articles using the term 'deaf' published in the Toronto Star between the years 2005-2010. As well, interviews were held with the individuals who wrote a letter to the editor. The research data will be analyzed by the following analytical construct: (1) What words and phrases do reporters use to describe Deaf people? (2) What topics and issues do writers emphasize, address or neglect? (3) How did the visual illustrations support, complement or contradict the written discourse? (4) How are the individuals featured in the article portrayed? (5) How do Deaf people make sense of the Media's representation of their identity, culture or community? Very little research, to date, was found pertaining to the representation of Deaf identity in mainstream media. Of this research, none of which were a Canadian based study. In terms of methodology, very few research studies on minority representation included interviews with members of the minority cultural group. This work makes a contribution by bringing focus to the perspectives from the Deaf community in Canada. It links the concept of Deaf identity negotiation to a much broader body of research relating to the relationship between power, language and identity construction. This work also exemplifies how the journalistic practices of the dominant group can be insensitive to the perspectives from the non-dominant group regarding their representation in mainstream media. This thesis will use four modes of analysis. It will begin by introducing the dominant paradigm constructions of Deaf people: (1) patho-cultural; and (2) socio-cultural. Although this work is questioning the constructions of Deaf identity, we must begin with a construction before we can begin to question its legitimacy. We began our inquiry at the well-established identity constructions frequently found in literature. We fix Deaf identity to both behaviourist and socio-constructivist identity constructions. By fixing Deaf identity, even if only temporarily within the body of this text, we are able to analyze discourse linkages and make sense of various specific kinds of identity formations. From this momentarily static place, we can begin to mobilize these constructions. Next, the scholarly research of Critical Cultural theorists will be examined, looking at identity formation and various meaning-making practices. Then, the importance of analyzing minority representation in mainstream media will be presented in which the representation of Deaf identity in media will be explored. More specifically, this work will look at the use of metaphor and the term 'deaf' in mainstream print news media

texts. According to he Oxford dictionary (2005), metaphors are a figure of speech that use a word or phrase to link something to a concept in which it is not literally connected (p. 519). In other words, it is a fictitious use of random symbols to convey particular meanings. At this point, this study's methodology will be outlined along with the rational behind choosing discourse analysis and interviews as the most appropriate method of data collection. At this point, the methodologies of other comparable research studies will be examined along with their cultural relevance and advantages of conducting semi-structured interviews. The findings from the research will be presented and discussed. Then finally, the limitations of this work, both theoretically and methodologically, will be critically reflected upon and areas of future research will be proposed.

Literature Review

To begin to analyze the practice of Deaf identity construction in Canadian print news media, one must first mobilize, at least, the following two modes of analysis: (1) one must look into the various theoretical paradigms that provide the pillars of difference in the perspectives of Deaf identity formation, and (2) one must pick a particular analytical perspective that would help to perform an original analysis. In reviewing the current Critical Cultural studies literature, we have identified some terms, concepts and phenomenon that can help to understand the meaning frequently used in the representation of minority in media.

To understand the commonly used discourses regarding Deaf identity, it is important to first understand the dominant paradigms in which these discourses are rooted. Discourses are not fixable entities; rather they shift over time as values change, thoughts change, and people change. As we move through time, paradigms and discourses shift: Old paradigms fall out of favour and new paradigms evolve.

Based on the literature that was analyzed for this research, there are currently two dominant paradigm constructions of Deaf people: (1) pathological; (2) socio constructivist. The socio constructivist paradigm includes two sub categories that we would like to qualify as; (a) Culturo-linguistic, and (b) cultural ethnicity.

The Pathological Paradigm

The pathological, or medical, perspective of Deaf people stems from a positivist or behaviourist paradigm rooted in the natural sciences. There are multiple applications of behaviourism. There is Ivan Pavlov's classical conditioning theory (Powell, Symbaluk, and Honey, 2009), B.F. Skinner's operant conditioning theory and Edward Thorndike and his work identifying connectionism (Bustos & Espiritu, 1996). For the purpose of this work we would like to use the behaviourist perspectives put forth by John Broadus Watson. John Broadus Watson (1914) defined behaviourism's theoretical goal to "predict and control human behaviour" (p. 1). Watson goes on to write about behaviourist psychology and to predict the behavioural response to a particular stimulus. Watson (2009) believed that people learn through a cognitive stimulus-response connection. As an example, the learning of a language, as written by Watson, "consists of the establishment of associations between vocal responses and objects in the world" (p. xiii). Therefore, given an auditory stimulus, any non-responses or responses that deviate from the expected or predicted response are considered an abnormality. Within this behavioural context linkages in discourses reflect Deaf identity as problematic and Sign Language as a coded system representing spoken language. We can see such an argument supported by Brenda Brueggemann when she remarks that, "Language is human; speech is language; therefore deaf people are inhuman and deafness is a problem" (cited in Bauman, 2004, p. 242). Once the inability to hear is determined "abnormal", the behaviour is considered pathological; pathology being the study of the diagnosis of disease. When it comes to Deaf people, pathology cascades into medicalization, which is the process by which human pathologies are defined and treated as medical conditions. Therefore, the process of medicalization is under the authority of medical professionals in the study, diagnosis, prevention and treatment of these identified conditions. Once these conditions are identified (or institutionally framed) as pathologic, a medical model is applied to the construction of discourses of Deaf people.

Crow (1996) discusses the various discourses and terms housed within the pathological-medicalization framework. These discourses being *impairment* – "any loss or an abnormality of psychological, physiological or anatomical structure or function" (p. 2);

Disability – "any restriction or lack (resulting from impairment) of ability to perform an activity in the manner or within the range considered normal for a human being" (p. 2); And, *handicap*[1] – "a disadvantage for a given individual, resulting from an impairment or disability, that limits or prevents fulfillment of a role that is normal depending on age, sex, social or cultural factors for that individual" (p. 2). From this paradigm, to be deaf is the equivalent of being disabled and weak, sub-standard in capability, abnormal in capacity, limited in communication capabilities, and in need of medical intervention. Ladd (2003) explains how this paradigm includes attitudes of deaf people "not being fully human" (p. 15). He goes on to demonstrate that during the 20th century there were several popular discourses rooted in the pathologic-medicalization paradigm. Discourses such as; the genetic inquisition into the problematic deaf gene; the ability of technology to improve hearing through hearing-aid apparatuses and surgery; and oralism benchmarking a deaf child's 'success' by being able to speak (p. 135). Some of the consequences of these discourses, according to Ladd, have been the removal of deaf teachers from the school system, the decline in Deaf literacy, and consequently a reduction in professional Deaf discourses (p. 143).

Socio-Constructivist Paradigm

Over the years the pathological-medicalization paradigm became contested by social constructivist perspective (Ladd, 2003; Leigh, 2009). Following Kanselaar (2002) it is argued that the roots of the socio-constructivist perspectives date back to the early 20th century emergence of the social theories of Piaget, Vygotsky and Dewey. Constructivism became a reaction against the objectivist epistemology of behaviourism (Kanselaar**,** 2002 p 2). For example, Lev Vygotsky's work would suggest that constructivism is derived from theories about language (or structure), thought and their mediation by society. Vygotsky believes that the act of knowing is a process that "…is rather a disjunctive one involving the agency of other people and mediated by community and culture" (quoted in Kenselaar, 2002 p. 1)**.** Knowledge constructed in a socio constructivist framework highlights two kinds of procedures: (1) Knowledge that exists in group practices; and, (b) knowledge embodied in

[1] Crow quoted The United Nations Division for Economic Social Information's definition of handicap.

tools (Kanselaar, 2002 p. 3). In contrast to behaviourism, constructivism establishes meaning as a non-essential practice but within the process of construction; that is the meaning is constructed by humans and negotiated by them. Meanings, therefore, are reflected in a community's social beliefs and are unique to particular groups and observably shift through time.

Social-Disability Model

The social disability model moves focus from a cure-based approach to a barrier-free approach of Deaf people. Leigh (2009) positions the social (or social-minority model) as the development of a collective consciousness as it positions deaf people in a minority group status through living "life with a difference" without focusing on a deficit (p. 13). This model, however, still regards "the body" as an element of consideration. It still looks at how the environment can be made harmonious with the body to create environments conducive to individuals having full participation in society. In criticizing this limited view of deaf people, Ladd (2003) would assert that the social-minority model does support the fundamental equalities of human beings; however, the minority membership, according to the model is 'deafness' itself and the focus must not only be on environmental factors but on the Deaf individual and his or her sense of being-in-the-world (p. 15).

Indeed, these discourses found within the social-minority model would shift the focus from impairment of the human body of deaf people to the barriers that exist in the social, physical and attitudinal environments related to the matter of being deaf in the world (Crow, 1996, p. 2). These discourses identify external barriers as the disabling factor to the individual's ability of full functioning, not the individual's lack of ability, or abnormality. Some of the discourses stemming from the social model in the 20th century were welfare and liberal discourses (Ladd, 2003). For example, welfare discourses are those stating that Deaf people are not able to support themselves and manage their own affairs (Ladd, 2003, p. 139). This is coupled with the helplessness of deaf people and the showing of tremendous gratitude to those willing to help them succeed in their "troubled struggle" in life (p. 139). The liberal discourse seeks to re-modify current structures to enable deaf people to have access (p. 146). The use of sign language is seen as a "communication tool" to help deaf

students learn written and spoken majority languages. Ladd reports that one of the consequences of this model is the understanding of signed languages as "sign systems" and not a language with its own complex own visual logic, grammar, syntax and other linguistic elements (p. 148). Collapsing the concepts of "sign system" and "Sign Language" is problematic. The impacts of these discourses on Deaf people are, according to Ladd, displayed in the educational system in multiple ways: (1) The mastery of Sign Language is not an expected requirement of the teachers and Sign Language Interpreters of the deaf students; and (2) when a "sign system" is used in teaching complex concepts, ideas and explanations cannot easily be transmitted to students.

Culturo-Linguist Model

Still within the socio-constructivist paradigm, there exists a second model of identity construction of deaf people. We would like to qualify this model as a culturo-linguistic paradigm. From this perspective Deaf people are not regarded as "deviant" nor as a "disability group" but rather as a "linguistic and cultural minority", a sub culture like many others. Deaf culture is described and known as a sub culture, which possesses rich visual languages, arts, histories and epistemologies. There is a strong sense of pride and community, centered on collective common values that are reflected in the established norms of behaviours and observable cultural practices. This culturo-linguistic model brings an alternate definition to Deaf identity and is more 'favorably' looked at and thought to be a more precise account for the culturally Deaf person's experience. Lane (1995) quotes Paddy Ladd, a British Deaf leader, to say: "We wish for the recognition of our right to exist as a linguistic minority group...labeling us as disabled demonstrates a failure to understand that we are not disabled in any way within our own community" (Lane, 1995, p. 177).

With the construction of deaf people as a "cultural linguistic minority group", several new discourses emerge. Research in linguistics became one empowering arena. For example, William Stoke, a well-known linguist at Gallaudet University, is quoted multiple times by many researchers in the field because he effectively reinforces the idea that Sign Languages were bona fide languages, equal to that of spoken languages (Ladd, 2003; Roots, 1999; Power, 2006). Indeed, Stoke's research lead to the development of discourses identifying

Deaf people as a linguistic community. This then shifted academic discourses of deaf people, as they were now regarded as a cultural community, and then soon to follow were the establishment of University departments and programs in Sign language linguistics, Sign Language interpretation, and Deaf studies programs.

Ethno-Cultural Model

One of the more recent publications on the topic is, "The People of the Eye: Deaf Ethnicity and Ancestry" (Lane, Pillard, and Hedberg, 2011), in which a third perspective seems to emerge: that of Deaf people as an 'ethno-cultural group.' This significantly more recent and still emerging paradigm looks at Deaf people as an ethnic group by tracing Deaf culture and Deaf ancestry, in America, back hundreds of years. H-Dirksen, and L. Bauman (2008) write that "ethnicity is a critical concept because it provides a framework for exploring the ways in which Deaf Americans have maintained distinct community institutions and have passed down, over many generations, a common history, language and culture" (p. 308). Anthony D. Smith's nationalism and ethnicity work from the late 20th century and early 21 C seeded Harlan Lane's current definition of Deaf ethnicity (Dirksen & Bauman, 2008). H-Dirksen and Bauman describe Smith's definition as: "Ethnicity consists of a collective name, feeling of community, norms of behavior, distinct values, knowledge, customs, social structure, language, arts, history and kinship" (p. 10).

The identity politics within the Ethno-Cultural paradigm is also highly complex and appears to be as equally problematic. There seems to be disagreement regarding who belongs to the Deaf ethnic group. Are the group members Deaf people of Deaf parents, Deaf people of hearing parents, or hearing people of Deaf parents, etc. However, the concept of Deaf ethnicity is thought to be a progressive move beyond the concept Deaf culture. It goes beyond cultural concepts such as norms of behaviour, group values, language and art, and it acknowledges a collective sense of history, place and profound social linkages. The model of ethnicity is said to "deepen[s] the ontological connection between Deaf people and their identity" (H-Dirksen et al., 2008). To emphasize the complexity of Deaf identity, however, what we have observed from the literature is that the socio-constructivist identity formations of Deaf people are linked to behaviourist principles. Even when defined as a linguistic and cultural minority group, there remains linkages between the identify formation and

naturalism. By this, we mean the socio-cultural identity formations of Deaf people begins with being 'deaf', a pathological identity formation, as a starting point in the emergence of Deaf culture, language and ethnicity.

From the ethno-cultural model there are several observable discourses. Lane (2005) in his article "Ethnicity, Ethics and the Deaf-World," writes about the *Deaf-World* in the United States. Lane defines the Deaf-World as "language minorities using signed languages" (p. 291). Lane describes how the construction of the Deaf-World as a disability group, or from a pathological perspective, is unsuitable and has led to practices that discourage Deaf children from acquiring the language and culture of the Deaf-World (p. 291). In another text, Lane, Hoffmeister, and Bahan (1996) capitalize the term DEAF-WORLD. When referring to the DEAF-WORLD they are referring to "a group (an estimated million people) possessing a unique language and culture" (p. ix).

In relation to social discourse, in written English the terms *deaf* and *hearing impaired* are commonly used to refer to all deaf people. However, scholarly literature in the Deaf studies field refers to members of a *Deaf-World* by using the capital – D for Deaf versus the small – d deaf (Lane, 2005, p. 291). The small – d deaf is used to refer to a much larger and more diversified group of deaf people who may not self-identify as members of the Deaf-World.

The capital –D (Deaf) distinction indicates their membership to the Deaf cultural group formation. This emerging ethno-cultural perspective seems to be inspired by Critical Cultural Studies that emerged in the late 1970s. That is why it is natural to next study the ways in which critical cultural inquiries could be linked to the formation of Deaf identity.

Critical Cultural Studies Theory

Critical Cultural theory has a long history of scholarly research looking at identity formation and various meaning-making practices. There have been a number of scholars who have contributed remarkably to this field of research. For the purpose of this particular research project, the work of the following scholars will be of particular importance: (1) Michel Foucault's focus on discourse, power and knowledge production; (2) Stuart Hall's examinations of the ideological intervention on the study of representation and articulation;

(3) Jennifer Daryl Slack's deepening the concept of articulation as both a theoretical perspective and methodology; and (4) Lawrence Grossberg's work on the relationship between language and discourse.

Each of these bodies of work continues to deepen the analysis of cultural criticism and has produced a significant amount of writings on representation, articulation, identity and discourse. Indeed, to understand the representation on Deaf identity in media, one must engage with the concepts of articulation, naturalization, knowledge production, language and discourse. The work of Hall (2002) and Slack & Wise (2005) has contributed to the constructivist understanding of meaning production and representation. Their work includes exploring further the theory of articulation, which, according to Slack (1996) is:

> Not just a thing (set of connection) but a process of creating connections, much in the same way that hegemony is not domination but the process of creating and maintaining consensus or of co-coordinating interests. (p. 114)

While for Grossberg (1992) the theory of articulation allows to create linkages, "this practice to that effect, this text to that meaning, this meaning to that reality, this experience to those politics" (p. 54). Stuart Hall himself would argue that an articulation is:

> The form of the connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions…the 'unity' which is a linkage between the articulated discourse and the social forces with which it can, under certain historical conditions, but need not necessarily, be connected. (Slack, 1996, p. 115)

An articulation, therefore, can be understood as an arbitrary connection between different elements that, when connected, form a particular unity. These articulations are not fixed but can and do change over time (Grossenberg, 2003, p. 143). Slack and Wise (2005) connect the theory of articulation work to the work of Deleuze and Guattari. Deleuze and Guattari, describe the formation of articulations as being strung together in a particular series of *constellations,* which then become *territorialized* in that process (p. 128). This is to say that, through these connections, elements become situated in a particular frame of reference, or context, and that without this context they would not have an intrinsic meaning. When these meanings are shared within a group of people, they produce a shared culture. For Hall (1997) an articulation is like a privileged medium in which we produce and exchange meanings.

Indeed, the theory of articulation is a way of understanding how the ideological and particular discursive formations become connected to particular subjects. Articulation can be engaged within a concrete way: it can be challenged and changed because, precisely, it is not fixed in eternity. This is known as the practice of re-articulation. However, to further understand the concept of articulation, one could approach it by understanding the Deleuzian concept of "lines of tendential force." Lines of tendential force are historical-social formations, connecting the cultural and ideological underpinnings of meaning found within a particular structure of power (Grossberg, 2003; Slack and Wise, 2005; Bobo, 2001).

