UNITED OR DIVIDED?
A sociocultural study of conflict among British Sign Language users in the workplace

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<u>Abstract</u>

The concept of conflict theory is applied to the dynamics of everyday interaction among British Sign Language (BSL) users in the workplace in this study. This research aims to explore Deaf and hearing BSL users' experiences of working together, and to consider the causes of conflict among this group. The research identifies BSL users' experiences in relation to interaction in the workplace and the causes of conflict are explored through Mayer's (2000) 'wheel of conflict'. The study is carried out in line with the sociocultural model of Deafhood (Ladd, 2003). This theoretical backdrop provides an opportunity to view and understand Deaf BSL users as a cultural and linguistic minority, a perspective that stands in contrast to the persistent medical view of sign language users. This perspective aims at redefining approaches to Deaf people from a dominated, pathological position to an alternative visuality paradigm (Kannapell, 1993). This includes paying attention to the shared experiences surrounding Deaf people's lives and attempting to understand the control and inequalities, and the language and cultural differences at play, that is, a sociocultural approach.

The research comprises a small-scale study of qualitative group discussion and individual self-testimony activities. These research activities enable the study to explore the circumstances that underlie workplace conflicts, leading to identification of the various experiences. The participants in the study were BSL users who work in predominantly deaf workplaces. A thematic analysis identifies recurring experiences that demonstrate power and control, and instance of inequality, examined through a hermeneutic phenomenological methodology (Gadamer, 2004) that provides a basis for qualitative research. The analysis reveals six nomothetic themes (Atkinson, 2007) of audism, attitude, paternalism, transition, resolution and empathy, which expose previous and current experiences related to aspects of employment among Deaf and hearing BSL users. Discussion of the likely causes of workplace conflict and the potential for resolution brings the research findings to a conclusion, before noting that future research into the experiences of a mixed Deaf and hearing working environment is required in order to expand the findings of this phenomenological study. It is important for us to understand Deaf people's work experiences; it is also important that we understand hearing people's experiences. The author of this study acknowledges that,

as Gournaris and Aubrecht (2013: 70) advise, "this process of self-examination may be uncomfortable for the reader".

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Dedication

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Glossary

The following glossary provides, in alphabetic order, a description of the abbreviations and contextual terms used in this thesis in order to clarify the concepts of the text and the meanings associated with each term.

BSL (British Sign Language): Deaf people across the United Kingdom share a common language (British Sign Language) and a common culture (Deaf culture) and therefore function as a cultural group in society. This language is increasingly used also by hearing people and was officially accepted as a language by the British government in March 2003. It has not yet been provided with any legal status in the form of legislation to ensure the right to use it.

C.I. (cochlear implant): Where a child or adult who is Deaf, deaf, deafened or hard of hearing wishes to attempt to amplify residual hearing in order to increase access to sound, a cochlear implant is a magnetic amplification device that is surgically implanted behind the ear/s. The internal device connects magnetically to an external, electronic device, which transfers waves of sounds to stimulate artificial hearing.

CODA (Child of Deaf Adults): This term is used to refer to a child who is brought up by one or two Deaf parents or guardians. Due to the sense of shared parenting experiences among CODAs, there are resources and support groups within the CODA community and this group naturally affiliates to the Deaf community.

Deaf (with an upper case 'D'): From a cultural aspect, **Deaf** refers to a sign language user who was either born deaf or became deaf at a later age and shares the experiences of sign language communities, in contrast to the audio-based language communities. The use of residual hearing for audio purposes may be an aspect of the person's life but they will be a preferred sign language user and feel a stronger sense of affiliation to the Deaf community than to the hearing community.

Deaf-led: A term used to describe an organisation that is run by Deaf people and provides services for Deaf people. Its main remit is to enable access to all its services through sign language resources, and may be from within the domains of, for example, health, education, government and social services.

Deaf Culture: Encapsulates the culturally shared experiences that are at the heart of Deaf culture and a Deaf way of life, including cultural values, norms, heritage beliefs, and cultural behaviours: a collective community. The sign language community is bonded by this culture.

Deaf and hearing BSL users: The hearing members of the group will function primarily from a sound-based perspective (with visual attention to detail often coming second) but the Deaf members of the group will instinctively view things from a visual perspective, a very different perspective to that of their hearing counterparts. This term is used to describe the sets of participants when examining interrelationships among BSL users in the workplace as a whole.

Deafhood: Coined by Dr Paddy Ladd in the 1990s, this term represents the notion of 'Deaf 'being-in-the-world' (2003: xviii), and of shifting away from the medical perspective to a socio-cultural linguistic understanding of Deaf people. This involves shifting the focus from the ears to the eyes in order to perceive Deaf people as visually-oriented individuals who have a Deaf identity and feel part of the collective of Deafhood.

Deaf School: A residential or day school specialised in providing education to deaf children, usually through oral methods of teaching and learning, though more recently through sign language instruction in the UK.

Deaf space: The multiplicity of experiences that characterise Deaf people's everyday lives extends to the need for a culturally defined, 'deaf-friendly' environment in which to function visually. This term takes into account the physical design of spaces occupied by large groups of sign language users.

D.E.L.T.A. (Deaf Education through Listening and Talking Association): a voluntary charity, run by a group of Teachers of the Deaf, who believe that all deaf children should be taught through a 'natural aural approach' in order to encourage spoken language development as close as possible to that of hearing children.

F.D.P. (Federation of Deaf People): A campaigning group, which was established and ran during the late 1990s and early 2000s. This group organised marches in London and across the UK and lobbied politicians for the legal recognition of BSL.

hearing: This term is presented with a lower case 'h' to describe non-signer hearing people. Hearing people who can sign are referred to as 'hearing BSL users' in the context of this study.

Hearing-Led: A term used to describe an organisation that is run largely by hearing people and provides services for deaf, Deaf and hard-of-hearing people. Its main remit is to enable access to all its services through various resources and communication methods, and may be from within the domains of health, education, government and social services, etc. In an academic context, hearing-led refers to research in the field of sign language studies that is conducted by hearing researchers who research 'on' D/deaf people, rather than co-operating and conducting research 'with' D/deaf people.

Hearing Ways: For those people who function in a natural, sound-based way, this term is used within the Deaf community and by professionals working within the field. This may include non-deaf people, deaf people or hard of hearing people who live, according to the Deaf community, a 'hearing way' of life. That is, a sound-based orientation, and this sound is at the heart of spoken language interaction. **Hearing ways** are felt to dominate and capitalise on Deaf communities.

H/Com: Hearing Comprehensive school

HMFD (Hearing - Mother/Father Deaf): An alternative term used to refer to a child who is brought up by one or two Deaf parents or guardians.

HOH - Hard of Hearing: There are a range of levels of hearing loss, from mild to significant or profound loss. A person who has a mild to moderate level of hearing loss may wish to describe themselves as hard of hearing rather than deaf, hence this term is a label.

Mainstream School: From an educational perspective, a mainstream school is one where a deaf child is placed in a school for hearing children and is educated alongside hearing children and taught in the same ways.

Manualism/manualist: A method of communication for teaching deaf children primarily through sign language, and with some use of speech and writing, with D/deaf and hearing people working side by side in the schools, and where sign language is used by everybody. This

method was known as the 'French method' during the early years of deaf education, standing in contrast to the German method, 'oralism' (see below).

N.U.D. (National Union of the Deaf): This campaigning group comprised a group of Deaf activists who established a political group and aimed to make Deaf people aware of their rights and to challenge oralist dominance in education.

Oralism/oralist: A method of communication for teaching deaf children primarily through spoken language and writing, with only hearing people working in the schools, and where sign language is strictly forbidden. This method is associated with the pathological view of deaf children as 'impaired' and in need of cure.

P.H.U. (Partial Hearing Unit): A small unit attached to a mainstream school, which accommodates a small number of deaf children, taught by a specialist teacher, and focusing on teaching a range of subjects across the national curriculum.

TTY/TDD: Known as a Teletypewriter (TTY) or a Telecommunications Device for the Deaf (TDD). This is a telephone with a built-in typewriter to enable a telephone call to take place via written text. This can work two-way, if both recipients have a TTY, or one way, if one person uses a TTY and contacts a human relay operator, who relays the typed call to a recipient on a voice telephone.

Visual/visually/visual cultural: Such terms are used to explicitly refer to the visual communication structure of sign language use and the range of visual phenomena that comprise a visual culture (i.e. Deaf culture). This includes various forms of visual literature, such as signed poetry, comedy, and artistic illustrations and aims to describe the visual movements, the emotion intelligence, the visual relationship of the hands and facial expression as a form of communication, and various other aspects of proxemics.

Visual/sign based methodologies: A visual approach to research methodology, enabling sign language to be used for accessing academic information and for producing the thesis.

W.F.D. (World Federation of the Deaf): A non-governmental organisation, which has a central aim to improve the status of sign languages and the legal right to have access to them in education for Deaf communities across the world.

PART I: INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH STUDY

1   Chapter One - Introduction

1.1   Rationale

1.1.1   Introducing the research aims

This research aims to explore relationships among British Sign Language (BSL) users in the workplace by studying the conflicts that occur among the language users. BSL is increasingly used by hearing people, as well as by Deaf people, and it is the working relations among Deaf BSL users and hearing BSL users, and their awareness of the effects of the interaction, that is of particular interest here. This study examines factors that enhance or hinder the experiences of BSL users. The research is based on the premise that when users of a shared language with different backgrounds interact, conflict may occur (Berry, 2005). In order to identify the underlying cause of any conflict, the analysis considers the level of control that some people may exercise (either consciously or unconsciously) over others, as well as the interlocutors' attitudes and level of awareness and understanding. As this study involves inquiry into the experiences of Deaf and hearing BSL users when working together, a phenomenological approach is taken (detailed in chapter three). Phenomenology, first brought to the research world by Husserl (1977), is a research methodology particularly suited to research that investigates perceptions, thoughts, emotions and/or experiences, and seeks to understand, and become familiar with, a particular practice (Pang, 1999). As Pollio, Henley and Thompson (1997) note, "a phenomenological perspective takes human experience as its concern and attempts to describe experience as it presents itself in life" (p. 169). This approach is particularly suited to this research, as it enables the study to provide an appropriate level of "description, analysis, and understanding of experiences" (Marton, 1981: 180).

Individual experiences may have a deep effect on how people interact and this is particularly relevant when the group comprises a mixture of Deaf and hearing people. In this situation, the hearing members of the group will function primarily from a sound-based perspective (with visual attention to detail often coming second) but the Deaf members of the group will instinctively view things from a visual perspective, a very

different perspective to that of their hearing counterparts (as section 1.2.1 below explains in detail). In addition, Deaf people will often be using BSL as a first language and hearing people as a second or subsequent language so differences occur in this respect. With this notion in mind, the central focus of the research is the interrelations between BSL users and the implications of a mixed working environment (Fusick, 2008). Such a focus has a significantly interdisciplinary nature, covering several disciplines that fall under the humanities configuration, such as sociology and history, but this is primarily a sociocultural study. The research examines the experiences and interrelations of Deaf and hearing BSL users, paying particular attention to any misunderstandings or conflicts that are expressed.

This is a relatively new field of research, particularly in relation to the workplace, hence there is little previous research to draw on. Watson (2016) notes that there is little knowledge about the lived experiences and perceptions of Deaf employees in the workplace. In studying the experiences of Deaf and hearing BSL users, this research intends to further the limited existing academic knowledge of working relationships among Deaf and hearing BSL users. The study is situated more precisely in the field of Deaf Studies but draws knowledge from further afield, such as disability studies, where research has also studied Deaf communities from a sociological point of view (Barton, 1996; 1998). The research is carried out according to the central principle of Deafhood (Ladd, 2003), that is, the notion that a significant portion of the nation's deaf people share a common language (British Sign Language) and a common culture (Deaf culture) and therefore function as a cultural group in society. Here the distinction between the notion of 'big D' Deaf people and 'little d' deaf people (Woodward, 1974)[1] are of importance and the research makes use of the differences between them. The study falls within the academic remit that Ladd (2008) succinctly describes as being to "…formally establish Deaf and Deafhood epistemologies and ontologies, based on traditionally understood "Deaf Ways", yet sensitive to the degree to which these themselves have been diminished by colonialism" (Ladd, 2008: 54). In the context of

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[1] Woodward (1974) proposes that 'Deaf' written with an upper case 'D' be used to refer to people who are culturally Deaf and feel that they belong to a 'Deaf community' and primarily use sign language to communicate; 'deaf' with a lower case 'd' then refers to people who are deaf from a medical perspective, do not feel that they belong to a specific 'deaf community' and do not use sign language to communicate.

Deafhood, the suffix 'hood' is used according to a cultural definition in order to signify the identity and purpose of an individual in relation to society. When individuals who share the same identity come together, such as Deaf people, Black people or people from other ethnic minorities, a group identity is formed and this develops into a community, or association, with a united form. The creation of the term 'Deafhood' signifies this united identity that is seen in the form of the Deaf community.

The revolutionary theory of Deafhood is central to this research, as it allows the study to relate the issues that are raised in a macro sociological context in Ladd's work to the situation for sign language users in the workplace. Workplace conflict, as Harris (2011) notes, is not a standalone category of conflict. It is subject to the same dynamics and influences that apply to all conflicts in all locations, between all groups and individuals. Harris concludes that the basic techniques for resolving workplace conflict are the basic techniques that will help solve other conflicts.