Although articulation can be described as arbitrary intersections of various social forces occurring within particular historical contexts, the problem arises when these articulations are subjected to the process of naturalization (Hall, 2005; Slack and Wise, 2005). Naturalization is the process by which certain words, phrases, images and meanings become so commonly distributed and consumed that they appear to be natural (Hall, 2002, p. 55). This process of naturalization is similar, in principle, to Gramsci's concept of hegemony. According to Slack (1996):

> Hegemony, for Gramsci, is a process by which a hegemonic class articulates (or co-ordinates) the interests of social groups such that those groups actively 'consent' to t heir subordinated status. The vehicle of this subordination, its 'cement' so to speak is ideology… (p. 117)

This is to say that elements, practices, thought patterns, ideologies and discourses that are naturalized, and assumed to be true, remain unquestioned and unchallenged. These narrative patterns are then recreated and reinforced by social institutions such as church, family, school and the media (Kellner, 1995, p. 7; Hall, 2005, p. 121).

Stuart Hall writes that the approach to representation shifted from a predominantly semiotic approach, which focused on language, to representation as a source for the production of social knowledge (Hall, 1997, p. 42). This shift connected representation to social practices and questions of power. Hall continues by saying that although Foucault used the words 'representation' in a narrower sense, he is still considered to have made a significant contribution to the problem of representation (p. 42). Foucault goes further and puts forth an interesting social model of representation that articulates knowledge and power together. Foucault argues that the focus must be on discourse, not just language; that

discourse produces knowledge from constructed meanings and that one is not just focused on meaning itself (cited in Hall, 1997, p. 42). This is to say that although articulations are not permanent connections of ideology and discourse and are able to be disconnected and reconnected through the practice of re-articulation, they are, however, fixed within multiple webs of knowledge production and knowledge systems. It is these webs that make the navigation through and the altering of certain discourse constructs difficult. The further embedded these articulations are in social knowledge, discourses and social systems, the more difficult would be the process of re-articulation. This work will examine how Deaf identity is articulated in newspaper articles.

The next element to consider in critical cultural theory is language. Language is a central component of culture and is a medium where meanings are produced and exchanged. It is through these shared meanings that the knowledge, beliefs and values are developed and exchanged. Language is comprised of signs and symbols (i.e. sounds, hand shapes, images) used to "represent" a particular object such as a person, concept or feeling. It is able to construct meaning because it acts as a representational system (Hall, 1997, p. 1). Semiotics is the study of signs in their participation of meaning construction. Ferdinand de Saussure, often thought of as the father of modern semiotics, developed a model of analysis to understand the 'structure' of meaning. The model is comprised of the sign, signifier, and signified. The *signifier* indicates the words, symbols, and images and is used to represent an object; the *signified* is the object of representation itself. In this semiotics articulation, the *sign* becomes the trigger by which the signifier would become meaningful (Barthes, 2003). For Barthes, a sign has two layers of meaning, denotative and connotative. The denotative meaning is the meaning at the surface of the message, or the explicit meaning. The connotative layer of meaning is the implicit meaning and can be attached to the signifier. According to Hall (1997) language enables people to create shared understandings in order to be able to interpret the world in roughly the same way; language is a "representational system" of anything meaningful. Representation, according to Hall (1997) is "the embodying of concepts, ideas, and emotions in a symbolic form which can be transmitted and meaningfully interpreted" (p. 10). This means it is a practice of solidifying otherwise fluid concepts. Connecting this back to a cultural context, representation happens in a shared cultural 'space' where the meanings of the representation are distributed and interpreted

through language. This work will examine the use of language and its signifiers, both in text and image form, in the representation of Deaf identity. It will look at meaning production and what concepts, ideas and emotions are encoded and decoded in discourses about Deaf people and Deaf identity.

In addition to understanding the practices of articulation, naturalization, knowledge production and language, one must also understand the politics of culture. For the purpose of this work, culture is understood in a much broader and more dynamic sense. Hall (1997) describes culture as the practice of sharing similar 'cultural codes': that is the cultural politics of meaning used to decode the messages to understand the concept, image, emotion or person that is represented (p. 2). Sharing in the same "culture", therefore, is to share the same conceptual map, language systems and understanding of the codes being used in discourse. In relationship to this object of research, this is not to say that all individuals must share the same language (ex. both must use spoken English or American Sign Language) to share in the same cultural code, but that when using a shared language, the individual's cultural codes are such that the messages in images, text or signs are decoded in the same manner. It is through these shared cultural codes or maps that shared constructs of meaning occur, and that people are then joined together in a particular culture. However, there can exist multiple gaps in this shared cultural understanding. When people are not from the same culture, they do not share the same cultural codes and will encode and decode messages differently. These shared constructs of meaning are what become translated and embedded within social practices. They provide the reasons and rationale at the foundation of policies and institutional practices and have concrete effects on the lived experiences of people in society.

Minority Representation in Mainstream Media

We have outlined two modes of analysis: (1) the dominant paradigm constructions of Deaf people: patho-cultural and socio-cultural; (2) scholarly research of Critical Cultural theorists. Through the above Cultural Studies perspectives, we would like to focus our third mode of analysis on the representation of Deaf identity in mainstream newspaper media, and minority representation in mainstream media. Mass media discourses are an important and influential component of modern societies. Indeed, mainstream media texts are considered to

be articulations of the dominant culture group and representative of larger ideological systems (Ebanda de B'béri & Middlebrook, 2009, p. 26). Research in this domain and the studies looked at in this review emphasize the importance of analyzing minority representation in mainstream media, as it is a powerful place of identity formation. Some of these researches include: broadcast news portrayals of minorities (Klein & Naccarato, 2003), metaphors regarding immigrant populations in media (Cisneros, 2008), minority language media in Western Europe (Cormack, 1998), current news affairs and feminine values (Hobson, 2005), and the expressions of blackness in cinema (Ebanda de B'béri, 2006). There has also been work done on the representations of various ethnic minorities, or discourses, in print news media specifically. Some of this work has been completed by Parameswaran (2006) and his study of the masculine rhetoric that surrounded September 11 in trade publications, Pietikainen's (2003) study of the representations of the Sami people in Finnish popular newspapers, as well as the work of Leung and Erni (2009) examining minority representation in mainstream media in China. Some results of their inquiry raised questions regarding journalistic practices and the construction of meanings around gender, group identity and national identity. Some of the main questions raised in these studies were how professional journalism develops into an authority, and how its writing and framing of events is legitimated. For example, Parameswaran goes on to quote two researchers: 1) Fair and Parks (2001) in her study of Rwandan Refugees represented on television news, states that scholars must explore more fully the connectedness between knowledge, organizational practice, consciousness and cultural context (p. 37) and 2) Lule (2004) to say that media, through its use of metaphor, displays a repertoire of myths that sheds light on the societal narratives that exist and exemplify shared values and beliefs.

In more detail, Parameswaran's (2006) work discusses the notion of "metaphor" in investigating how military and sports metaphors were used in articles written by journalists as they recounted their memories of the events of September 11th in the United States, and how these metaphors have larger implications for the collective identity. Parameswaran also mentions the inter-textuality of media texts. The information occurring in one print news source (i.e. magazines) has the potential to feed multiple television, radio, newspaper and other media discourses (p. 48). Parameswaran quotes Lakoff & Johnson to say: "The representational choices we veer towards are not merely random words and images but

deeply structuring mechanisms for how we think about, organize, and construct reality. Metaphors ultimately "sanction actions, justify inferences, and help us set goals"" (p. 142).

Another study published by Pietikainen (2003) examines news representations of the indigenous Sami people in Finnish news discourse and the role the representations have in the politics of the Sami identity. This critical discourse analysis of Finnish newspaper texts looked at how journalists utilized textual and linguistic resources that contributed to the representations of this particular minority group. The study suggests that among other factors, "journalist practices and an unawareness of or insensitivity towards the representational power of news media results in polarized ethnic representations that contribute to marginalization of the Sami rather than participation" (p. 1).

Following the same logic of Pietikainens findings, our research project is an analysis of the politics of representation of Deaf identity construction in newspapers. We are indeed interested in highlighting the extent to which certain journalistic practices may display insensitivity vis-à-vis their object of representation. Each of the above-cited studies has illustrated a common trait: that various oppressed minorities, from different groups and cultures around the world, would share common ideological struggles of presence and 'voice' in mainstream media. These ideological struggles, thus, would have an impact on policy development and the foundation of any form of positive social cohesion.

This previous research demonstrating the various cases and places of struggle in minority representation in media gives way to the subject of this research, which is to understand the patterns and trends found specifically in Deaf identity construction in a selection of newspaper media.

The Representation of Deaf Identity in Mainstream Media

There has been a noticeable increase in visibility of Deaf people and of Sign Language in media over the past decade. Likewise, deafness and Deaf issues have become an increasing important area of academic research in the last forty years (Atherton, 2003, p. 86). Atherton argues, however, that the grassroots opinions and perspectives from deaf people are largely missing from formal academic study because deaf publications are rarely used as data sources (p.86). In this study mainstream newspaper texts will be examined along with several texts, written by both Deaf individuals and allies, that were published in a

mainstream newspaper. What is interesting when examining mainstream media discourse is that it seems that most of the discourses referring to Deaf people as a cultural-linguistic and/or ethnic minority are limited predominantly to discourses occurring between members and allies of Deaf communities. In a Canadian context, there is little evidence outside of Deaf communities to show that these Deaf cultural discourses have penetrated the grand discourses of mainstream media and popular culture. As Power (2006) writes:

> Even though the notion of Deaf people as a cultural and linguistic community is well accepted among Deaf people and by many professionals, family members and others who have contact with them, the "public" view as reflected in the media is often not so enlightened…and negative metaphoric use of "deaf" may well influence these public views. (p. 144)

The representations of Deaf identity seem to be limited and those that do penetrate the precarious yet permeable majority–minority barrier are typically left skewed in a way that reflects the dominant cultural understanding of deaf people. However, these discourses are problematic. They have the potential to be understood as generalized concepts and are assumed to reflect all of deaf people. Ladd, Gulliver, and Batterbury (2003) write:

> This wide-spread mistaken conception of Deaf communities as disability formations rather than language minorities has been a driver for linguistic oppression that has been experienced over centuries. (p. 7)

This mistaken view influences social practices and contributes to a political context that limits the understanding of Deaf communities in "their" reality of being a linguistic minority (Ladd, Gulliver, & Batterbury 2003, p. 7).

Research investigating the representation of Deaf identity in mainstream media exists but is limited. Schuchman's (1998) study focuses on Deaf identity in popular media and examines Deafness portrayed in the film entertainment industry. Pajka-West's (2010) work looks at the representations of deafness and Deaf people in young adult fiction literature. And Power (2003, 2006) analyzed Deaf identity in popular print news media in both Australia and Ireland. Schuchman (1998) in his book *Hollywood Speaks,* analyzes Deafness in the film entertainment industry and found repeated use of various stereotypes. The

stereotypes found for Deaf characters were: “the dummy”, “the fake deaf person”, “the deaf person as an object of humor”, “the unhappy deaf person”, and “the expert lip reader”. The study shows the repeated negative images associated with deaf characters. A movie with a deaf character will often end with a cure for deafness by an experimental drug, an operation, or a psychologically traumatic event. When the deaf character cannot be cured, the film typically ends with the character acquiring speech, which is a sign they achieved success. Deaf characters are often used as a symbol for loneliness and alienation. They have also been killed by oncoming vehicles and trains, shot by police officers, incarcerated in mental hospitals, and jailed by professionals - all consequences of being deaf (p. 100). Schuchman’s study concludes by saying, “filmmakers reflect the prevailing American cultural bias towards disability and deafness” and that “…Hollywood is guilty of the perpetuation of a pathological view of deafness as a disease and of deaf individuals as abnormal” (p. 99).

Pajka –West’s (2010) doctoral dissertation examined six contemporary adolescent literature books with deaf character(s). She notes that historically, deafness is used by authors as a literature tool to symbolize various human struggles and to invoke sympathy from readers. Pajka-West concluded that over the past ten years, Deaf characters in adolescent literature have become more detailed and complex. She believes modern day non-Deaf authors have contact with deaf people and are knowledgeable of the Deaf community. Pajka-West finds that having this increased connection and knowledge assists the author in producing more complex portrayals of deaf people, their lives, and deeper character development.

Power’s (2003) study looked at daily newspapers in Australia and analyzed attitudes towards two topics: (1) genetic screening of embryos, and (2) models of deafness (i.e pathological versus socio-constructivist). Power concluded in his study that there did not appear to be any attitudinal pattern either for or against these two topics. In Power’s (2006) study, however, he notes a difference in attitude towards Deafness in the Irish press versus the Australian press. Power writes that the pubic view of Deafness was reflected more favorably in the Irish press, in comparison to the Australian press. The Australian press appears to ‘abnormalize’ deafness whereas the Irish press ‘normalizes’ deafness.

The findings of these studies indicate that stereotypes of Deafness can penetrate mainstream media’s representations of Deaf identity and that these representations have

shifted over time. There has also been an increase in contact with Deaf people and in awareness of the Deaf community. This contact has diversified the representation of Deaf identity. The representation of Deaf identity in newspapers varies also has been shown to vary from one country to the next.

One observable pattern is that the dominant cultural group (i.e. non-Deaf) predominantly has the power and control over the representation of the non-dominant cultural group (i.e. Deaf identity). Non- Deaf people are the individuals with the power, as they make up the majority of those working in the press. They are the story creators, producers, editors, and distributors of popular media. Although stereotypes and discourse are related, this research project is somewhat different in its approach and scope. It does not focus on stereotypes, per se, but it is looking at the broader production of discourses that can be thought to precede stereotypes. Stereotypes are then thought to be examples of larger societal discourses. In addition, to examine the larger societal discourses, this research takes a step further by including interviews with members of the Deaf community - both Deaf leaders and community allies - to gather their insights into their perspectives and experiences regarding these discourses.

Moving from the broad subject of Deaf identity constructions in media leads us to precisely frame the central object of this research within the various literature reviewed here. Indeed, newspapers are just one site of documented social discourse. Newspapers can also be seen politically, as valued sources of social perspectives and worldviews: as authorities on ideological formations and as disseminators of social knowledge. Canadian newspaper texts are one focus that can be brought into this discussion regarding examining Deaf cultural identity in media. Parameswaran's (2006) work positions the perspective of journalism in a unique frame. It relies on the work of Zelizer in that it views journalism as a cultural and historical practice and views journalists as storytellers rather than the conveyers of truth (p. 43). In Des Power's (2006) article, he argues that "…press representations of deafness and the status of deaf people will be affected in the public mind, as will deaf people's image of themselves" (p. 136). His previous research (2003, 2005) in both the Australian and New Zealand press found that there were slight biases in the presentation of deafness in relation to the "medical model" rather than a cultural model (p. 137). Power also remarked that the

most derogatory comments typically came from columnists rather than reporters (p. 137). Both Leung and Erni (2009) and Power (2006) comment on how representation of minorities in popular media is critical as most members of the majority group have no firsthand knowledge of, or personal interaction with, members of the particular minority group. And ultimately, media's framing of minority groups has an influence on the broader majority's views of these specific groups of people.

In terms of examples of popular media discourse, Power (2006) noted that 20% of the references to deafness in Australian press were in the metaphorical sense (ex. "deaf to request for leniency"). In the Irish press 55% of articles were metaphorical and notably used in relation to members of the government (ex. "the minister has gone deaf and dumb"). All of the metaphors observed were noted to have been used in a negative sense (p. 139). Power's work raises pertinent questions regarding the use of the term deaf as a negative metaphor and the degree to which this negativity would have an indirect connection to the lived experience of Deaf people. Powers (2006) goes on to refer to Haller, Dories, and Rhan (2006) who quoted Ben-Moshe (2005) to say:

> When we use terms like 'retarded', 'lame', or 'blind' [or 'deaf'] – even if we are referring to acts or ideas and not to people at all – we perpetuate the stigma associated with disability. By using a label…which is commonly associated with disabled people to denote deficiency, a lack, or an ill-conceived notion, we reproduce the oppression of people with disabilities. (p. 144)

What is interesting to note in Power's research is that the constructed identities of Deaf people in popular newspaper discourse do not seem to be universal in nature. As stated above, according to Power deafness and Sign Language presented in Irish newspapers are viewed more favorably than in Australian newspapers (p. 146). Another interesting piece is Power's comment on what is considered "newsworthy". He notes that what is of interest to Deaf people may or may not be of interest to members of the dominant cultural group, and therefore may not be "picked up" by popular media entities. Thus, Deaf community's interests can be left out of mainstream media discourse.

Minority vs. Majority Centered Perspective in Media

The work of Leung and Erni (2009) shows, how discussions on ethnic minorities representation in mainstream media have been voluminous. However, research on the experience of these representations from the perspective of the represented subjects has been less comprehensive (p. 1). Leung and Erni's work questions the visibility of ethnic minorities in mainstream media. It looks at naturalized stereotypes that reinforce and perpetuate, particular meanings regarding various ethnic minority groups. It also focuses on how ethnic minorities consume mainstream media and its portrayal of either ethnic minority group.