1.1.2 *From the hypothesis to the research questions*

This research carries with it the hypothesis that a divide exists among Deaf and hearing sign language users in the workplace due to conflicts based on experiential and cultural differences. These can range from a simple lack of knowledge and awareness, genuine misunderstanding, to deliberate discrimination. The shared experiences that characterise Deaf people's lives has shaped a way of living and relating to the world, and a sense of shared social space among Deaf BSL users. This notion of a collective identity among Deaf BSL users may not be fully understood by some people, despite the mutual use of sign language, and this study posits that stereotypical attitudes remain among some hearing BSL users that prejudice their perceptions of their colleagues' actions and intentions. Where these attitudes are different, conflict may occur; how this conflict is manifested, and how it affects working relationships, are issues at the centre of this hypothesis. The rationale for researching this topic, therefore, is based on the following problem statements: (1) the number of hearing BSL users is increasing (united with or divided from Deaf BSL users); (2) Deaf BSL users are potentially disadvantaged compared to hearing BSL users in the audio-based Deaf/hearing mixed environment; (3) there is a lack of research on Deaf employees' experiences in the working environment. The

following questions form the central focus of the research and provide a basis for the descriptive analysis of the sociocultural situation for British Sign Language users at work:

Research Question 1*:* What understanding can be gained from Deaf and hearing BSL users' experiences of working together?

Research Question 2*:* How can knowledge of workplace conflict empower BSL users to move towards conflict resolution?

1.2   Deaf people's lived experiences

1.2.1   Background on Deaf culture and the Deaf community in the UK

The Deaf community in the UK is a vibrant, lively community where Deaf people who are sign language users are drawn together to share social activities and common lived experiences (Gannon, 2012). Through this connection, Deaf people often feel most comfortable in the company of other Deaf people, who share the same language and experiences - this creates a sense of belonging and identity with each other. While the core of the Deaf community is made up of Deaf people, hearing people who are involved with the lives of Deaf people may also be considered as part of the community, albeit on the periphery. In this sense, hearing children of Deaf parents, and other family members or close friends of Deaf people, and hearing people who work with Deaf people and use sign language may also belong to the Deaf community. Other people who wish to learn sign language and learn more about Deaf culture are often made welcome in the community if they make the effort to use the language.

The Deaf community does not constitute a geographical community with a regional base – that is, there is no 'Deaf country'. However, certain areas do have a larger concentration of Deaf people than others, for historical reasons. The Preston area, for example, has a large number of Deaf people due to the location of the previously run Royal Cross School, where deaf children from all over the North West and beyond boarded, and then remained in the area as adults after school (Atherton, 2012). There is no genetic reason for concentrations of Deaf people in one area: despite the fears of oralists, such as Alexander Graham Bell (Gannon, 2012), most deaf children are born to

hearing parents, and most Deaf couples have hearing children. Deaf people have traditionally always met in Deaf Clubs. These were once situated all around the country, and here Deaf people, and hearing family members and friends, would meet together socially and take part in social, leisure and sporting activities. The clubs were built specially and used only for that purpose, or may be converted or shared buildings, such as Preston Deaf Club, which uses the extended and modernised facilities of the old deaf school. In the past, Deaf clubs were primarily run by hearing 'helpers' - many were church-based or linked either to charities or Social Services. More recently, however, there has been a rapid closure of Deaf clubs in the UK due to government cut backs as a result of austerity (O'Brien, Stead and Nourse, 2017). The remaining Deaf clubs are run by Deaf people themselves, with a full committee of Deaf officers, and decision-making meetings are conducted in BSL but there is little support from government departments. Some Deaf people, especially the younger generation, choose to meet informally in pubs, which serve as local and regular Deaf meeting-places.

For the purposes of this study, culture is understood to be the symbolic shared experiences that bind people together as a community. Dentler (2004) refers to sociological changes in many aspects of society, such as educational practice, that have seen many changes over the last seventy years, largely due to different cultural practices, innovative pedagogies and communication technologies. This has led to diversity in the definition of culture, which is broadly noted by Dentler as, "...the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively" (p. 59). A more focussed understanding of culture leads to a group perspective, which is more relevant to this research study:

> "...the enduring norms, values, customs, and behavioural patterns common
> to a particular group of people."
>
> (Mayer, 2000: 72)

For this study to explore interrelations between the two groups of BSL users, the cultural differences between Deaf and hearing people in general need to be discussed further. In this sense, 'Deaf culture' is the term used to refer to the culturally shared experiences

that are at the heart of a Deaf way of life, including cultural values, norms, heritage beliefs, and cultural behaviours: a collective community. Usually culture is transmitted vertically, that is, downwards from parents to children. This is true of Deaf children who are born to Deaf parents but this is relatively rare. Deaf culture is usually transmitted horizontally, sideways from Deaf person to Deaf person, and in the recent past, residential schools for Deaf children were where this happened (Atherton, 2012). As Dye, Hauser and Bavelier (2008) note, with regards to differences between Deaf and hearing culture, Deaf culture is primarily a culture that makes use of visual, rather than auditory, means, hence Deaf people value visual conversation. For Deaf people, communication occurs through visual channels (the body and the hands, and the eyes), and gaining attention involves waving a hand, shoulder tapping, light switching, or stamping a foot or hand on either a table or the floor to send vibrations (Smith and Sutton-Spence, 2005).

Travel is another area where the Deaf lived experience is highlighted: Deaf people will travel great distances to a Deaf event or to socialise with other Deaf people in order to share their language and heritage, and stories of the Deaf experience are often shared. As Sutton-Spence and Woll (1999; also Sutton-Spence, 2005) notes, storytelling, in fact, is an important aspect of Deaf community life, with its strong tradition of story-telling and joke-telling, with popular stories being passed down through the generations. Tales of how Deaf people lived in the past, and of famous Deaf people, are an important part of Deaf culture; Deaf people respect and value their history enormously (Lee, 2004), and are proud of past and present Deaf people who have achieved success or contributed to society (Benedict & Sass-Lehrer, 2007). They believe that deaf children today need access to their own history and culture so they have role-models to look up to, so that they may learn from them and build their own confidence, identity and awareness of their own history. There have also been many interesting books written about Deaf history and culture; some of them were written by hearing people, others by Deaf writers themselves. Deaf people themselves often prefer a visual form, so stories and poems are available on video, as are collections of Deaf humour (Ladd, 2003).

While the Deaf community is made up of people from various ethnic backgrounds (Ahmad, Darr, Jones & Nisar, 1998), academic studies of Deaf people conclude that four key elements are significance aspects of a Deaf way of life, and each component exploits the visual medium: (sign) language, behavioural norms, values and traditions. The shared experiences of Deaf people include the oppression of their natural language and culture. Myklebust (1964) reports such oppression as detrimental to the social development of Deaf individuals, finding in a study that deaf children are socially immature compared to their hearing, and even hard-of-hearing peers.

1.2.2 Perceptions of hearing BSL users

From a majority perspective, being able to hear, i.e. being 'hearing', is the norm in society and there is a notion of the typical person in mainstream society as being hearing and articulating their language through an auditory means, where spoken interaction is a daily task, and their everyday experiences are situated in the familiar environmental surrounding of sounds; fundamentally, a hearing person recognises and fully comprehends, and interacts through, spoken language, and through the auditory environment of background noises, engaging in familiar audible social interactions. Employment opportunities ordinarily require auditory access for the staff member to function fully, sending and retrieving information, and interacting effectively, through sound. From a Deaf perspective, the concept of being 'hearing' also takes on the additional meaning of not being deaf (or non-deaf). For Deaf people, then, being hearing largely means being part of the mainstream culture that is so essentially different from the visual-based way of life of Deaf people. It is relevant to note the differences between Deaf and hearing people, which are discussed at several points during this study.

There are several ways to consider perceptions of hearing people in relation to Deaf people. Ramos (2004) discusses hearing people in terms of the level of expectation that they have of Deaf people: people displaying an equal level of expectation of Deaf people are referred to as "Partners"; people who are not aware of the issues related to being Deaf and who therefore have low expectations of Deaf people because they cannot hear are referred to as "Ignorants"; and hearing people who maintain low

expectations of Deaf people, despite being informed that Deaf people have the potential for equal achievement, are referred to as "Plantationists":

Partners	Hearing people who believe that Deaf people are their equals, who believe that "Deaf people can do anything hearing people can do, except hear".
Ignorants	Hearing people who look down at Deaf people and believe that Deaf people "are not really ready to function in a hearing world". Their belief is due to ignorance.
Plantationists	Hearing people who also look down at Deaf people and believe Deaf people "are not ready to function in a hearing world". Their belief, however, is not due to ignorance but rather a 'plantation mentality' in which they truly believe that Deaf people are not capable people. They are often in positions of power and control over Deaf individuals – power and control they do not want to give up.

(Ramos, 2004: 269)

Research carried out by Gallimore (2000) notes that hearing people are often categorised into groups according to their level of knowledge and understanding of Deaf culture. The first group consists of those hearing people who are naïve about the Deaf community and Deaf culture; secondly, there are hearing people who have some minimal knowledge of the relevant issues (such as students learning sign language) and the third group, according to Gallimore's distinction, are those who have a good level of knowledge, and share the values and beliefs of the Deaf community. Napier (2002a), however, questions the legitimacy of community involvement alone leading to a good attitude:

"…when considering the characteristics of oppressors…one must concede that there are hearing people involved in the community that do not necessarily have the best interests of Deaf people at heart, so although they are involved in the community, they might not have the right 'attitude'."

(Napier, 2002a: 146)

The interactions between Deaf and hearing sign language users relate to the differences between Deaf and hearing ways of life (Ladd, 2003). Ladd highlights the importance of understanding the differences, noting that "lack of awareness of these relationships between power and knowledge can be damaging for the majority society" (p. 76). While this lack of knowledge and awareness can exacerbate a situation, the reason for this conflict has deeper causes than this study explores. Ignorance is a crucial dimension in the discrimination experienced by Deaf people, and the issue of the need for increased awareness has been raised by Turner (2006):

> "There is no doubt that all forms of discrimination are rooted to a considerable extent in ignorance, which is always relative and historically stringent...Hearing people in general tend not to know about Deaf people's perspectives and consequently misunderstand the nature of the responses sought by such people to their presence."

(Turner, 2006: 65)

1.3 Pathological versus sociological perspectives

Models of deafness, in line with models of disability, are underpinned by different philosophical notions. The work of scholars such as Higgins (1980); Barnes, Harrington, Williams and Atherton (2007) and Obasi (2008) considers developments in society since the long-standing 'medical model' has been challenged in the Deaf/hearing debate. These authors argue that there have been great changes in society, and that 'social/cultural models' now prevail in academic circles but the break from the medical model has not been a clean one: even today, most research into deafness is medically based and biased, and is often funded by the pharmaceutical and medical technology industries, with much less funding being available for research into the lives of Deaf people under the cultural stance that the sociocultural model proposes. The last few decades have seen much debate around the use of a medical model in relation to deafness, as studies have highlighted a shift from the biological focus on the audiological inability to hear, to work such as Petitto (2014: 72), whose main focus is to perceive deafness from a 'visual', rather than a 'phonological' perspective. Dye, Hauser and

Bavelier (2008) analyse the differences in the cognitive and communicative aspects of a 'hearing' brain and compare this with the results of research, in various deaf school, on how information is processed by a Deaf person. Similarity, in Britain, Campbell, MacSweeney and Waters (2008) conducted research on the left and right hemispheres of the brain in order to illustrate differences in processing signed and spoken language.

1.3.1 Medical model perspectives

The medical model is underpinned by the thinking that deafness is an illness; a problem, an impairment (Wendell, 2001). Hence, Deaf people are disabled by their condition, and deafness can be treated: by medication, or by surgery (such as grommets and cochlear implants). Deafness must be managed: by audiology, by technology (hearing aids), by speech and lipreading training. The medical model, then, views deafness as form of illness, or disability or impairment, which can and must be treated or solved by medical invention (Corker, 1998; Commerson, 2008). This is combined with the notion that Deaf people can make use of residual hearing; no matter how little or how distorted that may be, it can be helped with audio technology and training. Parents of deaf children may be offered a cochlear implant for their child – an electronic device surgically implanted in the head and connected to a body-worn processor, which conducts nerve impulses to the brain to allow them to 'hear' artificially. The idea is that they will learn to speak and communicate through spoken language. According to this model, deafness is an individual or family problem. People still seek a cure for deafness, and the medical and audiological professions constantly strive to improve upon methods and processes to relieve the lack of hearing (Donovan, 2012).

Barnes (1996), Finkelstein (1996) and many other disability scholars have paid some attention to the cultural experiences of Deaf people but most scholars, while making a significant contribution to the field, place their ideas very much from a position of being hearing and hence fail to recognise the marginalisation that Deaf people have experienced under this perspective (Sutton-Spence and West, 2011; O'Brien and Emery, 2014). Deaf people have been seen in the light of disability for many years, despite persistently claiming that they prefer to be considered as a linguistic minority; this claim, unfortunately, is lost in the hearing construction of deafness and underrepresentation

of Deaf people in academia (Woodcock, Rohan and Campbell, 2007) and, as Scheier (2009) concludes, challenging it has been difficult for Deaf people. For many years, this has resulted in paternalism and tokenism towards Deaf BSL users. This sociohistorical attitude towards Deaf people has persisted since missionaries and social workers attempts to do things *for* Deaf people, again on the basis that they presumed Deaf people as unable to function independently. Paternalism and sympathy towards Deaf people is seen in many parts of the world. For example, Kusters' (2015a) study reports that Deaf commuters in the suburbs of Mumbai are expected to sit in the 'handicapped compartment' on trains, where they are treated with sympathy. This continuing perspective in society of Deaf people as being disabled is seen also in the workplace (Watson, 2016). It is perhaps due to this view of Deaf people as lesser able than hearing people that Deaf people experience barriers to securing employment, to training opportunities, and to progression and promotion at work. The obstacles that fall on many Deaf people's employment path are the aftermath of low expectations of Deaf people during their early years, and throughout their education (Simms & Thumann, 2007). The move towards equal opportunities for all, and further understanding of the cognitive differences with which Deaf people approach the working environment, should, in theory, alleviate the barriers to employment and within the workplace that Deaf people experience. The persistence of the medial model of disability, however, continues to cast low expectations on the potential of deaf employees. Such perspectives are afflicted upon the workplace as they filter down through the social system (Shakespeare, 1998), and professional workplace conflict is the result (Munoz-Baell & Ruiz 2000).

1.3.1.1 Disability and discrimination at work

The primary Act of Parliament that aimed to reduce discrimination in the workplace, the Disability Discrimination Act (DDA) of 1995 (HMSO, 1995), ruled that it is unlawful for a provider of a service to discriminate against a disabled person (Royal Association for the Deaf, 2009) and it defined a disabled person:

> "A person is disabled for the purposes of this Act if he has a physical or mental
>
> impairment which has a substantial and long term adverse effect on his ability

to carry out normal day to day activities."

(Disability Discrimination Act 1995, Part I, 1:1)

Since 1995, and the replacement of this Act with the Equality Act in 2010, employers, along with other service providers, have had to make their services accessible and non-discriminatory so that disabled people may receive the same opportunities as non-disabled people (Tregaskis, 2004). Despite the Acts, however, Drake (2001) found that people with disabilities are treated unequally, and still suffer severe economic and social disadvantages. Drake notes weaknesses in employment, equal pay, education, transport, and access to professional careers, and states that Britain has the highest rate of unemployment amongst disabled people. Drake also points out the difference between The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) and Britain's weaker legislation, such as the fact that the ADA places more recognition on the concept of social responsibilities and rights, whereas British laws tend to take a more paternalistic approach, encouraging dependence.

Regardless of legal attempts to improve levels of equality in society, discrimination against disabled people continues to be based upon the need to cure or make better (Finkelstein, 1996). Knight (1998) promotes the recognition of the linguistic minority aspect of deafness, which makes discrimination a human rights issue, instead of seeing disabled people as passive receivers of services aimed at cure or management. Inability to achieve this linguistic recognition leaves Deaf people firmly under the philosophy of disablism, still seen as a group of people who are unable to function effectively in everyday life. De Meulder (2015) notes that even where a country offers official government recognition of its sign language as a fully-fledged language, this does not lead to an increased level of understanding of the cultural and linguistic minority status of Deaf communities:

"Moreover, existing recognition laws focus mainly on sign language recognition, whereas cultural recognition is absent from most laws. Although I do not want to underestimate the importance of language recognition in any way, this focus on language alone has often prevented policymakers from

seeing the full legal picture of recognition, including Deaf communities' claims

to appreciation of their distinct cultures and identities."

(de Meulder, 2015: 499)

Disablism, according to Miller, Parker and Gillinson (2004) incorporates negative perceptions of people with disabilities, who are judged as needing help under this philosophy. This paternalism is rejected by scholars such as Barnes (1992), who emphasises the need to perceive disabled people as requiring full and equal human rights in an environment that does not discriminate. However, prejudices, discriminatory and oppressive behaviours, and attitudinal barriers, persist for Deaf people. As Miller et al. (2004) note, principles of normalisation remain active in the workplace, leading to the marginalisation of people who are considered to be disabled, and little is done to promote ableism and the empowerment that social acceptance affords (Wolfensberger, 1972; Davis, 1995).

1.3.1.2 Discrimination against Deaf people

The position of Deaf people as far as discrimination is concerned does lead to some insight into Deaf people's experiences. Finkelstein, (1990) expresses his views about overcoming disability definitions, addressing the fact that many Deaf people reject the disability label, noting that they prefer to be seen as an ethnic minority and reject attempts at cure and healing:

"There are important differences in the sources of discrimination against

disabled people (including deaf people) ...If there was an operation that could

turn black people to white (or women into men), and this was universally applied,

then there would be no discrimination based upon skin colour (or gender)."

(Finklestein, 1990: 267)

According to Knight (1998) such approaches "minimise the effect of deafness... which it views as deviation from the hearing norm...and aim for the 'assimilation' of a deaf person into the hearing society" (p. 217). Knight suggests that acceptance of Deaf people as a linguistic and cultural minority group in their own right would enable Deaf people

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to be accepted as part of society, affecting "society's knowledge, beliefs and attitudes towards disability and other minority groups". Alker (2000) emphasises how far Deaf people have been discriminated against, century after century:

> "Deaf people have been around as long as there have been human beings. Attempts to cure us are recorded in writings as far back as 5000Bc...Witch doctors...faith healers...medics...failed miserably."
>
> (Alker, 2000: 236)

Several authors discuss the fact that society fails to see Deaf people as cultural minority group (Luckner & Stewart, 2003; Sheridan, White and Mounty, 2010; Luft, 2014). Shaw (2012) also reports failure to be promoted at work due to communication issues.

In a study of ethnic minority groups, Ali, Naqvi and Carter (2007) note that there are approximately 97, 000 deaf people from Black and other ethnic minority groups in Britain and that, generally, they do not get access to the same services and opportunities as white people. Although no precise statistics are available, it can be assumed that a portion of such groups is made up of Deaf sign language users. Ahmad, Darr, Jones & Nisar (1998) suggest that Black Deaf groups and Asian women's groups have revealed the double dominance of a hearing and white culture. They call for equal relations across Deaf and hearing and white and black communities, focusing on the field of continuing education and the importance of access provision. Some people, then, are subject to multi-discrimination (Laurenzi and Ridgeway, 1996). The notion that Deaf people constitute a linguistic and cultural minority group, a notion that is steadily gaining support, is one that suggests that Deaf people should have the same rights as any other minority group, including the following rights, adapted from the World Federation of the Deaf's (2016) policy:

- ➢ The right to use their own language (BSL) openly and freely, and have it recognised as a native British language
- ➢ The right to educational opportunity
- ➢ The right to education in their own language
- ➢ The right to access public places without unnecessary communication or language barriers
- ➢ The right to access goods and services on equal terms

- ➢ The right to employment based upon ability
- ➢ The right to make decisions for themselves, rather than have decisions made for them by non-Deaf people.

Despite persistent calls for such rights for BSL and/or Deaf BSL users, a report compiled by Haualand and Allen (2009), on behalf of the World Federation of the Deaf and the Swedish National Association of the Deaf, reports that:

"Seventy-seven countries recognise that Deaf people have the right to work and earn a salary, but only 47 have anti-discrimination legislation in the field of employment that protects Deaf people against discrimination at work. Fifty countries say Deaf people can access university education, but only 18 countries provide sign language interpreting at universities. In all other countries, Deaf people's access to higher education is very limited".

(Haualand and Allen, 2009: 6)

Largely, these rights are based on Deaf people's need to receive and impart information in sign language. Haualand and Allen clearly note the violation when this right is denied: "When Deaf people, whose natural language(s) are sign language(s), are denied the use of sign language in interaction with other people or experience discrimination in various areas of life because they use sign language, the consequence is violation of their human rights (2009: 9).

1.3.2 Social model perspectives

An alternative concept in society is the notion that disability (and hence deafness) is not a medical construct, but a social one (Swain and French, 2000). According to a social model, disabled people are seen as activists in the push for equality, campaigning alongside allies and working together (Thomas, 2007). Deafness is not an illness or an impairment – it is not a problem, but a difference and Deaf people are only disabled by barriers created by other people. Under the social model perspective, deafness is still

considered as a disability but only because of society's negative attitude to it, and because of the barriers that block access. The social model was brought about by changes in society and the way we think about people with disabilities (Shakespeare, 2001). This perspective does, however, move away from the idea that deafness is abnormal and therefore something to be mended or changed, and accepts Deaf people for what they are: different. Under the social model, there is no such thing as 'normal' and, as Burch (2009) suggests, we all have our own view of normality. The idea that Deaf people must be made to conform to a social norm is wrong according to this model, so those who are profoundly deaf should not be subjected to cures and attempts to make them hear unless they themselves want that. It is up to society to adapt, to accept alternative ways of communicating, and to provide sign language interpreters.

1.3.3   Sociocultural model perspectives

The sociocultural model of deafness is an attempt to encourage respect, value and acceptance and has come, to some extent, in the form of Paddy Ladd's notion of 'Deafhood'. Ladd (2003) examines the shared experiences of Deaf people on a global level and attempts to illustrate the psycho-cultural aspects of being Deaf in a positive light. In keeping with terminology from other minority groups, such as Sisterhood, Ladd devised the umbrella term of Deafhood, encapsulating the lived experiences, including shared educational experiences, of Deaf people, and validating them. This notion was quickly and warmly accepted in the Deaf world as a new understanding of what it means to be Deaf and the struggle for equality that Deaf people have experienced for many years. The concept of Deafhood offers benefit to this research in terms of encapsulating the experiences and way of life of Deaf people into one term but it does not offer much in terms of a framework for understanding the conflicts that arise out of the differing perspectives among BSL users and does not provide an explicit notion of the implications and consequences of interrelationships.

Deaf people consider being Deaf as a positive aspect of their identity, and express a view that the primary barrier to successful interaction in society is communication, due to the primary language and culture being as sign language users. As Ladd (2003: 154-5) states, "The recognition of sign languages then enabled the radical Deaf sectors

and their hearing allies to develop a political construction of Deaf communities as linguistic minorities". According to the sociocultural model perspective, Deaf people should be allowed to communicate through their preferred language (Brennan, 1993; Sutton-Spence & Woll, 1999). Through this philosophy, Deaf people, bound together by the Deaf community, constitute a linguistic and cultural minority group, and should be given minority rights rather than the help that is prescribed under the medical and social models.

1.4   The workplace

1.4.1   *Diversity and conflict in the workplace*

While workplaces may be diverse in physicality and in service provision, including private and public institutions, education and health setting, and the business industry, they are also largely diverse in terms of employee demographics. The workplace, then, is an interactive hub where people from diverse cultural backgrounds intermingle. Coleman's (1995) study of coping with cultural difference in the counselling field is also applicable to the managements of cultural diversity in the workplace. Coleman found an increase in conflict problems, and suggests that devising a method for dealing with diversity can help to avoid an upsurge in stress; Coleman also notes, in relation to increased levels of stress, that the attitudes of individuals involved are a major contributing factor conflict, along with communication.

In a phenomenological study of 7 people across 6 cultures, Doer (2004) reveals that interviews that were conducted identified factors which lead to cross-cultural conflict, including poor conflict management. Doer's study, an in-depth analysis of a conflict situation, also found that effective communication is a fundamental skill necessary to avoid and resolve conflict. The importance of recognising early emerging themes that may lead to conflict is advised, and Doer notes that some positive outcomes of cross-cultural conflict include increased understanding of other cultures. The study also informs us that achieving a low conflict state requires the belief that success is achieved through a willingness to learn. Being open to other cultures, in fact, can lead to enculturation, and the ability to understand stereotypes and cultural value systems

in relation to work colleagues, and to the general public. Intercultural communication is interaction with people that is entrenched in culture, and a good level of appreciation of diverse cultures helps in avoiding conflict situations. According to Dana (2001: 19), 42% of employees' time is spent in conflict in the US, or in an attempt to resolve conflict, and this has the effect of loss of productivity.

1.4.2   *Negotiating interrelations in the workplace*

In essence, the workplace, according to Vartiainen (2006), can be defined as any physical space where a person carries out work-based activities. The workplace that is of relevance to this study is a physical space where Deaf people are employed and are working alongside hearing people, and comprises an interconnected dimension - "a central concept for several entities: the worker and his/her family, the employing organization, the customers of the organization, and the society as a whole" (Jackson & Suomi, 2004:37). As Jackson & Suomi note, the workplace in this context is fundamentally the second most shared space after the home environment and thus there are implications for the occupiers of such a significant shared workspace. Workspaces have naturally evolved, in terms of both physical structure and the technological revolution of the era. Developments in technology, and changes to physical environments, can of course be accepted openly or resisted; working relationships, however, must be continually negotiated and relationships form from developing networks and from effective work practices. Focussing on the interior organisation of the 'workscape', Becker and Steele (1995) propose that the success of team work, and other workplace initiatives, relies on the effective use of the physically shared work spaces, and on the interrelations at play:

> "(Workplace) size, shape, layout, furnishings, and equipment shape our work lives; at the same time our behaviours, attitudes, and values shape the nature of that designed environment, how it is used and the meanings we attach to it."

> (Becker and Steele, 1995: x)

Looking at the sociology of the workplace, Parker (2013) suggests that there is much to learn about working relationships of various levels. Based on a national survey - the Social Survey – Parker evaluated interrelations among management and staff in relation to organisational systems, and working practices and procedures, and found that the physical and social context of the workplace can lead to negative effects on employees' performance. Parker developed a quasi-experimental field study and a framework to conduct further research based on two particular models: 1) a cluster model of the variables involved, based at a macro level, which focusses on mapping out organisational systems more effectively; and 2) a path model, which deals at a micro level with responses to changes, and categorises the level of workers and the decision-making processes. Parker's case studies help us to gain a deeper understanding of the state of "interrelationships of structure, behaviour, and attitudes" (2013:14).

1.4.3 British Sign Language users in the workplace

There are several environments in which Deaf and hearing BSL users work together. In the 'mainstream', most workplaces are made up predominantly of hearing people and an isolated Deaf person, or a few Deaf people at most, may be employed to work alongside. In the usual scenario, the hearing members of staff in such employment environments will not be sign language users and will not have any knowledge or awareness of Deaf people, hence this would not be a mixed environment where Deaf and hearing BSL users are working together. There are, however, some exceptions to this situation, such as mainstream organisations that provide services for deaf people, and make a conscious effort to employ Deaf people for that reason. In such situations, referred to in this study as 'hearing-led' organisations, and due to the higher than average number of Deaf employees and the nature of the service provision, some of the hearing members of staff may learn BSL to some extent (Woolfe, 2004; Watson, 2016).