It is from this minority-centered perspective that this research project is situated. Simone Cottle stated, "news does not simply reflect society, but [it] in part constitutes what the nature of society is" (cited in Erini & Leung, 2009, p. 2). This is to mean that news reflects dominant cultural thinking practices and can reinforce prejudice. However, media is also a place where one can observe and can contest these thought patterns in order to challenge persistent stereotypes of naturalized oppressive ideologies.

The post-modern decentralization movement has spawned much research and reflection on topics of de-centering culturally dominant ideas and re-centering the multiple perspectives of cultural minorities in popular discourse. Jacques Derrida (1993) mobilizes post-structuralism as a way of giving a center, or a reference point, to a process that organizes the structure (Derrida, 1993). This reference point orientates its components and gives the structure balance, and by doing so it enables its understandability. He goes on to explain that there exists a 'Qua center', which is the point where the substitution of contents, elements, or terms is no longer possible based on its relevance to the center of the structure.

Leigh's (2009) study explains how Deaf people typically reject 'hearing-centered' discourses, such as the use of the term "hearing impaired", because this term is centered in a hearing perspective and emphasizes a hearing loss. The label emphasizes an "impairment" or a deficit, whereas Deaf people view themselves as whole, complete human beings who are communicatively competent (p. 10). Leigh's study does point to the plurality of perspectives, however, by saying that the term "hearing impaired" is viewed by others as a matter of fact, used in a politically correct fashion, an explanation of communication needs and void of negative intentions. Padden and Humphries emphasize the importance of acknowledging the

individual's "Center" when determining labels for representation. They go on to say that labels have the power to establish a commonality or cause further marginalization depending on the 'center' or perspective of the categorizers (cited in Leigh, 2009, p. 10).

This concept of "centers", in relation to Deaf identity, becomes relevant because it allows us to explain how it is possible to have "multiple" identity constructs simultaneously occurring for one particular identity group formation. Indeed, it is from Derrida's theory of the condition of existence of multiple centers in the formation of cultural discourse and the work of Leigh, Padden & Humphries that the value of performing this research emerged.

Central Research Questions

1. How is Deaf identity being constructed in mainstream print news media, more specifically the Toronto Star?
2. What are the perspectives of Deaf people and community allies of these identity constructions and representations?

Sub-Research Questions

a. What connections of ideology and discourse are observable regarding Deaf identity formation?
b. To what extent could this articulated identity be open to other forms of articulations (i.e. connections) and re –articulations?
c. To what extent do these connections impact social practices and questions of power?
d. What cultural 'space' is observable in mainstream media and Deaf cultural minority discourse?
e. Is there a possibility to broaden understandings and shared interpretations of discourses pertaining to Deaf identity?

Methodology

To address these research questions, we will perform a qualitative case-based discourse analysis. This discourse analysis will lead to examining interactions between a

major English Canadian newspaper and eleven Deaf community leaders and community allies. This case comprises three objects: (1) newspaper's articles, which metaphorically represent the term 'deaf'; (2) ten letters to the editor in disagreement from members of the Deaf community; and (3) the response of the newspaper's chief editor to these letters. A documented and archived interaction, such as this one, is rare and therefore is a rich source of data and an excellent opportunity for analysis. A broad database search of articles published by the same newspaper using the term 'deaf' was also done. And, to contextualize the above data even further, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the individuals who wrote a letter to the editor. This research focused on the perspectives of the minority group, in this case members from the Deaf community. Therefore, only members and allies from the Deaf community were interviewed. The individuals interviewed had each made an effort to write a letter to the newspaper on behalf of the Deaf community and their organization. Their effort is seen by the researcher to be related directly to the case-study and to demonstrate an above average level of leadership and activism on behalf of their community. The conceptualization of Deaf, according to the literature, begins with a larger group of deaf people: people who may, or may not, identify as members of the Deaf-World. This larger group of deaf people, people who are wholly or partially without hearing, is then subdivided into several identity groups i.e. Deaf, hard of hearing, deafened. One particular sub-group is that of culturally Deaf people. Culturally Deaf people distinguish themselves as a cultural and linguistic minority group. For the purpose of this work, the operational definition of 'Deaf' begins not with the larger group of people being 'deaf,' but with the concept of linguistic cultural minority. This larger group is then subdivided into several identity groups (i.e. indigenous peoples, the Quebecois, etc.). From this construct we define Deaf people to be a group that shares several characteristics. The primary characteristics of Deaf people being: are audiologically deaf or hard of hearing, use a Signed Language as a primary mode of communication, identify as culturally Deaf, have a shared lived experience with other deaf people, develop friendships with and socialize with other Deaf people. In previous research pertaining to the representation of Deaf identity in media that we have found, none had included interviews with the "voice" of Deaf people. This provides a strong rationale for the importance not only of looking at how this particular group's identity is

being represented, but as well how this minority group formation makes sense of popular media's representation and discourse of their identity, culture, and community.

Discourse Analysis as Methodology

Discourse analysis provides a way of investigating the constructed systems of knowledge, social relations and social identities found within texts. There are different schools of thought and approaches to discourse analysis. Some of these schools are: functional systemic linguistics; classical rhetoric; text linguistics; socio-logic; applied linguistics; and pragmatics (Wodak, 2001, p. 3). All have elements of power, ideology, hierarchy and sociological influential factors that are all pertinent for interpretation of text (Wodak, 2001, p. 3). Norman Fairclough draws heavily on Halliday's multifunctional linguistic theory and Foucaulian concept of the 'orders of discourse' in his analytical approach to Critical discourse analysis. According to Fairclough (2002) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the analysis of 'Discursive events' (i.e. interviews, newspaper articles or advertisements). Fairclough (2000) explains that: "Language use – any text – is always simultaneously constitutive of (1) social identities, (2) social relations, and (3) systems of knowledge and belief (corresponding respectively to identities, relationship and representations)" (p. 309). Thus, following Fairclough, a critical discourse analysis seeks to make connections (or articulations) between three dimensions: (a) text, (b) discursive practice, and (c) socio-cultural practice (p. 311). The analysis of text involves traditional forms of linguistic analysis – vocabulary, semantics order, grammar of sentences, textual organization, and writing systems. Discursive practices include the various processes of text production and text consumption. This can include practices such as editorial procedures, decision-making, limits of space and time, styles guidelines, etc. The third dimension, socio-cultural practice, is the social and cultural milieu that these texts and practices are embedded within. This dimension can include elements such as: economic climate, political power and ideology, and questions of society's values and group identity (see Figure 1).

Fairclough (2002) explains that the aim of Critical Discourse Analysis is to map these three different dimensions onto one another. This analytical process allows for connections between particular texts, discourse practices and social practices to become

evident (p.269). Fairclough (2000) goes on to say that a discourse analysis should be sensitive to what is absent, as well as what is present in the text. For example, a discourse analysis of a magazine's page would include not only analyzing the text but also the photographic images, layout, and overall visual organization of this page (p. 312).

In addition to discourse analysis, intertextuality is an important concept in the analysis of discursive practices. The concept of "intertextuality", according to Fairclough (1992) draws upon Foucaultian 'orders of discourse' (p. 270). In this sense 'orders' is understood to mean: particular structures of conventionalized practices (i.e. genres, discourses, narratives, etc.). Intertextuality draws attention to how texts are connected to a chain of other text that both preceed and follow them. Intertextuality leads the analysis to focus on the linkages between texts and discursive practices, within specific analytical frameworks. It is an attempt to examine particular genres and the broader discourses found in texts. Intertextual analysis locates the text in relation to various common social discourses. It involves cultural interpretations that locates particular texts within a context of a particular culture and is dependent on social and cultural understandings (Fairclough, 2000, p. 315). In comparison to other scholars in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis, Fairclough's work puts emphasis on the link between changing practices of language use (discourse) and wider social and cultural change. Fairclough's work does not analyze discourse at a socio-cognitive level, as would Teun van Dijk with his Macro and Micro level of analysis model to discourse analysis (Meyer, 2001, p. 20). Fairclough's model does, however, include linguistic analysis, as did Ruth Wordak, known as one of the most linguistically oriented of CDA scholars (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 66). The model shares Wodak's view of language as a social practice. Fairclough's models also include elements from Foucault's social theory approach to discourse such as: connection to power, the construction of a social subject, and the functioning of discourse in social change (Fairclough, 2002, p. 28). Fairclough feels Foucault's work in discourse analysis cannot be equated to a linguistic analysis; however, it did contribute two major theoretical insights regarding discourse that Fairclough incorporated into his textual analysis model. The first insight is; 1) understanding discourse as a construction of social or various dimensions; and 2) emphasis on the interdependence of discourse practice of society or institution (Fairclough, 2002, p. 28). Foucault's second insight is similar to what Fairclough now writes as 'internextuality'. One of the main reasons

why this work follows closely the Critical Discourse Analysis model laid out by Norman Fairclough is because both the linguistic theory (Wodak) or social theory (Foucault) approaches do not deal with how discourse contributes to the reproduction and transformation of society. Fairclough's model, however, readily addresses social problems, and his model suggests using identified social problems as subjects of analysis (Meyer, 2001, p. 27).

Although Fairclough places textual analysis at the heart of his Critical Discourse Analysis model, Schroder (2007) quotes Swales and Rogers (1995) to say that textual analysis is insufficient in the understanding of the complexities of discourse and that of meaning-generating process. They suggest conducting ethnographic fieldwork, which includes working with both the text producers and text recipients in order to explore the full context of the discourse (p. 83).

Due to the limitations of both time and resources, an extensive ethnographic and multi-semiotic methodological approach, however ideal, was not feasible for this research project. A multi-semiotic approach could potentially include the analysis of various textual newspaper features such as: (1) the formatting, order and layout of the texts collected, (2) the relationships between the deaf related texts and other texts within the newspaper itself, (3) and the analysis of this object in multiple English and French Canadian newspapers from across Canada over a long period of time. As well, according to Fairclough's model, this study was also limited because it examined discourse only at the textual and discourse level and not in-depth at the socio-cultural practice level. Original data collected for this study include semi-structured interviews in addition to the newspaper articles and letters to the editors. For the interviews, the individuals who had written a letter to the editor (as mentioned above) were solicited to participate in the interview process. These interviews were valuable for two reasons. They provide the opportunity for triangulation by connecting interrelated themes held between the interviews, newspaper articles, and letters to the editor. The interviews also allow for a shift of focus from a majority-centered perspective to a minority-centered perspective. Their inclusion was an attempt to bring focus to the perspectives of members of the Deaf communities in connection to the representation of Deaf identity in print news media in this particular case.

The Case Study

Since the focus of this research project is to investigate the perspectives of members from the Canadian Deaf community, a documented interaction between the Toronto Star and members of the Deaf community was found to be highly relevant and provide the focus of this research project. It was the only documented interaction found, and it was found in the personal archives of a Deaf community leader. This case-study took place in 2007-2008. A major Canadian English newspaper, the Toronto Star, wrote and ran two articles. The first entitled, "McGuinty's plea for municipal rate relief falls on deaf ears," (published on November 9, 2007). This title prompted one letter to the editor from a Deaf community leader, published by the Toronto Star, and which stated: "This statement is clearly offending Deaf individuals and Deaf community" (Malkowski, 2007). On January 5th 2008, the chief editors of the Toronto Star responded to this letter with the following title: "Standing by the Tools of our Craft." The key argument, in this back and forth writings and responses, seems to be located in the metaphorical use of the term "deaf." Indeed, the Toronto Star's editor's response argues that similar usages of 'deaf' as a metaphor had been used and printed in eighty-five other articles over the past two years. The usage was legitimated by that; this was stated to be the first complaint regarding the use of the term over the previous two-year period and that several editorial authorities were in support of the columnist usage.

The so-called authorities of the Toronto Star were the senior editors of the newspaper, the newspaper's style committee, the North American Association of News, the newspapers ombudsman, a father of a 21 year old "vision and hearing impaired" son, and the Canadian Oxford Dictionary. Eleven letters to the editor were written in response to this printed article. It is uncertain exactly how many were sent to the Toronto Star and how many were published, or published in their entirety, as the majority of the original letters have since been destroyed. What is known is that eleven letters were written in gross disagreement with the idea of the chief editor, and both Deaf and non- Deaf advocates working in the Deaf community participated in writing these letters.

Qualitative research, as chosen for this research, is an interpretive research method that attempts to understand particular phenomena, events, groups, interactions or social situations (Creswell, 2009). This work, in general, is investigating into the nature of communication and how this communication is linked to other variables; therefore textual

analysis is the most appropriate research methodology in comparison to other methods such as experimental, survey or naturalistic. The data for this research involves text based pubic communication. According to Frey, Botan, and Kreps (2000) "textual analysis is the method communication researchers use to describe and interpret the characteristics of a recorded or visual message" (p. 225). As well, one of the research questions asks how Deaf people make sense of the media representations of Deaf identity. Although some of the letters to the editor examine this through discourse analysis, the decision to also include interviews in the research method design was very advantageous to this research's process. Interviews, in general, allowed for the study of primary data sources. In this case, interviews also provides an opportunity for the researcher to gain insight into the views, experiences, and perspectives of Deaf leaders by conducing interviews in their preferred language, American Sign Language. This particular methodology borrows its approaches from the scholarship that examines cultural narratives and media texts pertaining to various minority groups. To perform this research, we examine a combination of four separate discourse analyses in terms of their methodologies. These methodologies were examined not only for utilizing discourse analysis in their data collection process, but also for their particular coding constructs in their data analysis and because the object of their research was the representation of a particular minority group in mainstream media.

In terms of data collection, the following four research studies conducted a discourse analysis and analyzed printed texts. Three of them analyzed printed newspaper texts (Erini & Leung, 2009; Powers, 2006; Pietkainen, 2003) and another analyzed trade publications that catered to journalism professionals (Parameswaran, 2006). In terms of objects of research, three examined the representations of a particular minority group in mainstream media (Erini & Leung. 2009; Powers, 2006; Pietikatnen, 2003) while another examined metaphors and the rhetoric used in trade magazines surrounding September 11th (Parameswaran, 2006). In addition to discourse analysis, one of the studies conducted interviews to investigate the reception of these representations by the ethnic minorities themselves (Erini & Leung, 2009), and one last study specifically examined the topic of the representation of deafness in newspapers in Ireland (Powers, 2006).

In the first study, Parameswaran (2006) conducted a qualitative textual analysis of September 11 related stories published by journalists in trade magazines. Parameswaran's

methodology examined the text itself, quotes from sources, headlines of stories, and the captions to photographs. Two analytical tasks were performed. Parameswaran (1) analyzed metaphors used to describe the work of news production on and just after September 11; and (2) examined modes of professional labour of how journalism unfolded during the crisis. This work found that masculine metaphors pertaining to war and heroism were prominent. Metaphors such as 'battlefield high' and '...grabbing a telephone, he called his heavy-hitter' identified a theme within the trade media narratives that showed during terrorist crisis news media produced a more masculine vision of their profession that aligned with other public discourses of heroic masculine patriotism. According to Parameswaran (2006) this discourse produced an "idealized version of Western masculinity – the brave, rugged, tough, and rational fieldworker – surfaces as a normative construct for the heroic journalists, who can remain productive and responsive even when others may fail to function." (p. 61). Parameswaran's work with text and metaphors is particular relevant to this work's analytical construct.

Pietikainen's (2003) work examines news representations of the Sami ethnic minority in the mainstream Finnish news discourse. This work looks at the role of news representations and the Sami identity group formation. Pietikainen's work looks to "examine what kind of representations are put forward and how they contribute to the (re)construction of Sami identity, and to the rights and position of the Sami in Finland" (p. 583). A Critical Discourse analysis was completed and texts comparing ethnic minorities in Finland and the Finnish majority were examined. The Finnish leading daily newspaper, The Helsignin Sanomat, was selected as the data source because it is the largest Finnish daily and regarded as the leading quality newspaper. The time period of 1985-1993 was chosen because it is known as a phase of transition in the construction of Sami identity. Pietikainen began by conducting a frequency count and compared the number of times topics included an ethnic minority group (n=1189) and the amount of coverage of Sami population specifically (n=51). Afterwards, various textual features were analyzed; (1) topics; (2) topic order; (3) quotation patterns; (4) naming of the participants; and (5) distribution of grammatical agency. Pietikainen's work with minority representations in mainstream news discourses applies well with this works research. The analytical construct identifying various textual features serves as a sound model for this work.

Leung and Erni (2009) conducted a textual analysis on ten Chinese daily newspapers and one weekly magazine. To identify texts for analysis they used search words based on generic terms like 'ethnic minorities', 'south Asians', 'Pakistanis', 'Napalese'; the adjective forms 'Pakistani', 'Napali'; and socio-economic roles such as 'Filipino maids' and terms such as 'racial discrimination,' 'harmony', and 'assimilation,' etc. In addition to analyzing mainstream media narratives, the consumption of these narratives was analyzed by conducting a series of interviews. Interviews were conducted with seven ethnic minority people, ranging from Pakistani, Napalese, Indonesian/Chinese, and Fillipino. Two interviews were conducted with each individual and four of them were asked to write up diaries regarding their reflections on their daily lives which the hope of enhancing the authenticity of the voices. Erini and Leung's work is one of the few that interview members of the minority group in addition to conducting an analysis of mainstream media discourse. This approach inspired the inclusion of interviews in this research.

And lastly, Powers (2006) analyzed the representation of Deaf people in Irish newspapers and noted to have also researched the Australian and New Zealand press (Power, 2005, 2003). Powers used an internet database of newspapers (Factiva) and searched terms such as 'deaf children', 'deaf people,' 'deaf', 'genetic screening,' and 'cochlear implant' to examine the representations of deafness. The newspapers selected were a series of Irish daily and Sunday newspapers from the period of January 1986 to December 2005. A frequency count was conducted on the term 'deaf' (1304 articles), 'deaf people (98 articles), and 'deaf children' (36 articles). Deafness used as a metaphor was found present in 55% of the articles in comparison to approximately 20% in Australian press (p. 139). An analysis of topics regarding 'deaf people' was conducted. The topics found, in order of frequency, were: Deaf education (7), Deaf studies and Irish Sign Language recognition (7), captioned TV (5), lip-reading and listening classes (5), public events (5), Deaf theatre (4), Centre for Deaf Studies (3), Deaf adult education (3), RC church support (3), accessibility/safety/accommodation (3), MP3 player hazards (3), and the internet for the deaf (2). Powers' findings show the importance of continuing this research into the representation of Deaf identity in mainstream newspapers because it appears that the Irish and Australian press emphasized different topics and displayed different tone towards the topic of deaf people and deafness. Therefore, investigating another country's representation (i.e. Canada) will contribute to the expansion

of this body of work. This work will indeed examine the use of the term deaf in metaphor and pattern of reported topics. This work will also move forward this body of research by contributing the perspectives of Deaf people and community allies on the representation of Deaf identity in mainstream media. It will also conduct an intertextual analysis and begin to look at observable patterns that link discourses found in newspaper articles to the discourses from the community in their letters to the editors and face-to-face interview.

Data Collection

The case study at the center of this thesis comprises two articles published by the Toronto Star, eleven letters to the editor written by three Deaf leaders and eight community allies in response to one or both of the Toronto Star articles', and semi-structured interviews conducted with six out of the eleven individuals (three hearing and three Deaf) who wrote these letters to the editor. Each of the eleven individuals was sent an email requesting an interview in conjunction with this thesis research. Three did not reply to the invitation for an interview, one was deceased and one accepted via telephone for only ten minutes resulting in many of the questions being missed and omitted. The last interview generated no transcript and for consistency of data analysis, this interview was omitted from the final analysis. Out of the eleven authors of the letters to the editors, only six semi-structured interviews were conducted face to face either at their residence or at their place of work, with the exception of one interview that used online video conferencing. The interviews began by collecting demographical information such as age, gender, education and professional title. Then the interviewees discussed their recollection of the particular case study (the two Toronto Star articles), their response and rationale behind their response, their memory of the response from the Deaf community and community allies, their experiences with the representation of Deaf identity in mainstream media in general, and their perspectives on authority and topics regarding Deaf people.

In addition to the case study, a broad-based search was conducted utilizing the newspaper database of Factivia. The search spanned a five-year time period, 2005-2010. The time period chosen was intentional and totally random. The only constraint imposed to on ourselves is that the search must include articles published two years before and after the years of the case study (2007-2008). Using the search word 'deaf' and limiting the search to full copies of articles published by the Toronto Star resulted in generating one hundred and

seventeen (117) articles for analysis. The database of Factivia was chosen for its vast collection of articles and its user friendly searching format. In this work's original proposal, the intention was to conduct a national article search from all mainstream newspapers in Canada. Even when the search word was narrowed to 'deaf' only, the search still generated approximately 7, 637 articles. The original national search for 'deaf' in Factivia generated an unmanageable amount of data for the scope of this research project; thus, the decision was made to search only articles published in the Toronto Star. This decision was to (1) keep the intended qualitative research method; (2) link the search to the case study in the Toronto Star newspaper; (3) acknowledge the on-going relationship between the Deaf community leaders and the Toronto Star mentioned during the interviews.

Analytical Construct

The analytical construct in this discourse analysis was comprised of a series of questions. These questions include the following:

- What words and phrases do reporters use to describe Deaf people?
- What topics and issues do writers emphasize, address or neglect?
- How did the visual illustration support, compliment or contradict the written discourse?
- How are the individuals featured in the article portrayed?
- Who and what are considered to have authority and on what issues?
- How and when are individuals identified as deaf or not deaf or not stated?
- How are professional titles attached to individuals? and
- What verbs are used when printing a Deaf individual's message (ex. Deaf person says)

The letters to the editor, particularly those written by Deaf people, were also analyzed with the following questions in mind:

- What differences exist between the Deaf individual's response and the reporter's paraphrase and direct quoting of his or her response?
- What words and phrases do Deaf people use to describe Deaf people?
- How do Deaf people make sense of the media's representation of their identity, culture and community?

- What percentage of the response from the Deaf community is printed in its original form?

Lastly, the questions we used to analyze the transcripts generated from the semi-structured interviews were:

- What patterns or themes are present in the responses?
- What discursive evidence pertaining to self-identity, social identity and culture is present in these interviewees' own discourse?
- Where is there evidence of loss or gain in power located?
- What is the overall feeling or mood of the interviewee on this issue?

Out of the six interviews analyzed here, three were Deaf and three were hearing; however, all were working in positions of authority in organizations of the Deaf or for organizations whose services affect Deaf people. The interviews were conducted in spoken English or American Sign Language (ASL). Each interview was recorded and was later transcribed into written English. The interviews originally conducted in American Sign Language were then translated into written English. Because the principal researcher of this project is a qualified professional English to American Sign Language Interpreter, it was easy to complete the translations and transcripts of these interviews. To increase the accuracy of all the transcriptions, especially the translated transcriptions, the transcripts were each returned to the six interview participants, in a secure password-protected document, to be checked for accuracy of content and representation. In the end, all interviewees did agree with the accuracy of their transcription.

Results

During the five-year period between the years of 2005 and 2010, the search word 'deaf,' according to the Factivia database, generated 7,637 articles. When searching only the Toronto Star the search generated 117 articles. Of the 117, 16 articles were omitted from analysis because they were duplicates or triplicates of the same article, event announcements, non-sequitor movie reviews or articles without any reference to deaf, a

yellow-page listing of an organizations name, or a reference about a deaf dog. With the remaining 101 articles a textual analysis, topic analysis and content analysis were conducted.

Words and Phrase Patterns

Of the 101 articles, 56 articles used the term deaf once in a metaphorical sense (see Table 1). The findings from a frequency count indicate that the term 'deaf' is predominantly used in a metaphorical sense. Common metaphors found were*: "..deaf to the ideas..", "..turning a deaf ear..", "..fell on deaf ears..", "..they are deaf to the opportunity", "..dialogue of the deaf", and "deaf ear from the government"*. The term 'tone-deaf' was also used in a metaphorical sense such as: *"..tone-deaf response", "..tone-deaf to the concerns of..", and "..tone-deaf to the real worries of.."* (see Appendix A and B to view the results of the term frequency counts). The use of 'deaf' as a metaphorical literary device was not present in the eleven letters to the editor, nor the six interviews. The metaphorical use was only observed in reference to its use as a metaphor in mainstream media (see Table 1).

Since, in 56 articles, the only use of the term deaf was in a metaphorical sense, a topic analysis was conducted on the remaining 45 articles (see Appendix C for the list of categorized newspaper articles). From the topic analysis, 'deaf' was predominantly contextualized according to the parameters of the pathological paradigm (see Table 2). The articles made reference to science and discovery - "why people born deaf have better sight", accessibility - "…two wheelchair accessible unites, including one for a family with two children who are deaf, blind and mute…", or an adjective - "a blind and partially deaf man...". And, three articles linked 'deaf' to a socio-constructivist paradigm. The three articles contextualized 'deaf' in reference to 'deaf' as a culture, to having a distinct language, or in references to other minority groups. One article stated, "What if those who communicate with American Sign Language (ASL) never felt second rate at school…professors and staff at Canadian colleges and universities would always respect *their* culture?" (emphasis added here). There was no evidence in the discourse analyzed linking the concept of 'deaf' to the paradigm of Deaf ethnicity in relation to Deaf ancestry (see Table 2).

In most article headlines, the term 'deaf' was present in conjunction with various known disability terms such as*: disabled/disability, activism, and accessibility* (see Appendix A for a list of terms found newspaper headlines). In the body of the articles, the term 'deaf' was again present in conjunction with disability terms such as: *disability/disabilities, accessibility, barriers, assistive technical devices, and cochlear implants* (see Appendix B for the list of terms found in the article's content*)*. It is also worth noting here that the capitalization practice of Deaf did not occur once in the mainstream newspaper texts.

From the 11 Letters to the editor, seven (7) were written by non-Deaf individuals and four (4) by Deaf individuals. Through the process of discourse analysis, six (6) letters were categorized to be written from a socio-constructivist paradigm, four (4) from a pathological paradigm, and one (1) classified as neutral as none of the searchable discourse criteria were present. The four letters classified as pathologic were written by non-Deaf individuals. As summarized in table 6, the pathologic letters made references to*: disability*, *ablism*, *disability groups*, *disability community*, and *disability metaphors*. The socio -constructivist letters used terms such as: *Deaf people and Deaf community* (utilizing the capitalization practice of Deaf), and *audism*. They compared Deaf people to other *oppressed minority groups*, and linked the concept of 'Deaf' to the concept of *race, ethnicity and language* (see Table 3). One author writes:

> Dumb used to be an accepted label for the Deaf. Times have changed and it is no longer accepted. Stay in the front-don't' hold back those who fight to advance. Insensitive use of words holds us all back.

Another author comments:

> Claiming that the Deaf are calling for censorship in the name of political correctness Is a cheapshot. All the Deaf want is to let hurtful metaphors that reinforce outmoded stereotypes take their rightful place in the dustbin of history. That is the same bin that holds all the other negative metaphors based on race, ethnicity, language and religion.

And another suggests that:

> In terms of communicating and attempts at mutual understanding, we have a lot to learn from the Deaf. May I suggest that if you have a "style book" you include a section on this?

From the six participants that were interviewed, we wanted to investigate the degree to which the concept of 'deaf' was used as a linguistic and/or an ethnic minority group. All of the interviews referred to 'Deaf people', 'Deaf culture' and 'Sign Language'. None of the interviews linked 'deaf' to a disability group identity formation. One reason for this could be that when the interview transcripts and Letters to the Editors were cross-referenced, unpredictably all of the interviews were conducted with individuals whose letters used socio-constructivist discourses. None of the interviews were with an author whose letter was classified to use pathological discourses. This was uncontrollable as it was only because these individuals were not available or did not respond to the interview request that they were not interviewed.

Quoting and Authority Patterns

From the content analysis of 45 Toronto Star newspaper articles, disability organizations and non-deaf individuals were more frequently quoted as authorities on deaf people or deaf issues than Deaf or allied authorities. Out of the 45 articles various authorities were quoted a total of 51 times (see Table 4). Disability organizations and non-deaf individuals and groups were quoted as an authority on deaf related issues 39 times while authorities that represent Deaf organizations or Deaf individuals were quoted 12 times (see Table 4 and Appendix D for a list of quoted authorities).

Sign language was referred to specifically in 11 out of the 45 articles. Of the 11, 7 articles referenced 'sign language' in terms of a service i.e. *having a shortage of Sign Language Interpreters* or *providing an accessible event with Sign Language interpretation*. Out of the 11 articles, 5 contextualized 'sign language' as a communication system. In these discourses the term 'sign language' appears in the same sentence or paragraph as "*Braille translations*", "*communication boards*", "*high tech communication systems*", "*real-time*

captioning", "*assistive listening devices*", "*attendant services,*" etc. (see Appendix E for the complete list of references to sign language). In these 11 articles non-Deaf authorities, including journalists, were quoted on the subject of sign language more frequently than Deaf authorities. The non-Deaf authorities included: Ontario Human Rights Commission, Rauda Dickinson (Superintendent for Toronto District School Board) and journalists. The Deaf authorities included Jim Roots (Executive Director of the Canadian Association of the Deaf) and Gary Malkowski (Special Advisor to the President at the Canadian Hearing Society). One notable observation in quoting practice is that the non-Deaf authorities were directly quoted; however, the Deaf authorities were paraphrased.

Intertextual Analysis

For each of the data sources, (i.e. newspaper articles, Letters to the Editor, and interviews), we looked for thematic patterns. We cross-referenced the data by finding similar evidence in multiple data sources. The six themes identified and classified were as follows: (1) Presenting The Wrong Message; (2) A Pattern in History; (3) The WOW factor; (4) Sign Language is a coded system for spoken language; (5) Non-Deaf people are the authorities on Deaf related issues; and (6) Negative impacts and the lived experience.

Pattern 1: Presenting The Wrong Message

Some of the interviewees believe that the impact of the negative metaphorical use of the term 'deaf' and the overall representation of 'deaf' people in mainstream newspapers is sending out the wrong message.

> They just write about it and bring attention to deafness in such a negative way…they are sending out the wrong message. It's a negative one and they are reinforcing negative stereotypes and myths. They really must stop. (Interview 1)

Another interviewee said:

> The deaf go to great lengths to communicate…"falls on deaf ears" is so not representative of just how much of an effort deaf people in a hearing world make to communicate. It's actually the exact opposite. (Interview 4)

Similar opinion is also seen in the letters to the editors. Here, comments regarding the use of 'deaf' as a metaphor contradict the real world communication patterns and habits of deaf people.

> The whole point is that they are using the word deaf as a metaphor for someone who purposefully does not want to understand what another person is saying…however, deaf people are all about communication. If there is going to be a metaphor about deaf people it should be about the importance of communication. (Interview 2)

A similar concern was also raised about the public receiving these messages.

> The public gets the impression that deaf people refuse to listen. That is completely false and is completely the wrong message we want to be sending to the public. (Interview 1)

We found similar lines of concern in the Letter to the Editors, in which one of the key issues seems to be the power to disseminate wrong idea about Deaf people: "The power of the press cannot be underestimated in its ability to model socially acceptable language**."**

During the interviews, when asked what themes are prevalent in mainstream newspapers regarding deaf people, one individual mentioned that some messages equate the inability to hear with the inability to think.

> Most articles focus on a deaf people's ability to think, their capability to express ideas as if they are inferior human beings. As an example, they feel the ability to speak reflects one's level of intelligence. (Interview 1)

Quotes from the newspaper articles write that deaf people are "*lacking others to speak for them*" (Article 80), or commenting on their "*inability to communicate*" (Article 80). In another article, words used to describe Deaf people are "*profoundly retarded and deaf*"

(Article 29). In another example, to indicate an individual response is ignorant is to say an individual gave a "*tone-deaf response*" (Article 34).

Regarding the theme that the inability to hear is linked to the inability to think, another dynamic occurred during the interviews in relation to Sign Language Interpretation. The quote below was taken from a newspaper article and is an utterance from a deaf man, interpreted through a Sign Language interpreter.

> One day last October I was very busy. There was a lot of work to do. I was cleaning. I was the only one. I asked for help. One of my fellow workers said he was busy. Someone else tapped me on the shoulder and said I needed to do this other cleaning. I said I needed help, but I was told to go help this other person, so I did. When I finished, another man said there was a big pot and I should move it. I said why don't you move it. Finally, I went to do it. It was a big pot. I asked if he could help me. He said a bad word…I wasn't angry. I was shocked. He used gestures and speech. (Article 98)

The above quote raises many questions regarding the practice of interpretation and the representation of an individual's identity. A discourse construction such as, "I was cleaning. I was the only one. I asked for help" is the representation of a message filtered by an interpreter. The meanings encoded by deaf people in a signed language message, and the interpreted messages and meanings constructed and voiced by interpreters (and then noted by journalists) are distinct. The discourse constructions made by interpreters, however, contribute to the identity formation of Deaf people in mainstream media. How can a reader distinguish between a message that may bring into question the Deaf individual's intelligence level and the quality of the interpretation? Another example, taken from the above quote, is "He said a bad word…I wasn't angry". Did the deaf individual say "He said a bad word" or did he say *the* word and the interpreter filtered and constructed the message differently because of his or her comfort level? These examples connect to some of the responses obtained during the interviews.

Three out of the three Deaf individuals interviewed expressed their frustration of frequently being incorrectly represented by interpreters and journalists in media. They commented that at times the words and tone used in their representation were not reflective of their intended message, therefore their identity. One interviewee recalled their experience

reading a published newspaper article after conducting an interview with a journalist through an interpreter:

> I had never said those comments. It was way off base. They used words that I would have never used myself. The tone was clearly the interpreter's tone. Not mine. (Interview 5)

Another Deaf interviewee stated:

> The biggest trend [the journalists] would always be their focus. Their stories' main focus was always coming from a perspective that I was broken. (Interview 6)

Another pattern observed by people regarding deaf people in the newspaper is the labeling of 'deaf' people as being broken.