In contrast, there are organisations that provide services for deaf people that are predominantly 'Deaf-led', that is, large numbers of Deaf people are employed and the hearing people that work alongside will be expected to learn and use sign language to a good extent, and should have knowledge of issues related to Deaf people. This leads to a mixed environment, where Deaf and hearing BSL users are working together daily. This

may apply to the whole organisation, or to one specialist department within an organisation. This situation is most noticeable in higher education institutions that have BSL and Deaf Studies departments that run courses in the subject and conduct related academic research. For the purposes of this study, then, organisations are distinguished according to the following definitions:

➢ Mainstream – an organisation that provides mainstream services and recruits predominantly hearing people with one, or just a few, isolated Deaf people;

➢ Hearing-led – an organisation that provides services for Deaf people and employs a large number of Deaf staff members, but is run largely by hearing people;

➢ Deaf-led - an organisation that provides services for Deaf people and employs a large number of Deaf staff members, and is run largely by Deaf people.

1.5   Introducing conflict theory

1.5.1   Conflict defined

In scholarly literature, definitions of conflict are many and varied. This variance is dependent upon the particular school of thought; psychologists understand conflict in a different way to politicians or sociologists. Conflict is understood as a set of factors that, more often than not, impact one another, and conflict arises as a result of many precipitating factors. Conflict, in its broadest terms, is a pendulum and encompasses an array of phenomena, such as conflict at work, family conflict, governmental conflict, systematic conflict and internal personal conflict. Conflict on a mass scale includes battle, such as war and the development of weaponry. Advancement in science and technology has seen war conflict worsen over the years to a point where mass destruction is more commonplace. Examples of this are evident when looking at Napoleonic wars and the reign of Hitler (Bartos & Wehr, 2002). Conflict caused by perceived status can also arise. According to Dahrendorf (1959), changes in developing societies over time, brought about by developments such as the industrial revolution,

have led to rises in conflict between groups within society. Subsequent movements of liberation have promoted issues surrounding gender, the environment, ethnicity and physical disability for those who had no voice, hence conflict has come to be defined as the struggles and clashes among social groups (Kriesberg, 1998). In spite of liberation, empowerment movements have accelerated conflict between individuals and organisations (Hall, 1982) and this has led to the introduction of conflict resolution workshops, training and intergroup mediation services.

Conflict may be viewed as a negative or positive activity within a shared environment, and differences among people have recently been viewed in a more positive light due to the learning impact it can have on behaviour and attitudes (Pickens 2005). Conflicting behaviours are a response to a situation by an individual and no two individuals will respond to the situation in the same way. This is due to the differences in experiences, upbringing, interests and influences of an individual, which will impact on feelings about the situation and generate a response. According to Augsburger, conflict is "universal, cultural and individual" (1992: 25), ranging from specific disagreements between as few as two individuals, to differences of opinions in a small group that cause discontentment, or to larger organisational clashes of principles and rights. Conflict is seen, then, at the level of the individual, within a group or a whole society, and even at a global level, where worldwide political and religious leaders deal with the consequences of media, military and other societal struggles of a catastrophic and incompatible nature. For this research study, it is the dynamic effects and causes of relationship conflict that is of interest, as the study focuses on the issues that arise from differing lived experiences. Bartos and Wehr (2002) succinctly describe this as "a situation in which actors use conflict behaviour against each other to attain incompatible goals and/or to express their hostility" (p. 13).

1.5.2   Levels of conflict in the workplace

Workplace conflict, and its potential for negativity and discord among the workforce, is an important aspect of working people's lives. Lafair (2009), a practicing therapist in family relationships and infantile role models, studied the stresses that evolve from family issues that are brought, albeit subconsciously, into the workplace, and expresses

the need to be more inventive in handling conflict situations. An effective model of workplace conflict is proposed by Rahim (2011) and focusses on levels of conflict that highlight where struggles and tensions occur and potential causes of such negative engagement. Rahim (pp. 22-23) defines four levels of workplace conflict:

Intrapersonal conflict: "occurs when an organizational member is required to perform certain tasks and roles that do not match his or her expertise, interests, goals and vales". At this level, conflict is the result of unrealistic expectations placed on workers, and differing goals and needs within the workplace.

Interpersonal conflict: "refers to conflict between two or more interacting individuals, as manifestation of incompatibility, disagreement or differences between the parties involved in conflict. It can involve the same or different hierarchical levels or units". This second level of organisational conflict, then, indicates functional disagreement or antagonism within the workplace hierarchy.

Intragroup conflict: "refers to conflict among members of a group or between two or more subgroups within a group regarding goals, tasks, procedures, and so on. It might also occur as a result of incompatibilities or disagreement between some or all members of a group and its leader". At this level, workplace conflict is beyond the individual; it is discord that is exhibited within a group within the workforce.

Intergroup conflict: "refers to conflict between two or more units, divisions, department or groups within an organization, regarding, tasks, resources, information, and so on (e.g. line and staff; production and marketing; labour and management)". This fourth level of workplace conflicts relates to the power and authority that is exhibited across the various hierarchies within organisations.

As this study seeks to explore conflicts between individuals, and among group members, the study focuses at the interpersonal and intragroup levels.

1.5.3 Sources of conflict

As the previous section has seen, workplace conflict may arise at several levels, from individual, personal struggles to disagreement among team members and within and across the various groups that make up the workforce. Conflict may arise from competition in the workplace, such as rivalry for job promotion opportunities and due to structural inequality. Conflict management includes strategies to prevent conflict from leading to dispute and uncontrolled disagreement, and to benefit from the opportunities for learning that understanding difference provides. While strategies for managing conflict are dependent on the aims and objectives of the management and workforce, sources of conflict appear to be similar across organisations. Liddell's (2011) synopsis of six primary sources of organisational conflict clearly describe the causes of conflict at work that are relevant to this study:

1. **Distributive factors -** Which arise when the rewards or resources for work are not, or are perceived not to be, distributed equally across the workforce;

2. **Structural/organisational factors -** Which arises when the division of work among members of the organisation, and the coordination of their activities, are not directed towards achieving the same goals and objectives;

3. **Human relations factors -** Mirroring society as a whole, organisations are complex systems comprising a diverse and broad range of individuals whose backgrounds, perceptions, values, roles, beliefs, cultures, attitudes, opinions, needs, goals, expectations and behaviours are interwoven and inter-related;

4. **Management factors -** Conflict that arises from the specific actions, or inactions, of managers within the organisation;

5. **Factors arising from change -** Conflict that arises when the speed of organisational change results in many employees feeling overcome and bewildered;

6. **Economic, political and legal factors -** Economic factors which can impact upon workplace conflict include: fluctuating levels of employment and labour market demands; differences in pay between occupations and access occupations; distributive facts and inequality of access to resources and rewards.

(Liddell, 2011: 17-29)

1.6   Overview of chapters

As this introduction to the research study has already noted, this is the first study to employ a conflict theory approach to examine Deaf and hearing BSL users' experiences of working together. This introductory chapter, which forms Part I of the thesis, has provided some insight into the lived experience of Deaf people from a wider sociocultural perspective in order to set the wider context on which the study is based. Perceptions of both Deaf and hearing people have been discussed, followed by a brief explanation of models of deafness that have affected attitudes towards Deaf people in society. An introduction to the mixed Deaf/hearing workplace environment, and to conflict theory, has provided the reader with some understanding of the oppression and domination of Deaf people, their language and their culture.

In the following chapter, which forms the first section of Part II, the backdrop to the investigation, the sociocultural aspect of the study is presented in the form of a literature review. The review aims to highlight the nature of conflict in depth and to consider current knowledge in relation to conflicts among Deaf and hearing people in both the wider society, and in the workplace. This includes paying attention to the different culture, language and educational experiences of Deaf and hearing people, along with consideration of the essential paradigm shift that has been expressed in academic literature. Employment barriers and underemployment are key aspects of the review, and the chapter ends with a discussion of attitudes towards Deaf people and the level of disempowerment that is felt among this minority group.

The backdrop to the investigation continues in chapter three, where the theoretical framework is provided and the chapter begins with a discussion of the phenomenological approach that is integral to this research. Further research decisions are discussed and the qualitative nature of the study is made clear. This chapter next presents a reflexive account of the researcher's background and positioning in order to maximise transparency in this interpretive study of Deaf and hearing BSL users. There has been very little Deaf 'insider' research in the past, and this research is conducted by a Deaf person, bringing an element of Bourdieu's (1977) 'habitus' that is quite unique to the field of deaf studies research, as chapter three reveals. Being an active member of

the Deaf community provides a natural means of access to, and understanding of, the socialised norms and tendencies that guide the lived experiences of Deaf people, leading to informed Deaf research. For this reason, the chapter has provided some reflective understanding of the position of the researcher and personal and scholarly influences on the study.

During the third part of this study, Part III, the research design and analysis is presented from a theoretical and a methodological perspective. Chapter four opens with a detailed description of the qualitative research methods – the inductive thematic analysis and the wheel of conflict – which provide the most appropriate method for answering the research questions. After a brief discussion of translation considerations, a description of the ethical considerations that were taken during the research process is presented. Next, the data collection activities and the stages of the collection processes are provided. The chapter then proceeds with a detailed account of the research stages, and of the data coding and analysis process involved in this research study. Attention is paid to the way that the chosen method enables a visual coding process to take place. The chapter continues with a description of the pilot study that was undertaken, and its relation to the credibility of the study. Alongside credibility, dependability and the triangulation process are also raised and considered in depth.

In Part IV of the thesis - principle data findings – chapter five opens with a detailed account of the interpretation of the data that was collected for this study. In this chapter, the experiences of Deaf and hearing BSL users of working together are summarised through a preliminary analysis of the data, and this provides a clear and concise picture of the conflict situation. The first part of this chapter also provides an overview of the data from a numerical perspective and a comparison of the results found across the research activities undertaken. The largest part of this chapter, which follows, is then dedicated to presenting the resulting *themes* that were identified during the data coding and analysis process. This comprises a detailed discussion of the themes and each sub-section of this part of the chapter focuses on one theme and presents the results of the data analysis that were identified in relation to that theme. The interpretation of each result is supplemented by short extracts taken from the data that illustrate the theme, and an analytical discussion of the issue and the implications for

workplace interaction among BSL users are considered. This discussion provides insight into the causes of the workplace conflict expressed by the participants and establishes the relationships between the experiences and the elements of the wheel of conflict framework that they highlight.

Part IV culminates in chapter six, which examines the principle data findings from a critical perspective. In this chapter, the interpretations of the findings are presented through a discussion of the analysis results. This is followed by a detailed description of the key findings, including the primary cause of workplace conflict. The interplay of language and culture are next explored, as the study further considers the implications of Deaf and hearing BSL users' differences, and the impact that such differences have on working relations. This chapter concludes with a return to the research questions in order to fully consider the extent to which BSL users are united or divided.

The final part of this thesis, Part V, comprises the final chapter, chapter seven, which brings the study to a conclusion. This begins with a detailed description of the practical and theoretical implications of the findings. This is complemented by a sign-based workplace framework, which has developed from this study as a potential first step to transition and resolution for workplace environments where Deaf and hearing BSL users are experiencing conflict such as that discovered during this study. Consideration of the limitations of the study is followed by contemplation of future directions and implications for further research, which ends the chapter with a post-findings discussion and reminder of the importance of the sociocultural nature of conflict among Deaf and hearing BSL users in the workplace.

PART II: BACKDROP TO THE INVESTIGATION

2   Chapter Two - Literature Review: conflict and the workplace

2.1   Introduction

As this research is based on a study of workplace conflict, this literature review begins with a detailed exploration of conflict theory and its historical development in society. This initial backdrop to the investigation sets the context for the more specific area of examination that this research investigates – the workplace. Structural hierarchies are considered and the effects of conflict on the individual, as well as on group relations, is explored. The review next considers previous frameworks that have been employed to examine a range of employment settings, including organisational, institutional and professional working environments. Across the employment environments, previous research related to interrelationships within institutions is discussed, including a variety of roles and relationships within this sector. Conflict is explored in relation to culture, language and education in order to consider group differences and this is followed by a review of the situation of high unemployment, and underemployment, experienced by Deaf BSL users. This chapter also explores previous studies of attitudes towards Deaf people, both in the workplace and in the wider society, in order to establish attitude as a component of conflict at work.

2.2   Understanding conflict theory

2.2.1   Human conflict and society

Conflict theory, as comprehended in this study, relies on the understanding that social groups naturally function in opposition to each other and this leads to conflict or tension between the groups (Sherif, 2015). On a societal level, conflict theory, according to its founder Karl Marx, begins with the notion that there are divided groups within a society – which Marx based largely on the wealthy and the poor (known as the bourgeoisie and the proletariat respectively). Groups within a society engage in dealing with constant power struggles for control of resources, such as property, assets and wealth (Marx and Engels, (1947). This division is said to have been brought about by changes in law that

took place during the industrial revolution and selling of land for industrial development to people who could afford it, leaving people with less wealth forced to work in the developed industry for very little pay and with very low working conditions. Marx believed that there is a natural source of tension within this capitalist type of society that leads to destruction. Marx called for radical changes in order to move towards freedom from the ruling class and advocated for a more transparent view of society: one where people have equal opportunity to progress (Eagleton, 1991). Society is in a state of perpetual conflict due to competition for limited resources, and social order is maintained by domination and power rather than consensus and conformity. Social, political or material inequality of social groups occurs, and individuals and groups (social classes) within society interact on the basis of conflict rather than consensus. The conflict issues that this philosophical approach raises, namely exploitation, inequality and oppression, are all of relevance to this research study and are raised in later chapters.