> I am annoyed with how they look at us as broken and in need of being fixed…just take any article that uses the word 'impaired'. That very word means something that is 'broken'. (Interview 6)

Another individual expressed the similar concern:

> [deaf people] are viewed as deficits, lacking something that needs to be fixed. (Interview 3)

More specifically, from the interviews, deaf children in media were said to be most frequently referred to as being broken. The focus of some articles was on the deaf child's abilities to use his or her residual hearing and cochlear implant. These articles show how:

> They [Deaf children] are brilliantly overcoming their deafness and they are learning to speak or they become musicians and miraculously they can hear music when they are deaf, or miraculously they can speak. (Interview 2)

Data collected from the newspaper articles also shows links between deaf children and the concept of being broken. The newspaper below quoted a father of two children with cochlear implants to say:

> Having just one implant is like giving a double amputee just one prosthetic leg, or giving someone eyeglasses for one eye – it's the difference between just getting by and actually thriving", the father goes on to say that "With the right supports,

> children can thrive. Marc [the son] loves music, plays recorder and is learning guitar. Sometimes he gets so busy having conversations, you wish he would take a breath for a moment. (Article 5)

The father links the aid for deafness, the implant, to the aid for an amputee, a prosthetic limb. He also provides examples of his son's past-time activities which are: music, playing recorder, learning guitar, and having spoken conversations.

Pattern 2: A Pattern in History

Five out of the six interviews and three of the eleven Letters to the Editor linked the practice of using 'deaf' in a negative metaphor to other negative metaphors involving other minority groups throughout history.

> You can see that there have been other instances of metaphors about groups that are now not used because they go against common principles. Things about many minority groups. (Interview 2)

Another individual stated:

> Let's take the terms Negroes and Nigger for example. Both of those terms are no longer used. To me the metaphor 'fall on deaf ears' is like if we were to use the terms Negroes and Nigger today. To use those terms would be very rude and offensive. (Interview 1)

According to another individual's letter to the editor:

> Let's imagine the phrase changed to "falling on a woman's ears". Would that not cry out discrimination, oppression and defilement? (Interview 3)

While another letter to the editor stated:

> If you replaced the words "deaf" and "hearing loss" with "Jewish", "Chinese", "Hispanic", "a woman"…these statements would be defamatory and outrageous. (Interview 1)

There also was a link between comparing deaf metaphor to other minority group metaphors and the desire to remove the use of these metaphors from current literary practice. For example one letter to the editor stated:

> All the Deaf want is to let hurtful metaphors that reinforce outmoded stereotypes take their rightful place in the dustbin of history. That is the same bin that holds all the other negative metaphors based on race, ethnicity, language, and religion.

Pattern 3: The WOW Factor

The third observable pattern found in newspapers is that 'deaf' people are being referred to as a "WOW factor." One interviewee explained that the newspaper article's main focus of its story was always coming from a perspective that the deaf individual was broken, and from that would express shock, amazement and excitement about what the deaf individual was doing.

> The biggest trend would always be their focus. Their stories main focus is always coming from the perspective that I was broken. For example, their article would say something to the effect of oh wow! Imagine what that deaf person can do! (Interview 6)

Another interviewee puts it as follows:

> The story itself is the deafness. (Interview 3)

Pattern 4: Sign Language is a Coded System for Spoken Language

Throughout the interviews, individuals expressed that in mainstream newspapers sign language appears to be predominantly reported as a backup method of communication.

> Deaf culture as well as Sign Language is usually reported on as a back up method. Like it is something to do when all other options fail. It is something that is cool but not really functional. (Interview 3)

According to non-deaf members of the majority group, Sign Language is referred to as a "tactile signing system" and listed along with other communication systems such as Braille, communication boards or high tech systems.

> Specially trained interveners act as their eyes and ears, helping them communicate in whatever way works for them. That may mean tactile signing systems, Braille, communication boards or high-tech systems. (Article 51)

In another quote from a newspaper article:

> To accommodate an audience with all forms of disabilities, the meeting will offer sign-language interpretation, real-time captioning, assistive listening devices, deaf-blind intervening services and attendant services. (Article 103)

This article lists Sign Language interpretation with other assistive tools and support personal such as real-time captioning, assistive listening devices, deaf-blind intervening and attendant services.

In a newspaper article, the following quote was made against the opening of a college for the Deaf in Canada:

> But this is a good news story, because new technologies mean fewer children need the intensive support of American Sign Language to be integrated into a normal setting. (Article 57)

The quote above refers to American Sign Language as an "intensive support."

In each of these cases, Sign Language was located in amongst a range of support systems and referred to as an intensive support tool for deaf children. From the same article, however, the representative from a Deaf organization referred to American Sign Language as its "official language."

Pattern 5: Non-Deaf People Are the authorities on Deaf Related Issues

In addition to observing message patterns, the quoting patterns were counted and examined as well. According to the interviews and the letters to the editor, non-Deaf or hearing people are approached more readily to comment on behalf of Deaf people and on Deaf related issues. This practice is viewed as paternalistic and inappropriate. According to one interviewee:

> In the flash of paternalism, she spoke to the father of a 21 year old deaf-blind person to get the received wisdom. Why not let the 21 year old adult speak for himself? (Interview 2)

And again, another individual expressed the same concern in his or her interview:

> They consulted a father of someone who is deaf and blind; he is not a deaf and blind individual himself. Who gave him the right to then speak on behalf of us? On behalf of Deaf people? We do not like it when hearing people step in and pretend that they represent our opinions and our views. It's just disturbingly not appropriate. (Interview 5)

Some individuals interviewed shared firsthand experience of this practice. One Deaf individual recollects his or her experience with the media:

> During my time as a lawyer the mainstream media would never ask me questions about anything…the media crowd was always around other hearing people, and not me. (Interview 6)

This experience was further supported by another Deaf individual interviewed who stated:

> Typically…you will notice that in their articles...they never directly ask deaf people for their comments on the issue**.** (Interview 1)

Another interviewee commented on the disappointment felt from the omission of deaf people being consulted on long standing Deaf community advocacy issues.

> I was thrilled to learn there was even an article about captioning, but when I read it I was so utterly disappointed [the author] had only spoken with one hearing person when there were dozens of deaf people that had been involved in the captioning advocacy issue for the past 40 years! It was so unbelievable and so incredibly disappointing. (Interview 5)

Pattern 6: The Overall Feeling or Mood On the Issue is Frustrated

For both the letters to the editor and the interviews, the emotive terms used were then extracted from the discourse. A list of the emotive terms used in the letters to the editor were: insensitive, pathetic, worn-out, inaccurate, insulting, and stupid. Some emotive terms

used in the interviews were: scared, apathetic, frustrated, discouraged, powerless, completely infuriated, and irritated.

An overall sense of frustration was a recurring theme throughout the interviews. Individuals remarked how they have received little to no response or acknowledgement from the newspapers in regard to their letters to the editor challenging the use of 'deaf' and other related 'deaf' issues.

> I was honestly surprised to even get a response…I had actually thought to myself is it worth sending another letter since they haven't replied to my last two attempts. I hadn't gotten a response from the other two complaints I sent in, nor were they ever published. (Interview 6)

From their perspective, it was frustrating to see little to no changes over the years as a result of their efforts. As well, another common emotion was frustration with the paper's unresponsiveness to the letters and the Star's overall electronic letter to the editor submission process. During an interview, one individual communicated hesitancy to write another letter to the editor because past experience evoked little to no response. If there is a response, it is typically written in a challenging or argumentative tone.

> English's claim that she had "never" received a complaint about the Star's use of the term before is false. I have personally sent two emails on the subject to the editor in 2007. I sent a third to the sports editor, who actually responded, though in much the same way English did**.** (Interview 5)

It was also mentioned that when they did receive a response, it was argumentative and confrontational. One individual discussed the newspaper's response:

> [What the newspaper is saying is] it's a traditional use of that phrase and there has been no complaints; therefore, it's an acceptable use of that phrase that does not need to be changed. I mean what can one say against that? (Interview 6)

In terms of the overall electronic letter to the editor submission process, an individual expressed concerns about the process, and when re-reading their published letter that sections of their original letter was removed. Frederick explained his experience with this process.

> The system is very limiting because when you communicate to the newspaper you must send your letter through their website. They do not permit you to CC anyone.

> They do not allow that. As well, they do not send you back a copy of what it is you wrote to them. So I never had a copy of what I wrote….I know that one or two of my paragraphs were cut and not printed, but I don't have a copy that I can show you.

Frederick expressed concern that because there is a loss of power in being able to control how the content of your letter gets used and published, he is unable to distribute his letter readily amongst colleagues in his network, and he is unable to keep an original copy of the letter himself. Dorothy also commented from her experience that:

> There was a section at the end of my letter that had been removed. I remember at least one other paragraph that I had in my original that is not here. (Interview 6)

Another emotive theme identified from the interviews was the feeling that to challenge representations in media is pointless.

> They [Deaf people] feel that it's pointless to pick another battle, such as this one. They believe there are other important battles such as getting a job, and living life, and do not want to add another one to their plate. But what they don't realize is that these terms and expressions are reflective of what the public thinks! They don't see that fact that this has a huge impact on the public's view of deaf people. (Interview 1)

And the third and final emotive theme was the fear. Abraham, Barbara and Frederick each described the challenging experience of fear.

> They [Deaf people and allies] are also afraid to speak out for fear of the negative consequences that they will find themselves in if they do. So they avoid that altogether. (Abraham)

> Letters were published that were ad hominem and represented a personal attack on me and my family as well. (Barbara)

> One individual shared with the network that he had suffered personal abuse from a newspaper when she/he [degendered for confidentiality] had spoken up on another similar issue and was not able to get involved again in this case. (Frederick)

Barbara goes on to mention that there is a lot of fear when one challenges people and institutions of authority in their use of terminology, language and discourse. She goes on to say that when one takes that action a real threat would develop.

> When you fool around at that level you are fooling around with some very serious people. It's one thing to get up and say that the deaf are unemployed. Nobody cares. But when you say that high up people are using language that demeans people with a disability you are shaking the whole establishment and the whole literary establishment comes into question…It's not just saying that sign language is a great thing for deaf people. This is serious. We are talking about current culture and current values and beliefs and it's expressed in language, and if you touch that, boy oh boy! (Barbara)

Discussion

The findings from this discourse analysis show that the pathological construction of Deaf identity was dominating newspaper articles. Indeed, out of the two dominant paradigms, the pathological paradigm was articulated more frequently in the newspapers than the socio-constructivist. Here, we witness the process of naturalization. The concept of 'Deaf identity' and terms such as 'deaf' and 'sign language' remained linked to the pathological discourse. We would like to bring back the concept of articulation and look at these linkages as arbitrary connections between different elements that when connected form a particular unity. This pathological linkage fixes 'Deaf' identity to a meaning of disability, and this meaning becomes naturalized. With disability as the overarching frame of reference of 'Deaf identity', we see the emergence of medical concepts creating a universe of meaning i.e. disability, impairment, and handicap. Indeed, this pathological conceptualization would legitimate that a deaf person or deaf child is disabled, in an essential sense, and must have several interventions, such as communication systems and technological inventions, to function successfully in society. This conceptualization produces a universe of meaning in mainstream discourse regarding deaf people, deaf children and Sign Language. Deaf children are linked to technological interventions; Non-deaf people are labeled as miracle workers; Deaf people are unable to communicate and need, but lack, others to speak for

them; and the concept of Sign Language is linked to accessibility and is seen as an intensive support strategy, or a coded system for communication.

The universe of meanings between the pathological and socio-constructivist paradigm (i.e. linguistic minority and Deaf ethnicity) is observably different. In a quote Jan Servaes (1997) states:

> Ideologies impact and qualify subjects by expressing to them, relating them to, and making them recognize; (a) what exists and what does not exist (i.e. a sense of identity); (b) what is good and bad (i.e. normalization); and (c) what is possible and impossible (i.e. a logic of conservation versus a logic of change). (p. 84)

We observe from a pathological paradigm that the cultural practice of capitalizing the term Deaf does not exist. From this perspective, technological interventions and using Sign Language as a support system for communication do exist and are good practices that have been normalized.

Pathological narratives impact various social processes. Behaviours crystallize and become socially accepted and normalized. Evidence of one visible behaviour exists in the practice of capitalizing the term "Deaf." In the letters to the editor, the cultural practice of capitalizing the term Deaf occurred sixteen times; however, the practice was absent from mainstream newspaper discourse. Therefore, depending on the paradigm and its accompanying discursive practices, a different sense of identity of Deaf people would possibly emerge.

Pathological narratives normalize ideals. One ideal is the endorsement of technological interventions for deaf children. This is seen in a quote from the non-deaf leader of the new *Alliance for Children Who are Hearing and Deaf*, **"**With the implants' help, the deaf learn to listen, speak and take their place in mainstream classrooms". This quote exemplifies the ideal of mainstream pathological discourse because it links Deaf people to technological apparatuses. Furthermore, such a quote implies that to be part of the mainstream society one has to be able to listen and to speak.

Words, Phrases and a Cultural Gap

There observably are different meanings linked to concepts such as 'Deaf' and 'sign language.' There also exists a difference in meanings of metaphors such as "tone-deaf" and

"dialogue of the deaf," etc. Again, to bring back the concept of articulation, these arbitrary linkages, or connections, are not fixed. They can and do change over time. In this case, we understand the message from Deaf community leaders and allies to be: to use the term 'deaf' in a negative metaphor is a practice of discrimination against Deaf people. We also understand the message from mainstream newspaper editor to say: the use of the term 'deaf' in a metaphor is a common and acceptable literary practice and is not intended to be discriminatory. This difference in perspective presents a critical point of departure and is a space of an identity struggle. Critical questions arise in this space. How does this identity struggle impact the lived experiences of Deaf people? And, who decides what is considered acts of discrimination or acceptable literary practice?

Before one can discuss if writing the metaphor "fall on deaf ears" is a practice of discrimination, one must first agree on the meaning of "Deaf." If to one group, the concept of 'Deaf' is not regarded as a cultural, linguistic or ethnic minority but as a disability based on the lack of the ability to hear, then the literary use of the term is accurate. What becomes problematic is the observable power mainstream media has to represent 'Deaf identity' from a pathological perspective and not from a socio-constructivist perspective. There is an invisibility and 'termlessness' to the concept of 'Deaf' being a cultural power in mainstream news and mainstream discourse. Cornel West (1993b) links the concept of 'namelessness' to the lack of power a group has to communicating their complex identity to themselves and to others and being limited to a particular context of the stereotypes and ideologies established by Others. West (1993b) writes:

> The modern Black diaspora…can be understood as the condition of relative lack of Black power to present themselves to themselves and others as complex human beings, and thereby to context the bombardment of negative, degrading stereotypes put forward by White supremacist ideologies. (p. 210)

One can, from this conceptualization of a termlessness Black diaspora, relate to the "voiceless" representation of Deaf people by themselves to themselves and others as complex human beings. Data analyzed for this research shows evidence of this lack of power to self-representation. Indeed Deaf people to Deaf people lack to represent themselves as complex human beings. The newspaper's response to the Deaf community's Letters to the Editor was entitled "Standing by the tools of our craft," which argued that the metaphor "fall

on deaf ears" is an acceptable literary practice and consulted several authorities. However, the solicited authorities were all representatives of non-Deaf individuals and groups; the senior editors of the newspaper, the newspaper's style committee, the North American Association of News, the newspapers ombudsman, the Canadian Oxford Dictionary, and the hearing father of a 21year old deaf child. One possible effect this ideological context has on the identity construction of Deaf people is seen in Dorothy's response to the editor. She wrote, "My parent's attitudes were also influenced by society and I used to not mind these kinds of labels [hearing impaired, dumb] at all." Discursively, we may argue that Dorothy's understanding of her parents' attitudes is reflective to a systemic influence of pathological ideologies in mainstream society. These pathological ideologies influence the views and opinions of non-deaf parents about their deaf children. This limited view, in turn, may influence the identity formation of the deaf child in a non-deaf family/society.

A Deconstruction of Texts: Topics and Issues Addressed and Neglected

Even if a word is written in the same language, the cultural code of that word can be understood very differently. This was observed frequently in the use of the term 'sign language.' We link this observation to Derrida's work on knowledge structures, Slack's research on the theory of articulation, and Foucault's analysis on the relationship between knowledge and power.

Derrida's theory of deconstruction suggests that the knowledge always emerges as the form of structures that is orientated around a particular reference point. It is this reference point that seems to organize the information forming particular discourse. In this research, the pathologic and cultural-linguistic may symbolize Derrida's point of reference. Indeed, these two referents indicate the structure of knowledge about deaf people's identity. Slack cited Hall to say; an articulation, as stated in this literature review, is an arbitrary connection between different elements that form a particular unity under particular conditions (Slack, 1996). In this research, we observe that shared written words (i.e. 'deaf' and 'sign language') are linked to different meanings depending on which knowledge structure it is presented in. In a pathologic knowledge structure, the term 'deaf' is related to a dis-function and the

inability to hear, and the term 'sign language' is linked to being a visual tool for the deaf to communicate. In a linguistic minority knowledge structure, as evidenced in both the letters to the editors and the interviews, the term 'deaf' and 'sign language' are articulated in a different way. The term 'deaf' is used in relation to the experiences of other cultures, and ethnic minority groups. And, the term 'sign language' is linked to being a complex minority language and to other minority languages, or language groups.
In the next section we observe: differences between the Deaf individual's response and the reporter's paraphrase and direct quoting of his or her response.

In regards to the journalistic and editing constraints, the newspaper editor's quotes and paraphrases were compared to the source text, the original letter to the editor. Several non-equivalent observations were made in the comparison regarding writing practice, overall concern, linking of narrative, and target of discrimination (see Table 5). Several discursive elements in the original letter of the editor were represented in a non-equivalent way. The term 'Deaf' was decapitalized and written as 'deaf'. The term and concept of 'audism' (discrimination against Deaf people) was replaced with the term and concept of 'ableism' (discrimination based on a persons abilities). This leads us to understand the procedures of new forms of meaning productions. In this sense, one could observe four procedures at work: First, the original capitalization practice of Deaf was de-capitalized to deaf; second, the original concern of defamation was categorized as censorship; third, the original links made to other minority groups were replaced with links to other disability metaphors; and fourth, the original concern that the newspaper's practice was a form of discrimination called "Audism," discrimination against deaf people, was re-written as "ableism," a discrimination based on a person's ability. Paying attention to the equivalence of linguistic signs (e.g. words and phrases) is important because social discourse is a place where social identity is shaped. Social discourse is the place where race, disability, gender, and deafness (and many other categories of identity formation) take on their meaning.

De Saussure's semiotic analysis (e.g., the articulation between a sign, its signifier and signified) becomes very helpful in understanding the denotative and connotative level of meaning implied on this object of research. Following de Saussure's model, the signifier would be, in written English, the symbol "S-I-G-N L-A-N-G-U-A-G-E," the signified would be the image of two individuals gesturing to one another in conversation, the sign(s),

however, observable in mainstream newspapers, are different. As found in mainstream newspaper discourse, there are two denotative meanings of the symbol 'sign language'; (1) a communication tool to help deaf people understand spoken language; and (2) a language. Predominant references to sign language are in regard to services and other tools for communication: sign language interpretation, communication systems (i.e. Braille, communication boards, ramps and attendant services), and accessibility (i.e. real-time captioning and assistive listening devices). Non- Deaf authorities were found predominantly to be conceptualizing sign language as a tool for communication in media. The connotative meaning, however, is: Deaf people do not have the ability to communicate normally and sign language is an object of adaptation similar to a prosthetic limb and a wheel chair ramp. A less frequent conceptualization found in mainstream newspaper discourse is: sign language is a language. This second denotative meaning appeared twice in the data. Sign language was referred to once as a Deaf organizations' "official language" and again in connection to the sign language "fluency" of teachers of the deaf. The term fluency is used in reference to one's ability in a language, more so than one's skill level in a communication tool. These latter conceptualizations were made by Deaf authorities. The connotative meaning could be: Deaf people take pride in their official language, sign language, and expect professionals working with deaf people to respect it as a language enough to be fluent. This analysis of the denotative and connotative meanings of "sign language" found in media exemplifies how, although there is one phrase "sign language" or "American Sign Language", there exists plural meanings or distinct meanings. The following example highlights how the term 'sign language' is connected to both a cultural-linguistic and a pathological knowledge structure. One article presented a debate regarding the issue of Deaf education. The question was, Should a Deaf college be opened in Canada or should Deaf students remain in a mainstream educational format and attend hearing colleges? Several authorities were quoted, including Jim Roots the executive director of the Canadian Association of the Deaf, an organization that "represents 300,000 deaf Canadians and [which] uses American Sign Language as its official language" (Article 57). Mr. Roots commented, "For too long, Canada's deaf students have had no choice but to travel to the United States for *full sign language* campuses"[italics added]. Mr. Roots' use of the term 'full sign language' denotatively can mean everyone on campus uses sign language; however, the connotative

meaning can possibly mean when deaf students are in a "full sign language" environment this allows them full access to information and unlimited opportunities for self expression. In another quote, taken from the same article, the superintendent of the Toronto District School Board advocates for deaf students to remain in mainstream colleges by saying, **"**This is a good news story [the phasing out of schools for the deaf]…new technologies mean fewer children need the intensive support of American Sign Language to be integrated into a normal setting." Ms. Dickinson's quotes describe 'American Sign Language' as an 'intensive support system' and indicate that 'new technologies' are providing deaf people a substitute for sign language. Following the last two quotes, one may observe that the same printed word in the same article and on the same subject matter can be connected to two different knowledge structures: the pathological in the last case, and the cultural in the first case.

In another article, the sign language is referred to in the same sentence as being a Braille translation: "In a report released Tuesday, the Ontario Human Rights Commission said costs such as sign-language interpreting and Braille translation should be exempt" (Article 103). In this sentence the concepts of sign language and Braille are linked together. Sign language and Braille, however, are not naturally connected.

> *Instead* of a doorbell, Kelliher and her housemates have pagers that vibrate when someone comes to visit. *Instead* of an alarm clock, they have beds that gently shake them awake. Specially trained intervenors act as their eyes and ears, helping *them* communicate in whatever way works best for them. That may mean tactile signing systems, Braille, communication boards or high-tech systems.
> (Article 51) [italics added]

In this example, 'tactile signing systems' are referred to and linked in discourse to other communication systems and technologies such as Braille, communication board and high-tech systems. One interesting observation with this quote is the repetition of the term "instead" and the use of the term "them." The above quote shows the practices of survival of one Deaf woman with the normalized practices of society. While this binary representation may attempt to fix and naturalize the meaning of this Deaf woman's communication system, it does allow us to argue that the boundary between what is normal or not, who belongs, and who is the 'Other' is unavoidably discursive. One common element that these various terms

have ('sign language', 'tactile signing systems', 'Braille' and other communication systems) is their symbolic markings of difference. The notion of difference provides a particular lens to define identity. Identities are defined through the use of symbols to show what it is and, more often than not, what it is not (Woodward, 1997). These signifiers of difference display markings of the boundaries between what is normal/not normal, insider/outsider, and who is "us" vs. who is "them." These markings of difference are observable in discourse.

In mainstream newspapers, both cultural and pathological discourses are present at times. The pathological discourses, however, occur more frequently in mainstream discourse and are held by many professionals whose decisions affect the everyday experiences of Deaf people. This observation readily connects several of our research questions: What words and phrases do reporters use to describe Deaf people? And, what words and phrases do Deaf people use to describe Deaf people?

How are Individuals Portrayed: The Discourse of Colonialism

In Homi Bhabha's (1990) terms master narratives established in the 18th and 19th centuries provide the underpinnings of modern-day rationality and reasoning. In addition to looking at these master narratives, Michel Foucault stresses the importance of identifying how these narratives are embodied into "discursive practices in specific institutional settings to regulate the conduct of others" (Hall, 1997, p. 47). In addition, to understand one aspect of how discourses are embodied into institutional settings, one needs to examine the concept of "truth." Master narratives are not "true" in the absolute sense, but they have the power to make themselves true. This is what Foucault terms a "regime of truth." These narratives become true because they have an authoritative and coordinated position of power that is supported by knowledge, discourses, institutions, regulations, and practices. The ways in which the pathological and socio-constructivist paradigms construct the knowledge about Deaf people seem to fit with both Bhabha's understanding of 'master narratives' and Foucault's 'regimes of truth.'

For Foucault, a "regime of truth" is always the product of multiple forms of constraints, or that of discursive procedures which structure the "truth." In this analysis of newspaper articles, journalistic and editing constraints could indeed signify these

Foucaultian procedures of meaning production. Paying attention to the equivalence of linguistic signs, such as words and phrases, is important because social discourse is a place where social identity is forged. It is the place where race, disability, gender, and deafness (an many other categories) take on their meaning. To exemplify this further, again we will look at non-equivalent signs (see Table 7). Non-equivalent signs exemplify the uneven forces of cultural representation in regard to Deaf identity in mainstream media discourse. The original socio-constructivist representation of Deaf identity was re-written by the newspaper editor with pathological frames of reference. The colonial aspect, found and exemplified in this case, shows the attempts by Deaf people to claim back their power to their representation and self-identity formation. It is less about *that* the culturally Deaf choose to be identified with a capital 'D' but more about *why* they choose it. It is a movement, from the margins, to claim back their "voice" and to state how they want to be identified and thus defined in society.

This example also brings us back to Gramsci's notion of hegemony. To Gramsci, hegemony is the struggle non-dominant groups have in gaining power. The non-dominant group's interests are articulated by the dominant cultural group, and members of the non-dominant group struggle to achieve a position of power based on their own interests, practices, and ideologies. In the one example above, the socio-constructivist discourse from the original letter to the editor was not represented in the dominant cultural group's re-articulation of 'Deaf identity.' This observation provides a basis for future research in a possible history of discrimination and misrepresentation of Deaf people in mainstream media discourse. The non-equivalent examples display incompatible systems of signification. The non-dominant group, in this case Deaf people, struggle in positioning socio-constructivist (i.e. cultural, linguistic and ethnic) discourses in positions of power in mainstream media.

In addition to journalistic and editing practices, another observable place where Deaf people can struggle for power is in the representations created by sign language interpreters. In the interviews, several Deaf participants expressed their frustration in being misquoted by journalists and misrepresented by interpreters. The experience of being misquoted by journalists can be common; however, for Deaf people this becomes particularly problematic because their messages are often times filtered by Sign Language interpreters. There is also an authoritative status given to the representations of Deaf people made by journalists and

interpreters, members of the dominant cultural group. The interpreter's message is a representation of the Deaf individual's original intended message. When Deaf people, whose first language is Sign Language, are interviewed by a mainstream media journalist, their thoughts, ideas, emotions, knowledge structures, and intelligence are represented by a third party, the Sign Language interpreter. The interpreter is a filter. And, in most cases when Deaf people interact with the mainstream society or media, the interpreter is also not Deaf. Therefore, the "voices" of Deaf people are being reconstructed and represented by members of the dominant cultural group. Even with the most skilled and ethical interpreter, nonetheless, the word choice, tone, and affect are influenced by the interpreter's own personality, knowledge structures, opinions, and skill. Interpreters are given the authoritative status of producers of message equivalents, versus producers of message representations. We believe this difference is relevant when discussing Deaf people and colonial discourse. Homi Bhabha (1990) in an article title, The Other Question, wrote,

> The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction. (p. 75)

We observe that the representation of Deaf identity, through the constraints of journalism and interpreting practices, is similar to the colonized and construed practice of colonized discourse. The eleven articles that make specific reference to Sign Language, Sign Language Interpreters and Intervenors in several ways that could lead to admit that there is a production of colonized discourse which, explicitly or implicitly, then to degrade Deaf identity. The following are three newspaper articles that show the emergence of such colonial construed discourse:

> We see that the interpreters are represented as extensions of the Deaf individuals physical body as they "act as their eyes and ears" so that Deaf individuals can reach their full potential. (Article 51)

Two quotes exemplify the fact that interpreters are represented as enabling Deaf individuals to communicate: (a) "…[the government] must provide free sign language Interpretation services *to enable deaf patients who use sign language to communicate* with

those giving them medical care." (Article 69) and (b) "Elections always bring a raft of complaints…*from [Deaf] constituents who can't communicate* with the candidates in their ridings…because they do not have sign language interpreters available" (Article 103).

Interpreters are also seen as translators of coded messages, "…with the help of a sign language interpreter I put my questions to [the Deaf person], she read the interpreter's signs, and the interpreter relayed his replies to me. It was fun, actually." (Article 98)

The first implied meaning of this quote is that Deaf people could only reach their full potential through the help of interpreters and intervenors. The second is that Deaf people have a communication barrier; they use Sign Language. Using Sign Language poses a barrier to communication and Sign Language interpreters remove that barrier. And last, Sign Language is a coded system, on par with Morse code, Braille, flag language etc. Sign Language interpreters are skilled at decoding, encoding, and relaying signed messages.

The latter observation we find is systemic of two elements: first, Sign Language predominantly being represented in mainstream discourse as a coded system for communication, and, second, the pedagogical conceptualization of interpreters as producers of equivalent messages versus producers of message representations. Future research in this area could look at the impacts that the representation of Sign Language as a coded system has on the services delivery and pedagogical approaches to language development and Deaf children. As well, future research could look at the sign language interpreter's role and the current construction to produce "equivalent messages." This research points to the benefits of re-constructing the emphasis "representations" versus "equivalency." This reconstruction could allow for a deeper awareness of sign language interpreters as filters and members of the dominant cultural group and for further discussion of the impact, or footprint, this has on the communicating participants, message, relationships, and overall interpreted interaction.

Making Sense of Representations: Political Correctness or Site of Resistance

Dorothy expressed in her interview that the expression 'deaf and dumb' was once a widely acceptable label for deaf people. Dorothy stated: "You would see the phrase [deaf

and dumb] used in the media repeatedly. However if you look now, it appears to have fallen out of favour to the point where I would say it's just about obsolete now." In this discourse analysis the term 'deaf and dumb' was not found. According to several other interviews, the term 'hearing impaired' is an unfavourable term used to identify Deaf people; however, according to the interviews, the term was not always contested by the Deaf community. Dorothy commented that the term 'hearing impaired' was once frequently used and an acceptable term however, "…once we got a full understanding of the true meaning behind the word we wanted it to be disused immediately." Abraham, in his interview, mentioned the term being used by parents of deaf children in newspaper articles. Abraham comments that using the term is a linguistic strategy for parents to avoid overtly identifying their child as deaf. Abraham comments that this term "creates a false image about a deaf person's lived experience." I observe that this term, among others, is connected in a complex discussion regarding political correctness.

A struggle regarding what is perceived as politically correct language was observed on multiple occasions in this research. English, the Toronto Star's newspaper editor, replied to the letters to the editor which asked to remove the use of "fall on deaf ears" by saying, **"**Where would this censorship in the name of political correctness stop?" The Deaf community's attempts to remove metaphors, such as "fall on deaf ears," were perceived to be acts of censorship and political correctness. From reading this quote, these acts are suggested to lead down a slippery slope that potentially threatens societies right to the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press. The interviewees mentioned that they observed similar reactions from various other newspapers. The interviewees shared that their attempts to educate the newspaper in regard to what they felt was advice in appropriate and cultural accurate use of language were often met with resistance from the newspaper. One interviewee said:

> My goal was to educate the newspaper that this kind of language [fall on deaf ears] is not acceptable. And their response to me was that they couldn't find any previous complaints on this particular issue. (Interview 1)

Another interviewee stated:

> The first response I usually get [from the media] is that I don't understand what a metaphor is. They are very literary and they always seem to take a very

> condescending view about anybody that they think of as involved in a special interest group. That somehow or another they are not intelligent or literary or they do not understand these literary devices. (Interview 2)

And another interviewee recalled:

> I was honestly surprised to even get a response…I hadn't gotten a response from the other two complaints I sent in, nor were they ever published. (Interview 5)

Are the attempts to remove metaphors that use the term 'deaf' in a negative capacity overindulging practices of political correctness?

The interviewees commented on their response to this claim. Ethan describes the ambivalence of political correctness. He stated, "I would say if that's the case then you would have to say I am guilty, but that is only because there is a fairly broad blanket that one can put over on what's politically correct." Dorothy explained her reaction when the newspaper claimed that her letters were just another exercise in political correctness:

> Claiming that the Deaf are calling for censorship in the name of political correctness is a cheap shot. All the Deaf want is to let hurtful metaphors that reinforce outmoded stereotypes take their rightful place in the dustbin of history. That is the same bin that holds all the other negative metaphors based on race, ethnicity, language and religion.

Dorothy writes that her concern is not about censorship but about social justice. She goes on to reinforce an observable paradox,

> They [the newspapers] are the ones that are using the claim of politically correctness paradoxically to dismiss your argument. Let's go back, does that mean when we moved away from sexist language that was an exercise of political correctness?

The observable ambivalence in what constitutes political correctness stimulates the questions, what determines what is political correctness versus discrimination? And, where is this line drawn, and by whom?

There is a dynamic interaction between ideology, discourse, knowledge, understanding, and social advocacy. There is also evidence that discourse shifts over time and this shifting can be thought of as a discourse history. This discourse history includes

contested colonialized discourses about a non-dominant group and its efforts to regain power and control over the various terms, phrases, and narratives that have been normalized. For victims of colonialism, their cultural practices need also to include practices of resistance (Bhabha, 2000). These practices of resistance occupy, as bell hooks (1990) would call it, a space of "radical openness," a space for themselves and for their discourses.

The Deaf people interviewed compared their struggle for this space with the space created by other colonized minority groups, such as the Inuit, Black, and Jewish communities and women. These groups model identity struggles, sites of resistance, various human experiences and pathways in various re-articulation processes. Dorothy commented, "You can see that there have been other instances of metaphors about [minority] groups that are now not used because they go against common principles." Crystal compared the metaphor use of "fall on deaf ears" to the metaphor "Jewed him down." Crystal noted, **"**If you understand where the root of that word comes from it is not ok to say it. You would never see it in the newspaper these days. There is no way. There would be a huge uprising." Abraham draws attention to the shifting of discourse in use of the term 'Negro.' Abraham stated, "...like the term Negro and Nigger. Both of those terms are no longer used. To me the metaphor 'fall on deaf ears' is like if we were to use the term Negro or Nigger today. To use that term is very rude and offensive." And, Dorothy relates the experiences and discourse history of Deaf people to that of woman by saying, "What they [women and the Deaf] have in common is the fact that they were misunderstood, stereotyped and discriminated against."