Weber, follower of Marx, also worked within this notion of societal conflict but, as a conflict theorist, has offered a different perspective. Weber's focus on observation of individual behaviour within a social structure, from a micro perspective, has enabled research to examine society on a different level. His idea of social stratification stresses the importance of 'social action' (Weber 1991: 7) and the notion that individuals are connected via social relationships, which are organised internally in a hierarchical system. This system enables the exercise of control over 'social resources' and demonstrates how certain social groups thrive from power and control (Lopes, 2015). Simmel, German sociologist and philosopher, suggests that intergroup conflict is part of this social process. In a study of objective culture, Simmel (1955), considers the dynamics of how humans interact with each other in communities. In one of his essays, Foucault (1977; 1982) adapts the Bentham model of 'prison reform', where prisoners have no interaction with each other, and minimal communication with the prison authorities. Describing prison punishments in terms of a 'panoptic and carceral culture', Foucault pays attention to the changes in society in terms of the power that is held, suggesting that institutions have "disindividualized" people. Dahrendorf (1959) focuses

on the class conflict in the industrial society, portraying a theory of social class conflict based on Karl Marx's empirical work.

Historically, war has erupted in the face of conflict, causing mutual harm and violent revolution. This has led to renowned leaders calling for alternative conflict resolution, such as Gandhi's practice, which was originally coined as "passive resistance" (Gandhi, 1968: 106) then later became known as the 'Satyagraha' approach – the movement to consider how to resolve potential threats in a more humanistic, non-violent way (Wehr & Nepstad 1994). Such power and control during large scale conflict has often led to 'colonialism', described by Horvath (1972: 46) as, "a form of domination - the control by individuals or groups over the territory and/or behavior of other individuals or groups", resulting in devastating effects on whole communities and cultures.

2.2.2 Colonialism: the Deaf workscape

Taking conflict theory, and particularly the phenomenon of colonialism, as a central focus, enables this study to consider the power and control that are placed on Deaf people's lives (Lane, 1999) and explore it in relation to the workplace. Research by Ladd (2008) discusses this power imbalance under Gramsci's concept of *hegemony,* which gives rise to the belief that an imbalance of power in society can result in leadership and domination by a particular cultural group. Foucault (1967) and Bourdieu's (1984) power struggle theories, or 'habitus' (in Filmer, Jenks, Seale, Thoburn and Walsh, 2007), also enable us to compare the situation for Deaf communities and shed light on our understanding of how Deaf people are dominated. Lane (1999) explores the notion of the control and decision-making by hearing people over Deaf people, and this has led to scholarly discussion of colonisation of Deaf communities. Lane provides a thorough illustration of the comparisons we can make between the oppressive experiences of colonised people and of Deaf sign language users. Lane's (ibid.) description of his journey to Africa, and learning about the oppression and colonialisation of Black people, leaves us with a clear understanding of how Deaf sign language users can be viewed as having experienced the negative consequences of being controlled and undermined by a larger and more powerful majority group. Lane states: "I had come to know the struggle of

deaf people, and I naturally saw in Africa's colonial history (and its aftermath) a term of comparison for the oppression of deaf communities" (p. 32). Ladd (2003) also views Deaf people as being in a colonial state, in line with Merry's understanding of colonialism:

> "Colonialism is an instance of a more general phenomenon of domination. Events that happened in the past, such as those in the period of colonial conquest and control, can provide insights into processes of domination and resistance in the present. The study of colonialism describes processes of domination at the periphery of the world system. But the way European societies expanded and endeavoured to dominate culturally distinct societies indicates much about the nature of European society itself and about the ways it seeks to achieve control over other societies."
>
> (Merry, 1991: 890)

In its application to Deaf communities worldwide, Ladd (2008: 42) proposes that "four forms of colonization can be identified: *economic, welfare, linguistic, and cultural*". This colonialism is revealed in persistent attempts to erase sign languages, described clearly in Baynton's findings in relation to the education of deaf children, where it is stated that "the powerfulness of this movement colonised indigenous sign languages all around the world, as oralism took its hold and consequently led to the authority of the hearing over the deaf" (Baynton, 1996: 150). This results in a removal of the benefits that the process of schoolization in specialist residential schools enables for Deaf children (Quinn, 2010), and in forcing Deaf people to assimilate to a hearing identity. This colonialism is achieved through persistent medical intervention practices, such as cochlear implantation, and oralist educational policies. In parallel to studies of other marginalised groups, the oppression faced by Deaf people exists in the structural constraints that Asante examines:

"We have not solved our problems until we can explain how certain structural constraints exist in the world of the culturally oppressed and psychologically dominated, how intellectual discourse is hierarchical in all of its forensic, deliberate, ceremonial, sermonic, and agitational forms. As such, hierarchy becomes a metaphor for the relationships between oppressed and the oppressor, and consequently demands resistance from the oppressed."

(Asante, 1998: 33)

In Ladd's context, colonialism is seen as the denigration of signed languages and the attempts to eradicate Deaf identity and Deaf culture: the colonisation of Deaf space. Deaf Space is a concept conceived at Gallaudet University within the last decade and is expanded by Bauman (2014). In its developmental stages, the term used to describe the concept was "visu-centric" (Smith, 2008: 90). This has now developed into an awareness of the benefits to Deaf people of a multi-sensory approach in the planning and construction of the built environment. This multi-sensory approach takes into account ways in which spatial awareness differs for Deaf people, and consideration is given to cognition, emotion and the way that people move in the space around themselves. Deaf space, as Hurley (2016) describes, incorporates five basic criteria:

"Space and Proximity" – which takes account of naturally occurring spatial formation within groups of Deaf people due to the requirement for eye contact and the dynamic nature of sign language;

"Sensory reach" – which relates to a Deaf person's sensory perception of the environment. Deaf Spaces are designed to enhance visibility and sensory perception with the focus on the ability to view corridors, using low glare reflective surfaces, and through controlled vibrations;

"Mobility and Proximity" – enhances the ability of Deaf people to navigate the built environment whilst communicating in sign language. Deaf spaces promote the application of re-designed, gentler gradients and the construction of both man-made and naturally occurring elements to aid navigation;

"Light and Colour" – is used to promote contrast between a variety of skin tones, leading to decreased levels of visual stress. Distribution of light is also an important factor;

"Acoustics" – is the final element, and is taken into account within Deaf Space to ensure the minimisation of background noise and promote acoustically quiet spaces.

A variety of authors have further developed the area of research into Deaf Space since its conception (Gulliver, 2009; Bauman, Lewis, Luker and Sirvage, 2012), and methods have enhanced the design in order to create more habitable and workable environments for Deaf people to live and work in. Kusters (2015b) conducted an ethnographic study using the principle of Deaf Space in Adamorobe, Ghana and found that Deaf people sought each other out to create and form their own society.

2.2.3   Visual vs auditory factors

Central to the sociocultural discussions of this study is the notion that Deaf people come together as a community of visual people, with Deaf culture and sign language use at the heart of the community (Bauman, 2004). Bahan (2008) describes the behaviour of Deaf people from a Deaf perspective, stating that, "They use a visual language to communicate and have developed a visual system of adaptation to orient them in the world that defines their ways of being" (p. 83). Deaf people, then, not only use a visual means for communication but relate to the world on a highly visual level. This is a very different way of relating to the world to a hearing person. Hearing people rely instinctively on sounds to access information about the environment around them and to relate to the world and to interact; where there is auditory deprivation, there is a necessity to rely on visual means. This use of eyes is also the basis for the sense of shared experience that is at the heart of Deaf culture and Deaf way of life. Bahan goes on to consider the use of the eyes in communicative situations such as a classroom and highlights the problems that can occur as a result of misunderstood eye gaze:

"The teacher will also sweep his gaze and head around the group to address all of the students. Handling this distinction between the two types of classroom eye gaze has been problematic for non-fluent signing teachers and has caused misunderstandings between the teachers and students. For example, a teacher used an I-gaze at one particular student when he was actually addressing the whole class. Signing "please pay attention when I am talking" with the eye gaze at one particular student will likely result in the student responding "I have been paying attention; why are you picking on me?"

(Bahan, 2008: 86)

The differences between Deaf and hearing people in terms of being primarily visual vs. primarily aural are indicated in the diagram below:
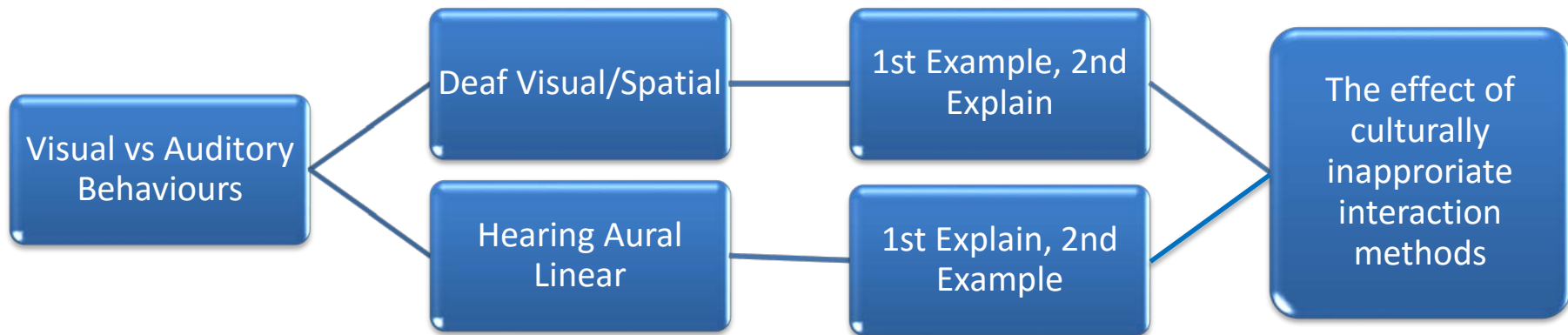
Figure 2-1 Visual-Cultural Factors

Cultural differences in terms of visuality as opposed to aural ways of being will be discussed at many points during this study and are discussed many times in scholarly literature. The visual nature of Deaf people means that providing examples initially and then underpinning them with theory is more effective than providing theoretical knowledge and supporting it with example, a strategy that is more suited to the concrete learner (Maller and Braden, 2011). Sutherland's (2008) study of teaching English to deaf children highlights the need for understanding of the visual nature of deaf people. Gascon-Ramos (2005) also notes the importance of visuality and the need to switch to a 'Deaf framework':

> "In summary sign language was associated with a switch from a hearing framework to a Deaf framework. Progress in the language meant being able to get into the shoes of D/deaf people, to see and construct life through their eyes. In turn, not being able to see life through D/deaf people's eyes limited the command of the language and also limited teachers' ability to achieve meaningful communication with pupils."

> (Gascon-Ramos 2005: 176)

According to Codina, Pascalis, Mody, Toomey, Rose, Gummer & Buckley (2011), this cultural difference is revealed in the use of the eyes and differences in visual field between Deaf and hearing people:

> "This study replicated previous reports of increased visual field size in profoundly deaf adults…The visual field increase documented in the deaf is in close agreement with specific peripheral vision enhancements previously reported in deaf adults…In deaf, but not hearing participants, visual stimuli have caused activation in the auditory cortex and increased activation in motion selective area…Our results suggest that both the retina and optic nerve adapt to allow further peripheral information to be captured prior to the increased visual processing at cortical level which has been previously evidenced."

> (Codina, Pascalis, Mody, Toomey, Rose, Gummer & Buckley, 2011: 6)

In order to illustrate this cultural, and hence visuality, difference, a four-diagram structure has been devised for this section. This allows the literature review to show the issues related to visuality according to the theoretical positions raised in relation to the Deafhood perspective described in the previous chapter. The following diagrams have therefore been devised to illustrate the conceptualisations of this research:

D   ------   **H**

Don't hear   **Hear 1st**

Visual Impression 1st   **Visual Impression 2nd**

(D = Deaf; H = hearing)
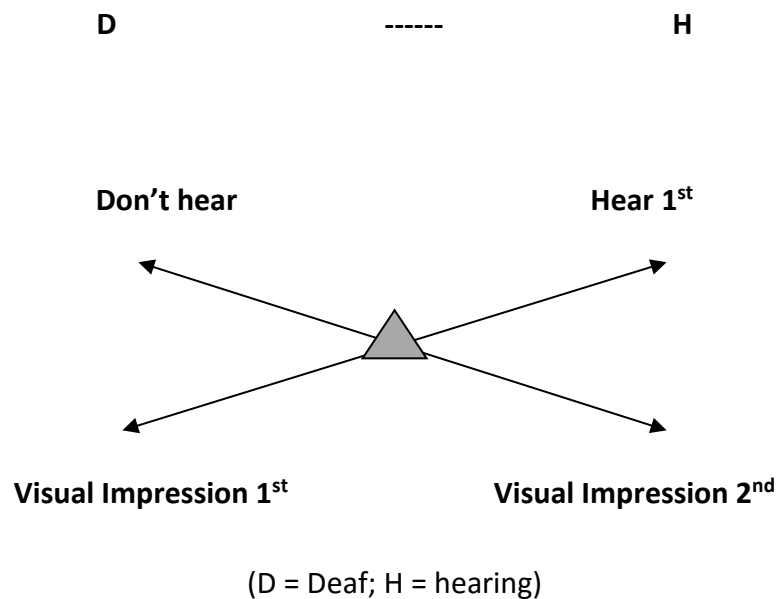
Figure 2-2 Diagram 1: Context

This diagram illustrates the idea that Deaf people approach interaction from a different perspective to hearing people: the main context to this research. The first impression made by a Deaf person is exclusively visual, whereas a hearing person's attention to visual detail occurs secondary to sound (Dye, Hauser and Bavelier, 2008). In relation to interaction, Deaf people place emphasis on the use of eye contact and facial expressions. Huseman (2009) explains that this is the key factor in setting the tone between two individuals, especially where cultural differences exist, hence proxemics, (the study of non-verbal communication) is relevant to this thesis. The four subcategories of proxemics are identified by Moore (2010) as haptics (touch), kinesics (body movement), vocalics (paralanguage) and chronemics (the structure of time). Proxemics, introduced to cultural anthropology by Hall (1963; 1966) highlights the importance of behaviour within personal space and the different layers of space that are operating when people interactive daily. There are studies that have paid attention to

the level of eye gaze and visual attention paid by Deaf adults and Deaf children (Hauser, Cohen, Dye & Bavelier 2007). For example, Morris (2002) conducted a global study of the unconscious or conscious act of giving 'signals' through the eyes and the relation between this and attitude, finding changes in the use of eye contact depending on the participants' behaviours. A study comparing Deaf and hearing children's use of eye gaze also found that Deaf children pay more visual attention and make more specific use of eye gaze when interacting with parents. Mayberry, Hatrak and Liberman (2011) looked at this issue in even more depth when researching sign language use and suggest that Deaf people gain visual access to information by using the eyes. The study found that Deaf people make effective use of eye 'shifts' in order to maintain consistent access to information and what is going on around them through a higher level of 'visual attention'. The differences in cognition between Deaf and hearing people is discussed in Dye, Hauser and Bavelier's (2008) study of distraction and use of peripheral vision, which found that hearing people's main eye focus is predominantly central, and Deaf people's focus is further afield, into the peripheral regions. This finding has shown that Deaf children in classrooms are not behaving badly when turning to the sides and appearing distracted, but are attending to the natural focus of their eyes in the periphery, and may help to reduce the labelling of Deaf children as badly behaved in the classroom that has been predominant over the past 70 years. Labelling of Deaf people such as this is common and highlights the control over Deaf people's lives that hearing people have. This control has been, and continues to be, misleading and damaging in many contexts, and particularly in the education sector. Recent research, such as the studies presented in Marschark and Hauser's edited text (2008) show that recent changes in attitudes towards Deaf people may be leading to a better level of understanding and increased cultural awareness among hearing sign language users, though these improvements are noted as being very slight and only seen in people who are involved with the Deaf community. The following diagram illustrates the visual arrangement required for sign language users. The circular layout allows the sign language being used to be seen by all interlocutors.

<div align="center">

D   ------   **H**

Room   **Room**

Figure 2-3 Diagram 2: Cultural Environment

</div>

This diagram alludes to the different environmental needs of Deaf and hearing people. In a classroom, for example, Deaf people need to be seated so that everyone is within their line of vision, in order to view their signing; hearing people are accustomed to being seated in rows and are able to hear the conversation without full view of the speaker. It is important that hearing BSL users are aware of this visual arrangement and how it is necessary in a culturally competent environment.

<div align="center">

D   ------   **H**

Figure 2-4 Diagram 3: Kinaesthetic

</div>

In addition to specific seating arrangements, a review of academic literature reveals that Deaf people also appreciate a visual layout that is conducive to communicating visually: good lighting and appropriate background colours are just some aspects of the relevant kinaesthetic requirements of Deaf culture when interacting in Deaf Space. Hall's three types of generic space: featured fixed space, semi-fixed space and informal space are of interest here (Hall, 1963; 1966; 1968). According to this theory, featured fixed space deals with how cultures arrange their space on a large scale, such as buildings and parks, and semi-fixed space deals with how we arrange space inside buildings, such as placement of desks, chairs and plants. Informal space is the space that we place most

importance on and includes talking distance and how close people sit to one another in offices, etc. In relation to Deaf people, Exeter Deaf Academy provides an example of a 'cutting edge' premises, offering 'featured fixed space' to fit in with the needs and access benefits of the Deaf young people there. The unique design provides informal space with appropriate levels of open space, airing and a 'visual outlook'; the requirement of semi-fixed space includes the curved, rounded and circular design of seating and appropriate lighting. Modern renovation designs in deaf spaces also illustrate this inclusive signing environment (Sackowski & Seigel, 2013; Behm, 2015).

D & H
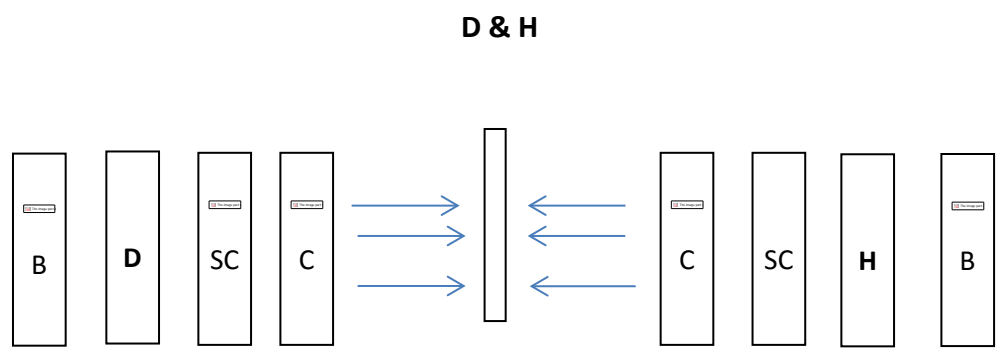
(B-background; D-Deaf; H-hearing; SC-subconscious; C-conscious)

Figure 2-5 Diagram 4: Interaction

This diagram highlights the combination of factors that are prevalent during interaction in the workplace, and the way that they impact upon each other from an interpersonal perspective. Where the aspects are more dissimilar among people, there is less positive interaction. This research aims to explore the extent to which personal background and levels of self-awareness interact to enable more effective interaction among BSL users. The interaction makes use of a visual-cultural approach and the four elements combined conclude the 'connectedness' that occurs during workplace interaction and the way issues interrelate during interaction among Deaf and hearing BSL users.

2.2.4   *Fitting-in and structural hierarchies*

With regard to the workplace, unemployment, and underemployment, has led to a power imbalance based on audiological status, with hearing people holding an unequal distribution of wealth, as section 2.5.2 below explains. In this scenario, the oppressed group are the minority (Deaf people) and an unequal distribution of power and wealth is held by the majority (hearing people) (Kannapell, 1993; MacLeod-Gallinger and Foster, 1996; Sutton-Spence and West, 2011; Doe, 2014). Conflicts can be generated due to uneven distribution of wealth among Deaf and hearing communities, and this is felt in the form of inequality, with Deaf people feeling inferior and not having equality of opportunity. Obasi (2007; 2008; 2014) and Humphries (2008) are examples of research that considers this distribution of power (also Thompson, 1989 and Zanna, 1990). While there is very little scholarly literature that perceives the situation of Deaf people in the workplace through an economic lens, these issues have also been considered to some extent by Padden (1989) and Napier (2002a). Padden-Duncan (2007) suggests that:

> "Deaf people are often influenced to conform to hearing expectations, rather than 'being themselves'…Members of the minority are excluded by members of the majority from jobs the majority does not believe they can do, therefore they never get a chance to demonstrate whether or not they can do the jobs…The initial review suggests a dominant group reluctant to relinquish its powerful position, but willing to project 'blame' for Deaf people's failure to progress on to Deaf people themselves."
>
> (Padden-Duncan, 2007: S139-S157)

Deaf people have, for a long period of time, been perceived in the light of the medical or social models of disability, rather than being given status as a linguistic and cultural minority community (see section 1.3 above). Conama (2005), in fact, suggests that even a social model of viewing Deaf people leads to injustice and that there is a need for a shift from the medical and social models of deafness to a sociocultural perspective. Conama notes that there are "conflicting perspectives" and that the medical model leads to Deaf people being "labelled" (pp. 97-102), concluding that only a major shift in

perspective will lead to social justice for the Deaf community. This 'labelling' that Conama refers to is seen as culturally destructive. The shift to a model of deafness based on language and cultural difference has been proposed by many scholars (such as Aramburo, 1989; Sacks, 1990; Kannapell, 1993; Jankowski, 1997; Lane, 1999; Emery, 2011) and most emphatically by Ladd (2003: 16) in his call for a "culturo-linguistic" perspective of Deaf communities. The Deaf Studies scholar, Kannapell (1993), describes a power structure that highlights disempowerment within the Deaf community and proposes a paradigm shift. Kannapell (ibid: 165-167) places emphasis on the level of egalitarianism in the work environment and looks at various hierarchies to illustrate the way that members of certain groups in society are oppressed and marginalised. In the first hierarchy below (Figure 2-1), Kannapell proposes that Deaf people are expected to 'fit in' to hearing ways of being:

Hierarchy to fit into the Hearing Community:

Hearing person

Hard of hearing person

Person deafened at later age

Person deafened at early age

"Oral success" person born deaf with speech and speechreading skills

Person born deaf with English reading and writing skills

"Oral failure" person born deaf with minimal oral or English skills

"Low functional"

"Low verbal"

Figure 2-6 Kannapell's Hierarchy of the Hearing Community

In the second diagram (Figure 2-2 below), Kannapell presents a hierarchy from the perspective of the Deaf community: this results in a model of living as a Deaf person that assigns equal status to being Deaf as to being hearing, and proposes acceptance of an individual's culturo-linguistic identity:

Hierarchy within the Deaf Community:

Cultural Deaf person

(ASL user, Deaf school product, Deaf family)

Culturally Deaf person

(ASL user, Deaf school product, hearing family)

Person born deaf who learned signing later

(Oralist or products of mainstream school)

Person deafened at early age

Person deafened at late age

Hard of hearing person

Hearing person

Figure 2-7 Kannapell's Hierarchy within the Deaf Community

In the following diagram (Figure 2-3), Kannapell relays the importance of the negotiation of attitude and suggests that Deaf people will remain powerless unless there is a perspective change of this nature:

DOMINANT PARADIGM – ALTERNATIVE PARADIGM

"Hearingization" Paradigm – "The Deaf Person" Paradigm

disabled, handicapped – cultural and linguistic minority

hearing impaired – deaf and hard of hearing

deaf – Deaf

deafness – Deaf

the deaf – Deaf people or citizens

language problems, etc – American Sign Language

communication disorders – communication differences

TDD – TTY

"preparing for the hearing world" – audism

mainstream school – Deaf schools

"to meet individual's needs" – "bi/bi" (bilingualism/biculturalism)

Figure 2-8 Kannapell's Dominant Paradigm – Alternative Paradigm

Many hearing people, then, expect Deaf people to assimilate to being as hearing as possible, largely encouraged through hearing aid provision and mainstream school policies, and now through intensive cochlear implant provision. Carr and Collins (1992) note that a behavioural approach is beneficial and encouraging in the teaching of how to give specialist support to people with disabilities, but this must be in line with acceptance and avoid attempts to 'normalise' people with disabilities. For deaf children, attempts at normalisation in schools denies deaf children exposure to instinctive 'deaf ways' of being and forces them to function in an auditory manner, with or without hearing aids and cochlear implants (Deaf Ex-Mainstreamers, 2017). Leeson and Sheikh (2010) refer to this normalisation process as a "colonizing agenda… where deaf children were (or are) prevented from socialising with deaf peers and acquiring the language and culture of the Deaf community" (p. 106). Acceptance of the use of sign language for Deaf people is an expression of this rejection of the disability construction of deafness, which continues to misinterpret the language and culture of the Deaf-world and encourages such normalisation (Lane, 2005). The Deafhood notion has been used in an attempt to "elevate sign language to its proper place" (Ella, 2009). The Deafhood Foundation, for example, has used the concept to develop a framework and plan for action in its objective to advocate the positive connotations of being a sign language user, whether that be in the context of a linguistic minority or any other political affiliation.

2.2.5   Audism and conflict

Generally, audism in academic literature is perceived as any extreme form of discriminatory behaviour against Deaf, deaf and hard of hearing people (Humphries, 1977; 2008). There is scholarly discussion in the deaf studies field regarding the lack of attention to audism in sociology and cultural studies (Bauman, 2008). As Bauman notes, the term 'audism' was coined by Humphries in 1975 but did not receive further discussion even in the field of deaf studies until the 1990's and onwards. Feelings of superiority over the

(Wordpress, 2014)

conversational partner, or lack of acceptance of the partner's differences, can lead to

the audist behaviour that is at the core of acute interrelationship conflict. The phonocentric society in which BSL users live and work contributes to this continuing pathological perspective (Lane, 1992) and reinforces the notion that Deaf people should be as much like hearing people as possible (Humphrey, 1977). A hearing person's behaviour in relation to Deaf people may be affected by a lack of exposure to Deaf culture and by a lack of understanding of the need for equality. Zak (1996) notes that "one is superior in one's ability to hear or behave in the manner of one who hears" and it is beliefs such as this that lead to ideas about eugenics, such as those culturally destructive plans put forward to eradicate races such as the Maoris and the American Indians. In the medical field, audism is seen in processes such as sterilisation, which forces a medical perspective onto Deaf people in its attempt to prevent hereditary deafness from being passed down (Dimmock, 1993). This extreme form of discriminatory behaviour was seen in the regime of Hitler during the 1930s to 1940s, when it was aimed not only at Deaf people, but also at disabled people and people from other diverse groups (Biesold, 1999). Audism is also seen in the workplace, in the form of institutional audism, which is discussed further in section 2.4.1 below.

2.3 Causes of conflict in the workplace

2.3.1 *Conflict Theory and the individual*

In order to study and understand conflicts, Mayer (2012) suggests that conflict theory must be set in a particular framework, one that forms "…an organizing lens that brings a conflict into better focus…and that can help us understand the nature of conflict and the dynamics of how conflict unfolds" (pp. 2-3). Mayer's focussed framework proposes that conflict is experienced along three-dimensions: cognitive (perception), emotional (feeling), and behavioural (action):

"Conflict as perception: As a set of perceptions, conflict is our belief or understanding that our own needs, interests, wants, or values are incompatible with someone else's…The narratives people use provide both a window into the cognitive dimension and a means of working on the cognitive element of conflict."