Although discourse is not static and does appear to shift over time the question still remains, at what point and at which boundary does political correctness become discrimination?

This research finds that mainstream newspaper discourse predominantly constructs 'Deaf' identity, when using related terms such as deaf people, deaf children, technology, interpreters and Sign Language, from a pathological paradigm. A dominant pathological representation of Deaf identity is problematic in its earmarking of difference. Following Bhabha (1990) it is important to not only focus on the 'signs and designs' of social authority through an analysis of difference but to push those boundaries to their colonial periphery (p. 71). That is, it is necessary to push the boundaries of pathological discourse in mainstream

newspaper to their colonial periphery and important to identify cultural gaps between dominant and non-dominant cultural groups. It is, however, according to Bhabha (1990) "the construction of the colonial subject in discourse, and the exercise of colonial power through discourse demands an articulation of forms of difference (p. 72). This to mean it is important to see how the various forms of difference have and been constructed by colonial powers and how that power is exercised through these discourses.

From this research, what can be explored next in future research can be the question – in what space is Deaf cultural discourse located and by whom? In the design of this research, the conceptual construct was based on the assumption that Deaf cultural discourse comes from d/Deaf people. However, as seen from this research, the assumption that non-Deaf (i.e. hearing) discourses would be predominantly pathological and that d/Deaf people's discourse would be predominantly socio-constructivist in their construction is problematic and unsupported. Although the quotation patterns from newspaper data appears to support this assumption, when you look deeper at the assumption it is actually very contradicting. It is problematic to link identity solely at a biological level. This work supports the idea that identity is constructed at a discourse level. As an example, the newspaper discourse often did not mention if the authority interviewed was deaf or hearing. Therefore, their biological identity was left unknown. It was their text alone, the vocabulary used, their articulation/connection of concepts that lead to construct a particular pathological or socio-constructivist message. Therefore, this finding challenges the assumption that the biological identity of an individual can predict their discourse paradigmatic location. In other words, this work supports that the representation of Deaf identity is found in discourse and is not in some way linked, in some essential way, to one's Deaf or hearing identity. Therefore d/Deaf people in discourse can represent 'Deaf identity' as a pathological construct as can non-Deaf (i.e Hearing) individuals. The likewise is true for socio-constructivist discourses. Representation transcends an individual's biological identity. This observation can be linked to Bhabha's notes on stereotypes. Stereotypes are a way of taking knowledge and power to challenge deterministic ways of understanding the relationship between discourse and politics. It also questions and challenges the meaning of oppression and discrimination. Deaf identity is far more complex to only be looked at on a biological level alone. The dominant mainstream discourse, however, represents Deaf identity from a pathological paradigm

which is not different from a biological referent. To align this further with Cultural Studies, d/Deaf or hearing individuals who hold the same cultural codes can have similar conceptual maps in terms of their understanding of Deaf identity. Sharing cultural codes enables individuals to encode and decode cultural messages similarly. Alternatively, d/Deaf or hearing individuals who do not share the same cultural codes will not and will produce different conceptual maps. This observation is supported by Jacques Derrida's theory of identity examined in the literature review. Derrida (1993) describes the existence of "multiple" identity constructs occurring simultaneously for any one particular identity group formation. This would mean there may exist various conceptual maps, shared meanings, and representations for 'Deaf identity' and exists several 'Deaf identity' group formations. What is of less importance is identifying which conceptual map is the 'truth.' What is of more importance is identifying how the conceptual maps construct the subject, in this case d/Deaf people. Dorothy, in her interview, mentioned that her 'Deaf identity' was heavily influenced by her non-Deaf parents. She writes, "My parents attitudes were also influenced by society and I used to not mind these kind of labels [Dumb] at all. "Dorothy explains that her views of herself were influenced by her non-Deaf parents' views, attitudes, and beliefs. She also explains that her parents' views were influenced by non-Deaf societies' articulations of 'Deaf identity'. The above identity circuit links back to Stuart Hall's Circuit of Culture (1997). According to Hall (1997) "meanings are produced at several different sites and circulated through several different processes or practice (p. 3). In this case, mainstream discourse modeled acceptable language, practices, beliefs, and approaches in relation to 'Deaf identity.' Most of which, in mainstream media discourse, reflect particular pathological ideologies. According to Deleuze and Guattari's theory of constellations and territorializations, an entire constellation of meaning is missing; the formation of Deaf identity as a linguistic and cultural minority. Homi Bhabha (1990) critiques Deleuze and Guattari's theory and argues that a more powerful place to look is at how the myths of western power confine the colonized. For this research, the question could be recycled to know how the myths of pathological power and knowledge confine Deaf identity to a half-life of misrepresentation.

Conclusion

This research began by asking two central research questions: How is Deaf identity being constructed in mainstream print news media, more specifically the Toronto Star? And, what are the perspectives of Deaf people and community allies of these constructions? We conducted a case-based study examining the interactions between a mainstream newspaper, the Toronto Star, and eleven Deaf community leaders and allies. The case included eleven letters to the editor written by Deaf people and community allies to the Toronto Star in objection to the use of the term 'deaf' as a negative metaphor. It also included two articles published by the Toronto Star: (1) an article that used the term 'deaf' as a metaphor linked to the concept "to ignore," and (2) a response letter by the newspaper's editor in response to the Deaf community's letters. To further contextualize the case, we examined 117 additional articles published by the Toronto Star, using the term 'deaf' between the years 2005-2010. Our method of investigation was a qualitative discourse analysis based on Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis theory. We attempted to make connections between textual, discursive, and socio-cultural practices. To map these different dimensions onto each other, we analyzed each piece of data through a particular analytical construct.

We found that, from the articles analyzed, the term 'deaf' is written 55% of time in a metaphorical sense. The metaphorical use was not found in both the letters to the editor or the interviews. In the newspaper articles, when the term 'deaf' is used non-metaphorically it was shown that predominantly it is contextualized according to the parameters of the pathological paradigm (93%). From the articles, it occured at 0.06% and of this percentage all of the discourses were categorized as culturo-linguistic representations and not Ethno-Cultural representations. In regard to the letters to the editor, pathological representation occurred at a frequency of 36% and socio-constructivist representation 55%. Of these socio-constructivist representation, 50% was categorized as culturo-linguistic and 50% cultural-ethnicity. All six of the interviews were categorized as socio-constrictivist identity constructions. Next in regard to quotation patters on authorities, from the 101 articles 76% of the quotes were made by disability organizations and/or non-Deaf individual in comparison to Deaf individuals or leaders of Deaf organizations making up 24% of the overall number of quotes. The data collected from the interviews brought fourth six over-arching patterns.

These six shared perspective patterns were: (1) the metaphorical use of 'deaf' reinforces negative stereotypes and propagates the wrong message about Deaf people; (2) the literary practice of using the term 'deaf' in a negative metaphor is like other similar practices experienced by other minority groups throughout history; (3) There exists a "wow factor" in the representation of Deaf people in media. The story is the 'deafness' itself; (4) Sign Language is a coded system for spoken language; (5) Non-Deaf people are the authorities on Deaf-related issues; (6) There is a sense of frustration in relation to little acknowledgment from the newspapers regarding the challenging of the use of 'deaf' and that little improvements have been observed despite their efforts to make change.

Many limitations were advantageously unearthed throughout the process of this research investigation. While creating an exhaustive list is not possible, for the purpose of the continued growth of this work I will reflect critically and attempt to list and discuss the most prominent limitations. These limitations focus on two aspects. They are both theoretical and methodological. My first, and possible my most profound, limitation is my well-established connection to the Deaf community. This connection both aided and hindered me at different points throughout this research process. This connection was made over a sixteen year long relationship with the Deaf-World. I have been professionally educated and trained by culturally Deaf people and allied community members. I have always, from what I can remember, known the Deaf community to be a linguistic-cultural minority group and have known Sign Language to be a language on par with English and French. These concepts have been normalized and naturalized for me. This connection spawned my interest in this research topic and enabled me to share a 'cultural code' with that of the interviewees. It enabled me to ask these particular research questions and to see the difference between pathological and socio-constructivist discourse identity formations in mainstream media. It, however, also hindered me because it was near impossible to remove this strongly rooted cultural identity formation in an attempt to return to a non-essentialized identity formation. It was extremely difficult to think of Deaf people from neither a pathological nor a socio-constructivist standpoint. This connection also influenced my reading of newspaper articles. Even if one's identity was not explicitly mentioned in the article, my knowledge of the community enabled me to know if the individual was Deaf or

non-Deaf. Therefore, I was instinctively reading layers of meaning formed in my personal knowledge constructs and did not read as an average reader would have of these same texts. This connection also influenced my ability to know which books were written in regard to Deaf identity from a social-constructivist paradigm and where to find them. With no prior knowledge or cultural understanding of Deaf people and with the limited socio-constructivist discourse texts being limited, I believe my literature review would have gathered very different results. It may not have used a critical cultural lens and have applied research taken from disability studies and the representation of persons with disabilities in mainstream media. And lastly, my personal hybrid identity of being an insider/outsider to the Deaf-World may also have influenced this work. My identity, from one perspective, is 'different' as my personal and professional activities involve non-hearing people, Deaf people and visual languages. And, from another perspective, I am 'different.' I am non-Deaf, I am hearing and I am regarded as an outsider and a member of the dominant cultural group. The effects of this may have influenced the results from the interviews. The interviewees may have considered me "one of them" and felt a certain connection because of my participation in the Deaf community. They may have expressed themselves in particular ways because they knew 'I would understand' them being from a shared cultural frame of reference of Deaf identity. In turn, however, some interviewees may have resisted sharing perspectives with me because of my participation in the community. They may have resisted sharing particular discourses with me because they see me as an 'outsider,' a member of the dominant cultural group, or they may have feared a heightened risk of personal 'exposure' due to the fact I am connected to the community and would attempt to present and publish both within the Deaf community and outside of the community boundaries.

In relation to this work's theoretical framework, a second limitation exists by choosing colonialism and colonialist thought as the foundation to this work. This particular lens was chosen because of the existence of power relations. This lens, however, inevitably sees the existence of unequal power relations and power struggles between the dominating and the dominated groups, in this context non-Deaf and Deaf groups. This influenced the types of research questions posed and the basis for the analytical construct. If this theoretical foundation had been different, the analytical lens would have been different. This, in turn, would have changed the questions posed. And, having other questions posed could have

produced different results. The colonialism frame of reference puts emphasis on the non-dominant group's struggle for the power to claim back the power to speak to their group's identity formation. In this case, the struggle of power will be seen in various ways. One way it is seen is in the uneven forces of representation. The members of the majority group occupy the places of authority in mainstream media production. This is one reason why, through a colonialist framework, the emphasis was placed on gathering the perspectives of the Deaf community and allies and not the members of the majority. Methodologically this took effect as we did not include interviews with the journalists, columnists or editors of mainstream media or from the case-study. While this work brought much needed attention to the marginalized perspectives from this particular community, this work, however, lacks the opportunity for a deeper understanding of the perspectives shared by the mainstream majority. The perspectives from the majority cultural group and the two groups' discourses responses to each other can be something considered for future research. Another aspect to consider, as mentioned above, is that I am a member of the dominant cultural group. Even with many years of being enculturated into the Deaf-World and taught by Deaf people, my experiential frame is non other then my own. My knowledge constructs and biases exist, and as I attempted to construct the ideas of others, including Deaf people, in this paper I still run the risk of further colonizing the colonized.

If we had shifted the theoretical foundation of this work from colonialism to post-colonialism, as an example, the outcomes of this research would have been quite different. Post-Colonialism and its response to colonial dominant knowledge constructs gives less certainty and more ambiguity to the defining of identity formations. In the emerging disciplines of post -colonial theory and cultural studies, Subaltern Studies and subaltern speak exists (Chaturvedi, 2000). Subaltern Studies would have been another lens of investigation into the construction of Deaf identity and the experiences of this community. As this work focused on theoretical pillars from the cultural studies perspective, it focused on 'metanarrattives' whereas from a Subaltern studies perspective the focus may have been more about the discourses of resistance from the minority group or in other words the "effort to articulate against that which is hegemonic" (Beverley, 2004, p. 15). John Beverly (2004) in his writings regarding Subalternity and Representation, defines Subaltern Studies as:

> …about power, who has it and who doesn't, who is gaining it and who is losing it. Power is related to representation. Which representations have cognitive authority and can secure hegemony, which do not have authority or are not hegemonic. (p. 1).

Beverly goes on to quote Guha who defines Subaltern studies as, "listening to the small voice of history" (p. 15). This shift in theoretical underpinnings would shift the looking at Deaf people and members of the Deaf-World as passive victims of colonialized power but would make a shift towards the looking at Deaf people and members of the Deaf-World as active producers of knowledge. From this place, questions surface in regard to the limits of academic knowledge and theory. It questions its ability to classify and make sense of the perspectives of a group, Deaf people, whose histories, worldviews and theoretical frameworks have been left out of authoritative theoretical paradigms produced by the elites, or dominating cultural group. Shifting to a Post-colonial Subaltern studies theoretical framework would move forward the investigation into the representation of Deaf identity in mainstream media discourse and the classification of Sign Language against the over arching frameworks of language and communication theory. At the completion of this research we began to see how the topic of sign language, from a post-colonial perspective, can be investigated in regard to how it fits within the classification system of Communication and Language Theory. For example in regard to Communication theory, there are two categories, verbal and non-verbal. Verbal communication is understood as the act of using 'language' and decoding words, whereas nonverbal communication uses various paralinguistic elements. Non-verbal communication uses "symbols" and encompasses gestures, facial expressions, eye contact, gaze, postures, and movements (Samovar, Porter, McDaniel, 2006). In this respect, from this academic theoretical framework are sign languages classified as verbal or nonverbal communication? Or do visual languages pass the limits of communication theory? It is by understanding the limitations of this work that enables it to be further developed as it poses more questions than it does answers.

In closing, this research began by investigating how Deaf identity is being constructed in mainstream print news media and inquired into the various perspectives of these constructions held by Deaf people and community allies. This work brings to light the importance of not only recognizing the power struggle and identity negotiation that exists in the representation of socio-constructivist identity construction of Deaf people in mainstream

print news media, but also how this negotiation and struggle affects the lived experiences of Deaf people and Deaf children. This work stimulates further thought and reflection into a number of topics. One such topic, is to bring post-colonial perspectives to future research on Deaf identity formation in mainstream media. And another, is look deeper into Subaltern theory and Subaltern Speak and how the limits of academic theory is problematic in situating, or classifying, Sign Languages within the overarching body of Communication and language theory.

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Table 1

Metaphorical Use of Term ‘deaf’

	Articles (n = 101)	Letters to Editor (n=11)	Interviews (n = 6)
Used as a metaphor	56 (55.4%)	0	0
Not used as a metaphor	45 (44.5%)	11 (100%)	6 (100%)

Table 2

Identity Construction Ratio

	Articles (n = 45)	Letters to Editor (n=11)	Interviews (n = 6)
Pathological	42 (93%)	4 (36%)	0
Socio-Constructivist	3 (0.06%)	6 (55%)	6 (100%)
Culturo-Linguistic	3/3	3	-
Cultural-Ethnicity	0/3	3	-

Table 3

Letters to the Editor and Identity Constructions

	L1	L2	L3	L4	L5	L6	L7	L8	L9	L10	L11
Pathologic Discourse											
Term Disability			X	x			xx			X	
Disability Terms (i.e. Ablism)								x			
Reference to Disability groups (i.e blind)							xx		x		
Reference to Disability Community								xx			
Reference to Disability Metaphors (i.e. blind rage)								x			
Socio-Constructivist Discourse											
Term Deaf (capitalized)		x				xxxx	Xx			Xx	X
Term Deaf people or			Xx								Xxx

Deaf community											
Deaf cultural terms (i.e Audism)											Xxx
Reference to Oppressed minority Groups (i.e women)		x			X	X					
Reference to race, ethnicity and language (ie. Inuit)					X					X	Xx
	L1	L2	L3	L4	L5	L6	L7	L8	L9	L10	L11

Table 4

Frequency of Quoting Authorities

	Articles (n = 51)	Letters to Editor (n=0)	Interviews (n = 0)
Disability organizations/Non-Deaf Quoted	39 (76.4%)	N/A	N/A
Deaf individual or Deaf organization	12 (23.5%)	N/A	N/A

Table 5

Deconstructions of Texts

	Letter to the Editor (Abraham, Deaf leader)	**Toronto Star's Response (Senior Editor)**
Writing Practice: Capitalization / lowercase	"This statement is clearly offending *Deaf* individuals and *Deaf* community."	"According to Abraham, the phrase "falls on deaf ears" is offensive to *deaf* individuals and the *deaf* community."
Concern: censorship / defaming **Narrative links**: disability / culture	"If you replace the words "deaf" and "hearing loss" with "*Jewish*", "*Chinese*", *Hispanic*", "*a woman"*, these statements would be *defamatory* and outrageous"	"…where would this *censorship* in the name of political correctness stop? Must we stop "*turning a blind eye*"…"*crippling blow...*" "*short-sighted" decision*?"
Terminology & Meaning: Ableism / audism	" This example is a form of *audism*. Racism, sexism and ageism are all familiar terms. Not nearly as well known is the term "audism": prejudice or discrimination against deaf people"	"Such terms, he [Abraham] says, are a form of "*ableism*" – "discrimination (in belief or practice based on a person's abilities, whether developmental, learning, physical, psychiatric or sensory."

Figure 1

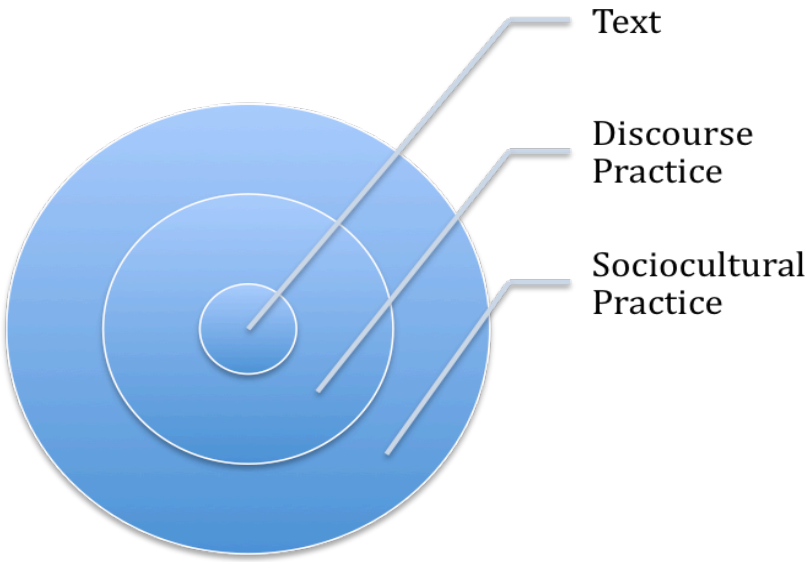

Figure 1. Fairclough's framework for critical discourse analysis

Appendix A: Results of the Term Frequency Count (headlines)

TERM	**FREQUENCY**
Cant hear	1
Deaf	3
Disabled / disability	6
Hearing implants	1
Deaf students	1
Barriers	1
Activism	2
Ability	1
Deaf and blind	1
Help	1
Gaps	1
Accessible	2
Hearing impaired	1

Appendix B: Results of the Term Frequency count (article content)

TERM	**FREQUENCY**	**TERM**	**FREQUENCY**
Discrimination	7	Technical devices	2
Disability	66	Hard of hearing	4
Hearing / cochlear/surgical implant	11	Communication technology : headsets/captioning/communication boards	15
Severely / profoundly deaf	2	Disabled person	1
Cognitively deaf	1	Deafened	2
Deaf Canadian	1	Their culture	1
Deaf	14	Ability	1
Accessibility / access	28	Special education	1
Accommodate	3	Autism	1
Barriers (remove/overcome)	12	Disabled community	2
Sign language	6	advocate	2
2	4	activist	3
Non-disabled	1	Interpreter (sign language / American Sign Language)	18
Deaf children	4	Signing system	1
Deaf students	6	Intensive support	1
American Sign Language	7	Deaf community	1

Deaf leaders	1	Oral	1

Appendix C: List of Categorized Newspaper Articles

R = Removed (16)

M = Metaphorical use of 'deaf' (56)

CP = Categorized Pathological (42)

CSCCL – Categorized Socio-constructivist Culturo-Linguistic Minority (3)

CSCCE – Categorized Socio constructivist Cultural-Ethnicity (0)

Article #	Label	Status	Quote	Journalist	Date
1	R1	Removed: organization name	'deaf advocacy center'	Helen Henderson	4 December 2010
2	CP1	Pathological	'why people born deaf have better sight'	Joseph Hall	11 October 2010
3	R2	Removed: event	'deaf success in higher education conference'		18 September 2010
4	M1	Metaphor	'deaf to the ideas of'		17 September 2010
5	CP2	Pathological	'equipped with a visual fire alarm for the benefit of the deaf'	Bob Hepburn	9 September 2010
6	CP3	Pathological	'a deaf man, failed to hear	Jess McLean and Jennifer	21 August 2010

			police'	Yang	
7	CP4	Pathological	'OPP officers arrested a blind and deaf man'	Wendy Gillis	7 August 2010
8	CP5	Pathological	'Campaign help urged for disabled candidates'	Mary Gazze	21 July 2010
9	CP6	Pathological	'a deaf man who says he was watching a protest..'	Francine Jopun and Peter Small	27 June 2010
10	M2	Metaphor	'ones ear is never deaf to such praise"	Royson James	1 June 2010
11	M3	Metaphor	"turning a deaf ear to"	Bruce Campion-Smith	18 April 2010
12	M4	Metaphor	"fell on deaf ears"	Steve Rennie	14 April 2010
13	CP7	Pathological	'..US priest accused of molesting some 200 deaf boys"	Sandro Contenta	28 March 2010
14	M5	Metaphor	"the city turned a deaf"	Emily Mathieu	2 March 2010
15	CP8	Pathological	"..introduce standards to pay for hearing implants"	Louise Brown	19 October 2009
16	M6	Metaphor	"feel on deaf	Gail	24 August

			ears”	Swainson	2009
17	CP9	Pathological	‘..for a family with two children who are deaf, blind and mute, as well as intellectually disabled”	Tracy Hanes	18 July 2009
18	M7	Metaphor	“nor am I deaf to”	Joe Fiorito	3 July 2009
19	M8	Metaphor	“being tone deaf to”	Not available	13 June 2009
20	M9	Metaphor	“falls on deaf ears”	Not available	13 June 2009
21	M10	Metaphor	“turn a deaf ear to”	Susan Delacourt	6 June 2009
22	M11	Metaphor	“falling on deaf ears”	Chantal Hebert	27 May 2009
23	M12	Metaphor	“law turns deaf ear”	Judy Steed	23 May 2009
24	CP10	Pathological	“when you’re deaf and going to the doctor”	Joe Fiorito	13 May 2009
25	R3	Removed: news brief		Not available	11 May 2009
26	M13	Metaphor	“fallen on deaf ears”	Tonda Maccharles	1 April 2009
27	M14	Metaphor	“fell, at least partly, on deaf	Dana Flavelle	31 March 2009

			ears"		
28	M15	Metaphor	"they're deaf to the opportunity"	James Travers	29 January 2009
29	CP11	Pathological	'profoundly retarded and deaf'	Trish Crawford	27 December 2008
30	R4	Removed: Movie Review		Not available	Not available
31	M16	Metaphor	'fallen on deaf ears'	Jason Miller	21 November 2008
32	M17	Metaphor	"government was deaf to"	Judy Steed	8 November 2008
33	CP12	Pathological	'not equipped with phones lines that let deaf people'	David Lepofsky	29 October 2008
34	M18	Metaphor	"tone-deaf response"	James Travers	15 October 2008
35	M19	Metaphor	"tone deaf to the concerns"	Bruce Campion-Smith	15 October 2008
36	M20	Metaphor	"tone-deaf to"	Tonda MacCharles	8 October 2008
37	R5	Removed: no deaf or deaf topic mentioned			
38	M21	Metaphor	"fallen on deaf ears"	Leslie Ferenc	5 August 2008
39	M22	Metaphor	"fallen on deaf	Sue Bailey	25 June

			federal ears"		2008
40	CP13	Pathological	"..to draw awareness to two health conditions: ALS and deaf-blind"	Not available	31 May 2008
41	R6	Removed: event announcement			
42	CP14	Pathological	Not available	Helen Henderson	16 April 2008
43	M23	Metaphor	"falling on deaf ears"	Chantal Hebert	2 April 2008
44	CP15	Pathological	'the first deaf person to address the.."	Not available	15 March 2008
45	CP16	Pathological	'..provide free sign language interpretation"	Helen Henderson	15 March 2008
46	M24	Metaphor	"dialoguing with the deaf"	James Travers	13 March 2008
47	CP17	Pathlological	'funding schools for the blind and deaf and special education.."	Tracy Tyler	12 February 2008
48	M25	Metaphor	"fallen on deaf ears"	Not available	10 February 2008
49	CP18	Pathological	'people who are blind or deaf"	Joe Fiorito	6 February 2008
50	M26	Metaphor	"turned a deaf	Sean Gordon	14 January

			ear"		2008
51	CP19	Pathological	'who was born deaf and blind'	Helen Henderson	22 December 2007
52	M27	Metaphor	"fallen on deaf ears"	Tyler Hamilton	3 December 2007
53	M28	Metaphor (Case Study)	"falls on deaf ears"	Robert Benzie and Rob Ferguson	9 November 2007
54	M29	Metaphor	"fallen on deaf ears"	Royson James	5 November 2007
55	M30	Metaphor	"..means you are also either deaf, or stupid"	Not available	30 September 2007
56	M31	Metaphor	"fallen on deaf ears"	James Daw	29 September 2007
57	CP20	Pathological	"..school plan for the deaf sparks outcry"	Louise Brown	9 August 2007
58	CP21	Pathological	'who is nearly deaf from two near-hit bomb blasts"	Randy Ray	21 July 2007
59	M32	Metaphor	"fell on deaf ears"	Ian Urquhart	22 June 2007
60	CP22	Pathological	'gay, deaf and missing the message'	David Graham	22 June 2007

61	M33	Metaphor	"fall on deaf ears"	Debra Black	10 June 2007
62	M34	Metaphor	"falls on deaf ears"	Les Whittington	31 May 2007
63	M35	Metaphor	"falling on deaf ears"	Tanya Talaga and Robert Cribb	22 May 2007
64	R7	Removed			
65	M36	Metaphor	"fell on deaf ears"	Allan Woods	24 April 2007
66	CSCCL1	Socio-Constructivist	'deaf and their culture'	Not Available	7 April 2007
67	M37	Metaphor	"fallen on deaf ears"	Rita Daly	20 January 2007
68	R8	Removed: deaf dog			
69	CP23	Pathological	'to enable deaf patients'	Not available	2 December 2006
70	M38	Metaphor	"turning a deaf ear to"	Not available	4 November 2006
71	M39	Metaphor	"falling on deaf ears"	Chantal Hebert	18 October 2006
72	M40	Metaphor	"is tone deaf to"	Not available	14 October 2006
73	M41	Metaphor	"fallen on deaf ears"	Janice Mawinney	13 October 2006
74	CP24	Pathological	'deaf and mute'	Peter Edwards	25 September 2006
75	M42	Metaphor	"dialogue of the	Chantal	15

			deaf"	Hebert	September 2006
76	CP25	Pathological	'all three had hearing impairments but none was deaf or used sign language'	Tracy Huffman	14 September 2006
77	CP26	Pathological	"one of the slain may have had a hearing impairment'	Tracy Huffman	13 September 2006
78	R9	Removed: event listing			
79	CP27	Pathological	'because you can go deaf from loud music'	Judy Gerstel	29 July 2006
80	CP28	Pathological	'emergency interpreting services for deaf people'	Anna Piekarski	25 July 2006
81	CP29	Pathological	'often have multiple disabilities in addition to hearing impairments'	Christian Cotroneo	17 July 2006
82	CP30	Pathological	'safety rights for people who are deaf'	Theresa Boyle	8 July 2006

83	CSCCL2	Socio-Constructivist	‘ontarios deaf and”	Helen Henderson	1 July 2006
84	M43	Metaphor	“deaf ear from government”	Bruce Campion-Smith	22 June 2006
85	CSCCL3	Socio-Constructivist	‘is not just queer or hard of hearing but a deaf queer man’	Nicholas Keung	19 June 2006
86	R10	Removed: Duplicate			19 June 2006
87	CP31	Pathological	‘’access to washrooms to sign language interpreters”	Helen Henderson	10 June 2006
88	R11	Removed: movie review			
89	M44	Metaphor	“fallen on deaf ears”	Bob Mitchell	18 May 2006
90	M45	Metaphor	“fall on deaf ears”	Not available	4 May 206
91	M46	Metaphor	“turning a deaf ear to”	Rob Ferguson	19 April 2006
92	CP32	Pathological	“a blind and partially deaf man..”	Not available	18 April 2006
93	M47	Metaphor	“fallen on deaf ears”	Jim Wilkes	5 April 2006
94	CP33	Pathological	“a deaf man who was fired’	Joe Fiorito	31 March 2006

95	M48	Metaphor	"..deaf to canaries in coal mine"	Not available	31 March 2006
96	CP34	Pathological	"first elected deaf law maker"	Not available	17 March 2006
97	CP35	Pathological	"no one wants to hire them, they are deaf"	Royson James	15 March 2006
98	CP36	Pathological	Noela Moris may be deaf, and blind in one eye but"	Joe Fiorito	13 March 2006
99	M49	Metaphor	"it isn't deaf to"	Steven Theobald	11 March 2006
100	R12	Removed: stating have a TTY		James Daw	
101	R13	Removed: movie listing			
102	M50	Metaphor	"fallen on deaf ears"	Martin Knelman	18 January 2006
103	CP37	Pathological	"hearing impaired and other disabled face.."	Nicholas Keung	11 January 2006
104	CP38	Pathological	'intervenors who act as the eyes and ears of"	Helen Henderson	7 January 2006
105	R14	Removed:			
106	M51	Metaphor	"not fallen on	Martin	28

			deaf ears”	Knelman	November 2005
107	M52	Metaphor	“turning a deaf ear to”	Ian Urquhart	19 November 2005
108	M53	Metaphor	“fall on deaf ears”	Not available	13 November 2005
109	M54	Metaphor	“nor are we deaf”	Francis Chalifour	9 October 2005
110	CP39	Pathological		Helen Henderson	8 October 2005
111	R15	Removed: List of Names			
112	CP40	Pathological	‘inticing deaf children to sign ‘I love you’	Christian Cotroneo	28 August 2005
113	M55	Metaphor	“falling on deaf ears”	Bruce Campion-Smith	2 July 2005
114	M56	Metaphor	“fell largely on deaf ears”	Andre Mills	2 June 2005
115	CP41	Pathological	“schools for the blind and th deaf”	Robert Benzie	9 March 2005
116	CP42	Pathological	“deafblind intervening services”	Jim Daw	24 February 2005
117	R16	Removed: organization			8 January 2005

Appendix D: Quoted Authority List

*Names with asterisk indicates one authorities quoted in multiple articles

deaf Authorities

Gary Malkowski (former Ontario Provincial Politician) ***

Dean Walker (Ontario Association of the Deaf)

Laurel Kelliher (deaf and blind woman)

Jim Roots (Executive Director - Canadian Association of the Deaf)

Ariel Baker-Gibbs (severely deaf student)

Sally Palusci (deaf)

Danny Daniels (deaf)

Peter Malito (deaf)

Non-deaf Authorities

Stephen Lomber (University of Western Ontario Neuroscientist)

Barbara Hall (Ontario Human Rights Commissioner)

Steven Fletcher (Canada's Minister of State- Democratic Reform)

James Borer (leader of the new Alliance for Children Who are Hard of Hearing and Deaf)

Kathleen Whynne (Education Minister)*

David Lepofsky (Toronto lawyer and activist)**

Keith Powel (Executive Director - Community Living Ontario)

Catherine Frazee (Co-director of Ryerson University's school of Disability studies

David Baker (lawyer)

Marie White (Council of Canadians with Disabilities)

Rauda Dickinson (Superintendent for the Toronto District School Board)

Lynn McIntyre (Executive Director – VOICE for Hearing Impaired Children)

Douglas Auld (Former head of University of Guelph economics department)

Ernie Parsons (MPP Prince Edward-Hastings)

Anna MacQuarrie (Policy Analyst - Canadian Association of Community Living)

Dave Shannon (lawyer & Director of Association of independent living centers)

Cheryl Wilson (Director - Ontario Interpreting Services)

Sheila Johnson (Manager of interpreter development at Ontario Interpreting Services)

Joanne Fine-Schwebel (Director of volunteer services for Mount Sinai Hospital)

Derek Rumball (Deaf camp director)

Richard Belzile (hearing member of Ontario Rainbow Alliance of the Deaf)

John Gerreston (Housing Minister)

Kevin Rogers (Paraplegic Association)

Mark Winfield (Director of Pembina Institute)

Stephanie Depuis (Toronto Home Buyers Association)

Joy DeLuzio (Head of Strategic Planning at Canadian Hearing Society)

Warren Runares

Catherine Dunphy (Accessibility for Ontarians with Disabilities Act Alliance)

Mark Hart (Association of Human Rights)

Etobikoke Social Worker

Kelly Dufferin (CEO - Canadian Hearing Society)

Appendix E: References to Sign Language

ARTICLE #	QUOTE	NON-DEAF AUTHORITY	DEAF AUTHORITY
8	"sign language interpretation"	Ontario Human Rights Commission	
51	"sign language systems"	Helen Henderson (Journalist)	
57	"sign language public schools"	Rauda Dickinson (Superintendent for Toronto District School Board"	Jim Roots (Executive Director Canadian Association of the Deaf)
		Louise Brown (Journalist)	
66	"teachers fluency [in American Sign Language]"	Journalist (unknown)	Gary Malkowski (Special Advisor to the President of the Canadian Hearing Society)
69	"sign language interpreting services"	Journalist (unknown)	
80	"sign language interpreters"	Anna Piekarski (journalist)	
		Supreme Court of Canada	
85	"sign language interpreters"		
87	"Sign language		

	interpreting services”		
96	“sign language interpreter”		
98	“sign language interpreter”		
103	“sign language interpreter”		