"Conflict as feeling: Conflict is also experienced as an emotional reaction to a situation or interaction…a conflict exists because one person feels upset, angry, or in some other way in emotional conflict with another."

"Conflict as action: Conflict is also understood and experienced as the actions that people take to express their feelings, articulate their perceptions, and get their needs met, particularly when doing so has the potential for interfering with others' needs."

(Mayer, 2000: 3-6)

This three-dimensional framework highlights what Liddell (2011) refers to as "individual conflict-influencing factors" (p. 22) and introduces the notion that the experiences we have had, our interactions with others within the workplace, and our expectations of the future, link to make us the individuals we are. Conflict may arise for many reasons, including the following:

- a clash of personalities, values, beliefs etc.
- misunderstandings about a particular issue
- jealousy and envy leading to personal attacks, sniping and vindictiveness
- isolating people from other group members
- blaming people or persistently criticising them
- prejudicial, racist, sexist or inappropriate language

(Liddell, 2011: 22-23)

In the following diagram (Fig 2-4) Liddell places the individual clearly at the root of human conflict and establishes the way that previous experiences, interactions and expectations of the future are all a part of the conflict situation:
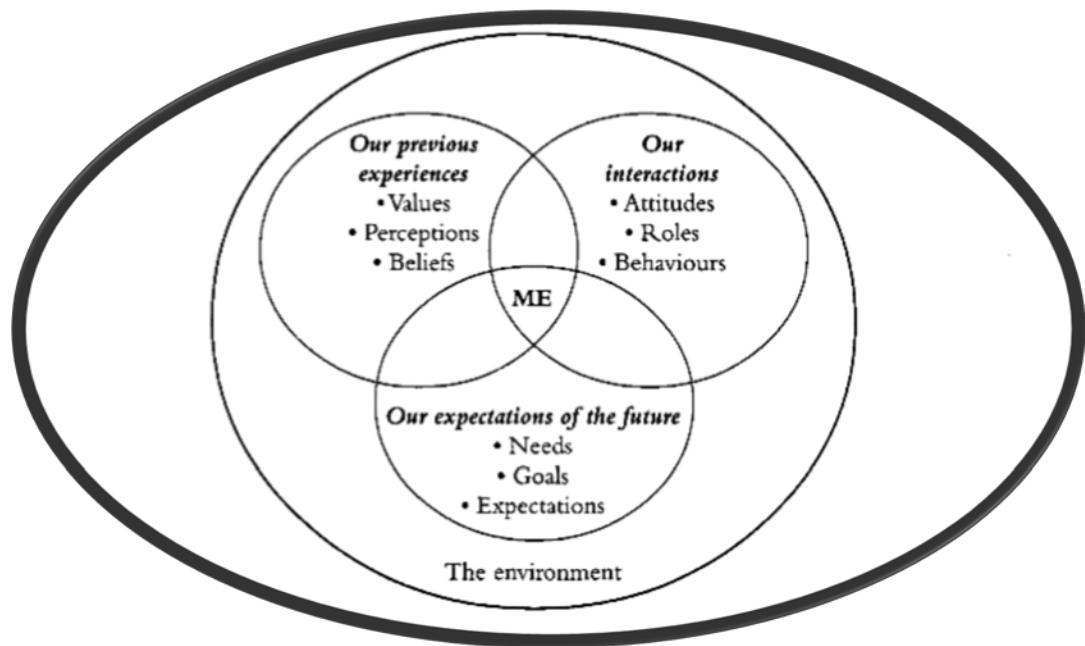
Figure 2-9 Conflict at the Level of the Individual

2.3.2   Transforming relationships

During Augsburger's (1992: 25) discussion of the universality and individuality of conflict, it is proposed that conflict involves (at least) two people with "divergent agendas", along with several other variables that affect the conflict state. At the basis of workplace conflict is the fundamental notion that there is a requirement of effective communication in order to avoid conflict situations. According to Mayer (2000), organisations experiencing relationship conflicts may benefit from the application of a theoretical framework that is grounded in conciliation and conflict perseverance in an attempt to evoke empathetic conflict. Providing consultancy and theoretical expertise is a method of enabling organisations to monitor potential conflicts, and this is applicable not only to the workplace, but also to a range of private and public service settings. This approach to conflict aims to restore harmony by "building peace, achieving social justice, or transforming relationships" (Mayer, 2000: 172).

2.4 Interrelations among Deaf and hearing people at work

2.4.1 Conflict in work relations

Building and maintaining relationships at work is an important aspect of employment life yet, in a general deaf survey carried out by the Scottish Council on Deafness (2010), a report states that over 50% of their respondents were unable to communicate with their fellow hearing colleagues. An earlier report, conducted by the Royal National Institute for Deaf People (RNID, 2006) found that 75% of employees shared the view that Deaf Awareness training would have helped to improve their working life. This survey found that 26% of the respondents had been harassed at work because of their deafness (RNID, 2006). A more recent report produced by Action on Hearing Loss (formerly known as the RNID) in 2014 found that 68% of people with a hearing loss feel isolated at work in mainstream employment.

Working relationships among Deaf and hearing staff members who all use sign language have also been examined. For example, Young, Ackerman and Kyle's (1998) study of working relationships, which found that the creation of an effective communicative environment, through the consistent use of sign language by all members of staff, contributed to more positive working relationships. More importantly, what came out of the study was the desire that Deaf members of staff had to be 'themselves', and how they could achieve this if everyone was signing. The use of sign language by hearing staff was interpreted as meaning far more than access for Deaf members of staff; it was about creating a good working environment where Deaf people could be fully involved. Baker-Shenk and Kyle's (1990) study of category types in an academic setting also considers this issue and Young, Ackerman and Kyle's (2000) research in mental health and educational organisations proposes a need to increase collaboration and harmony between Deaf and hearing people. This thesis, which focuses primarily on the interaction between Deaf sign language users and hearing sign language users, naturally leads to a consideration of the relationships between sign language interpreters and Deaf people. Dickinson (2002) discusses the issue of social boundaries in this relationship, as she considers how Deaf people interact at break times during

meetings when the interpreters take a break. Further research by Dickinson in 2010 also suggests that issues may arise due to the complexities of the interpreting dynamics.

In a working environment, Deaf people who rely on their eyes to take in information are working alongside hearing people who rely on sound for information access. This difference in way of functioning leads to very different working ways and it is often the case that Deaf people are expected to adjust to the hearing communication norms of the institution. This can be in terms of communicating via written text or through emails, which Deaf people whose first language is sign language may find inappropriate and can lead to misunderstanding. Turner (2006) refers to this as "Institutional audism" and his earlier research, (Trowler & Turner, 2002: 234), suggests that there is no 'university culture' that allows Deaf people to easily access the institutional norms, and they highlight the need for all people to broaden their minds and change their attitudes in order to eradicate the conflict and tension that prevails (also Bristoll, 2009). For example, a Deaf person may not be aware of the politeness strategies that hearing people adhere to when typing emails and they may be very direct, and this may be taken as rude, rather than culturally different, by the hearing receiver and result in conflict. When discussing the cultural way of life of Deaf BSL users, known as 'Deafway', most scholars refer to the fact that Deaf people are very direct in interaction (Lane, 1992; Mindess, 1999; Trowler and Turner, 2002). This 'straight talk' means that signed discourse does not contain the same level of indirectness employed in spoken conversation. The level of directness in communication is noted in many studies, such as Mindess's (1999) study of intercultural communication:

"For example, if someone disagrees with you in the United States, he or she might say, "Excuse me, I have a problem with what you just said. In Israel, you are more likely to hear "You're wrong!"

(Mindess, 1999: 89)

A recent doctoral study in the US conducted by Watson (2016) explores the experiences of Deaf employees working in mainstream and Deaf-led environments, including relationships with co-workers and management colleagues. Watson notes that

communication was a challenge in the mainstream employment setting, and that Deaf people often feel excluded and have "minimal or no socialization with hearing co-workers". In a Deaf-led environment (see glossary), Watson found that communication was easily accessible, and that Deaf employees felt able to share knowledge and experience through direct communication with colleagues, all resulting in better working relationships.

2.4.2 Conflict and cultural difference

According to De Dreu & Gelfand (2008: 22), "more often than not, workplace conflicts are about a mixture of opposing interests, clashing values and incompatible beliefs". To this extent, it is the different perspectives that Deaf and hearing BSL users bring to the workplace, the different lived experiences, and the unequal treatment of Deaf BSL users that is of relevance to this study. Folger, Poole and Stutman (2005) point out that processes of social categorisation and group differentiation tend to cause people to take their general stereotypical beliefs about other groups into conflict situations, and this can cause longer and more intense conflicts. Thus, differences in culture can heighten divisions between groups. The culture of Deaf sign language users is noted in academic literature as being transnational. Breivik's (2005) study, for example, focusses on understanding and insight into Norwegian Deaf people in the community and beyond. Breivik examines the dynamics among Norwegian Sign Language users and proposes that they should be understood beyond the framework of Norway and of national territorial boundaries. He sees their experience as being part of a transnational Deaf experience. Each chapter deals with a different person and a different set of experiences, but throughout the book the central theme is one of shared identity. Although they remain distinct individuals, together, their stories present accounts of common challenges and conflicts. While there is some focus on negative aspects of the Deaf experience, Breivik shows evidence of changing perceptions and of a more positive outlook in recent times. The commonality of Deaf experience and identity is explored, and Breivik demonstrates that this commonality draws Deaf people together globally. This serves to highlight the importance of a socio-cultural perspective and the need to view a group of language users from a cultural, as well as from a linguistic perspective.

For Deaf people, this perspective has raised awareness among the community and has led to the beginnings of the empowerment of Deaf people. This has also led to Deaf people identifying with each other on a transnational level with a global identity and a common sense of language empathy. In fact, there is said to be such a strong sense of understanding between Deaf people that they can identify each other in an instinctive way. Bahan provides an illustration of this in his rendition of a situation, where a Deaf father and daughter are sat in a cafe and identify a Deaf man in the crowds outside:

"The man in the brown overcoat was about to cross the street, but sensed the sudden shift in the crowd of people around him as they simultaneously looked in the same direction. He decided he too should check in that direction and saw sirens and flashing lights accompanying a speeding ambulance. After the commotion subsided, he crossed the street and continued walking past the cafe. The father waved his hand in the man's periphery. In the middle of a bustling city, the man in the brown overcoat noticed a flutter of hands through the window and quickly turned to see the father and his daughter…

"You deaf?" signed the father. The man was astounded and asked, "How did you know?""

(Bahan, 2008: 83)

Humphries (2008) also suggests that Deaf people have not been equal members of society for over 40 years. The failure to achieve this equal status has stemmed from audism and oppression and negative attitudes towards Deaf people and has led to a separation between Deaf and hearing people. Although this may have happened unconsciously, this divide has come about because of a lack of appropriate intercultural behaviour. Stemming from past educators and philosophers, negative attitudes towards Deaf people have infiltrated mainstream views and have had a lasting effect on a large majority of hearing people. Asante has highlighted the effects of a 'minority model' in society and the resulting conflicts (2009). One of the consequences of this majority/minority situation is underachievement by many Deaf people. Furthermore, Deaf people are often perceived as being responsible for this level of under-

achievement, as Padden-Duncan's (2007) research discovered after a review of employment levels in the Deaf community in the UK: **"**The initial review suggests a dominant group reluctant to relinquish its powerful position, but willing to project 'blame' for Deaf people's failure to progress on to Deaf people themselves". Padden-Duncan's analysis of twenty-three semi-structured, qualitative interviews with Deaf and hearing professionals focussed on underachievement and the limited promotional opportunities that Deaf people experience in the workplace. There is additional debate throughout the literature regarding whether Deaf and hearing people are different, both psychologically and culturally. Jones & Pullen (1992) and Corker (1996) remind us of the divide between Deaf and hearing people, referring to the "us and them" state that Deaf people often experience (Corker, 1996: 200). This may be seen as a negative concept but merely denotes the cultural differences and the stigmatization of Deaf people that is so prevalent that it clearly separates the two groups of people. This cultural divide has also been seen among people who speak different spoken languages. Rosen (2000), for example, examined cross-cultural conflicts among American and Japanese people, finding a similar 'us and them' divide. The divide is so clear between Deaf and hearing people that further theories have examined the issue of Deaf community membership and Higgins (1980) and Higgins and Nash (1996) have considered how hearing people feel like 'outsiders' in the Deaf community. This is clearly illustrated in Harris (1995; 1997) and Harris and Mohay (1997) who discuss personal experiences as 'outsider' researchers and the cultural meaning of deafness. It is also suggested by Rosen (2000: 171) that hearing people in general struggle to understand the culture of Deaf people and do not readily accept it. Cultural differences between Deaf and hearing people have been noted as leading to a state of "culture shock" (Kyle, 2005: 87) and this is experienced both by hearing people who experience Deaf culture and by Deaf people who are immersed into the hearing world. For example, Kyle (ibid.) reports that a Deaf informant reported feeling more comfortable working in a Deaf organisation after having worked in a hearing environment and encountering many barriers and cultural misunderstandings. Bearing this cultural difference in mind, the exchanges that occurs between Deaf and hearing people that lie at the heart of conflict and misunderstanding should be understood culturally:

"...we have also seen how attempts to improve the quality of Deaf education and services, have brought new groups of people into contact with Deaf communities, and that this contact has often been characterised by conflicts which have soured some of the initial enthusiasm. We have been able to see that these conflicts are often caused by a lack of awareness that it is Deaf cultural principles which they are encountering, and that hearing-Deaf exchanges should be more properly viewed as cross-cultural encounters."

(Ladd, 2003: 269)

Laurenzi and Ridgeway (1996: v) also consider a "lack of understanding due to cultural mis-matches" and emphasise the need for more effective interaction and less paternalism. Understanding the conflicts between Deaf and hearing people as intercultural collisions enables us to look beyond the lack of awareness that has been used to account for the attitudes of some hearing people. In fact, having little knowledge or information about Deaf people's language, culture and ability to function in society does not necessarily lead to a negative attitude. Research carried out by Koltke, Mellor and Schmidt (1987) reported that lack of information provided "only partial support for the prediction that information affects attitudes toward persons who are deaf but no support for the prediction that information also affects interpersonal acceptance" (p. 239). This issue is also considered under Ladd's (2003) concept of Deafhood. In his grounded theory study, Ladd applies a critical ethnographical methodology, using participant-observer activities, including interviews, discussion forums and consolidation groups, in order to give Deaf participants "voices" to express their experiences. Devised as a counter narrative, this method provided opportunities for Ladd to consider the findings in relation to current debates around Deaf community issues and the traditions on Deaf culture. Ladd states that exchanges between Deaf and hearing people are increasing and that this now means that research in this area is vital, in order that the reasons for conflict can be understood; this understanding of conflict among Deaf and hearing communities is central to this research and the analysis proceeds with examination of the colonialism that Deaf people experience. The need for more research of this nature is clearly stated: "the dynamics involving Deaf and

hearing people within and without academia have barely begun" (ibid: 171). Turner (2006) and Young and Ackerman (2001) researched interaction between Deaf and hearing people, stating that the issue must be seen in relation to cultural difference in order to be clearly understood. They also suggest that there is a gap in providing information as to how to resolve any conflicts that arise among sign language users in the UK. Young, Ackerman and Kyle (2000) also note that different lived experiences are at the heart of interrelationship issues:

"...all deaf/hearing teams of service providers face enormous challenges in developing effective working relations, not least because of the historical events that have influenced their own individual cultures and cross-cultural interaction."

(Young, Ackerman and Kyle, 2000: 194)

Young, Ackerman and Kyle's research study is based on interviewing forty-one people, a balance of Deaf and hearing participants, and demonstrates the different viewpoints among Deaf and hearing workplace colleagues. The primary intention of their study was to explore the causes of relationships conflicts within mainstream organisations and to show how authority and status are reflected in the outcomes. Young, Ackerman and Kyle's empirical research, then, has attempted to add to our understanding of the reason for the conflict that prevails among sign language users, and some of the causes cited include background differences, category definitions or stereotyping. The available literature on the situation for Deaf people in the workplace in the UK, although limited, certainly indicates a lack of positive outcomes, demonstrating a continual situation of lack of equality in employment (Dickinson, 2012).

2.4.3 Language factors – Interaction at the level of language

With regards to the experiences of conflict, as well as its potential resolution, communication is at the core, and communication involves recognising the "human element: subjectivity, cognition and context-culture" (Avruch, 1998: 40). It is important to bear in mind, then, that the language issue is a core component in understanding the

tensions between Deaf and hearing people at work. An example of this is highlighted by Trowler and Turner (2002: 239) who previously worked in a university institution and inform us that a common experience for Deaf people working in a mainstream setting attending meetings is that hearing people who can use sign language choose not to, and choose to speak instead, resulting in conflict. This is seen as being due to the fact that "speech is the most powerful language of the meeting" and opting to use it is clearly a political decision (Trowler and Turner, 2002). Within the field of deaf studies, then, there is a growing awareness that workplace issues are caused by audist practices, which lead to the effects of conflict.

In a recent study of differences between Deaf and hearing people, and how those differences play out during interaction, language is also noted as a central issue, and effective language use is noted as a key determiner in whether or not interrelations will be successful (Napier & Leeson, 2016). It is cooperative language and communication that is required in order for Deaf BSL users to have equal opportunity to contribute and to feel a sense of belonging to the discourse (Young, Ackerman & Kyle, 1998). It is often the case that hearing BSL users will state that they always use sign language when Deaf BSL users are present, or on their approach, but often those same people are regularly seen not using sign language and having to be constantly reminded to do so. The non-use of sign language in a signing environment may be almost unconscious to some hearing BSL users, and as Watson's (2016) research found, and is a great source of conflict in Deaf/hearing interrelationships in America. Watson compares the experiences of Deaf America Sign Language users in the mainstream workplace with Deaf people's experiences in the Deaf-led workplace environment. This phenomenological study comprised a social exchange theory methodology, involving conducting interviews and a focus group discussion, and keeping a researcher journal and making observatory notes of ten participants aged from 30-65 years in order to consider issues related to language and culture. The diagram below indicates that language, as a communication tool, is used differently by Deaf and hearing BSL users and there is often uncertainty around how meanings are understood in interaction. When interlocutors are not communicating on the same wavelength, there is an effect on the message that is interpreted and on the reaction to the dialogue. Hearing BSL

users need to understand that Deaf BSL users may be second language users of the spoken/written language, as understanding and acceptance can lead to better interrelations (Laugesen, 2005; Napier & Leeson, 2016). The language factors that are of importance to this research study are illustrated in the following diagram (Figure 2-5):
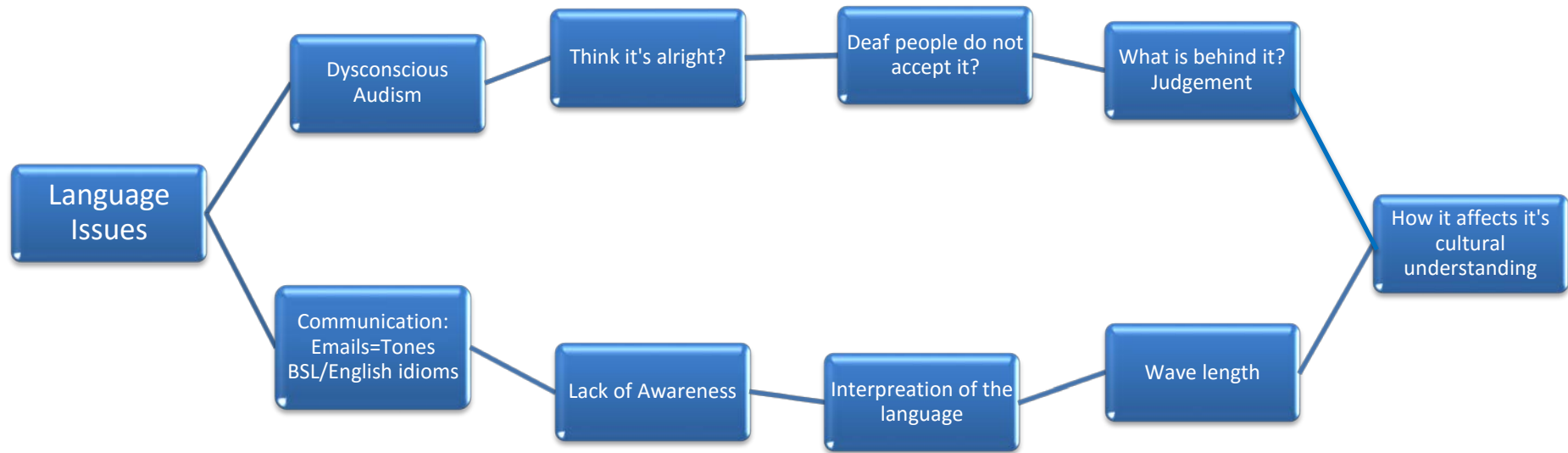
Figure 2-10 Language Factors

2.4.4 Educational experiences

One of the central differences between Deaf and hearing BSL users is the level of education and the educational experiences that they bring to any interactive event. In general, the education of deaf children is not equal to that of hearing children and, despite the ability to achieve equivalent levels of education to their hearing counterparts, many deaf children complete their compulsory education with much lower results and lower levels of learning (Powers, 1998; 2002; Sutherland & Young, 2007). This can lead to Deaf adults from low-achieving backgrounds struggling to compete in the mainstream environment. Until changes in educational policy in the 1970s, there were over 300 residential schools for deaf children throughout the UK, yet current statistics (BATOD, 2011; Ladd, 2003; Limping Chicken, 2013b; NDCS, 2013) show that there were only around 29 remaining at the beginning of this century. A recent broadcast of the See Hear programme on BBC2 reported more closures, bringing the number now to only 22 deaf schools remaining (See Hear, 2015). With the closure of many schools for deaf children, the majority of teachers of deaf children are peripatetic (serving mainstream schools) or in small PHUs, and are taught very little about Deaf culture and interaction among Deaf and hearing sign language users during their training period (Cameron, O'Neill & Quinn, 2017). Simms and Thumann (2007) note that, in the UK, "the pathological perspective continues to be perpetuated in teacher training programs" (p. 303). When Deaf BSL users respond negatively to similar pathologically-based attitudes in the working environment, conflict may occur. The many years of dissatisfaction during school years for Deaf BSL users, and the resulting low level of education that many Deaf people have achieved, often leaves Deaf people unable to challenge negative attitudes in hearing BSL users and unaware of their own negative self-perceptions that have developed as a result of years of oppression. Aronson & Aronson (2007; and Steele & Aronson, 1995) discuss levels of self-esteem among students, noting that hearing students value themselves, and judge themselves positively, to a much higher level than Deaf students. Such findings highlight the need for action to be taken as a result, and this is noted by Hendar and O'Neill, who state that research findings of this nature "can be used as a baseline for follow-up studies and can

inspire reforms in education to ensure more rights, equality, and equity in deaf education" (p. 53).

This study has worked from the premise that sign languages are natural, instinctive languages for Deaf people, yet many deaf children are raised with no exposure to sign language at all due to the policy of mainstreaming. The results of a survey of educational provision for deaf children carried out by the National Deaf Children's Society, titled the CRIDE report (Consortium for Research into Deaf Education), reveal the following statistics in relation to 37,141 deaf children in the UK:

"82% of deaf children attend mainstream schools, although 7% with specialist services…78% of deaf children communicate using spoken English only. 14% speak another spoken language, either on its own, or in combination with English…8% use sign language in some form."

(National Deaf Children's Society, 2012)

Mainstream education, brought about by the government's inclusion policy, leaves the large majority of deaf children currently without access to sign language (Walker, 2003; Deaf Ex-Mainstreamers, 2015). The author of the inclusion policy for the UK, Baroness Warnock (1978), has admitted that the policy is ineffective in the case of special educational needs (SEN) and recommended a "U-Turn" in the hope of attaining "better resources, more training and not just a mandatory code of admission" (Rieser 2006: 25). This continuing pathological view of Deaf people in the education sector has resulted in the closure of most specialist, segregated schools for deaf children and the National Deaf Children's Society (NDCS) now report that, with only 46 specialist Teachers of the Deaf in the UK, there is a ratio of 80 children to 1 teacher. Analysis of SEN statistics in schools by the NDCS also discovered that, as at 2009, 2.2% of children with an SEN are deaf. In government categories, this places childhood deafness as the 8th category in size, and this low number may have strongly influenced the Government's insistence on inclusive education for deaf children. This leaves deaf children with no exposure to sign language, and hence many Deaf adults who learn sign language at a late age. Deaf children have continued to be categorised in the same group as disabled children and placed in mainstream schools. This has resulted in a reduction in the vital access to other deaf

children and adults, i.e. access to the Deaf community, for many deaf children. This is seen by the Deaf community as a movement that could have a massive negative impact on the transmission and maintenance of Deaf culture and sign language use, with many deaf children being left isolated in mainstream schools and not receiving the necessary exposure to their natural language and culture that is so crucial during the early years. In a recent paper presented at the National Technical Institute for the Deaf conference in the US, Ladd raised concerns regarding Deaf pedagogies, stating that "minimal research exists on how best to teach English – Deaf pedagogies need time to develop these" and that "relationships with hearing teachers and the education system require attention, plus Deafhood awareness training is needed for both deaf and hearing people" (Ladd, 2014).

Many Deaf people whose first language is a signed language, use written English as a second language, and this results in a variation of written English often referred to as 'Deaf English'. Dillard's (1972) discussion of Black English reveals a firm belief that varieties of English should not be hidden, and people should identify with their particular variety. For example, attempts by people who use American English to influence the Black English that developed during the European maritime settlement period, due to believing that its structure was incorrect and unacceptable, led to a hidden language variety and to comments such as, "a double negative is bad English" (Dillard, 1972: xi). In the case of Deaf English, the late onset of language acquisition or the problems in educating deaf children are often used as excuses for the 'bad English' of BSL users, instead of people recognising that this is second language use and should be accepted in its particular written form. The lack of access to sound, which a command of the English language relies on to a large extent, and the natural instinct to use a signed language, are reasons why Deaf sign language users may use a BSL English variety. This visuality of signed languages is noted as being transferred into Deaf English:

"Sign language is not a universal language with rules of grammar and a lexicon instantly and without learning, available to anyone so unfortunate as to be in a situation where no spoken language will work."

(Stokoe, 1980: 53)

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Stokoe, in fact, considers the use of Deaf English as perhaps a form of Pidgin, which he refers to as Pidgin Signed English (PSE), suggesting that the mixture of some parts of written English and some parts of sign language being mixed together and used by Deaf people may have resulted in this PSE variety as a second language:

> "For the majority of deaf children of deaf parents, however, it is more likely that PSE will be second language…facial expression, and body movement, cannot be replaced by English suprasegmentals such as intonation, stress, and accent…"

> (Stokoe, 1980: 62)

Discussion of the use of English for deaf children has continued in reports, such as the Warnock report (1978), and scholarly work, such as Conrad (1979) and Swanwick (2010). In addition, a CRIDE report compiled by the National Deaf Children's Society (2010) in fact states that "deaf children do not have fair access to help from specialist Teachers of the Deaf" and "do not have a fair chance to achieve at school compared to other children". Despite scholarly evidence that visual language systems serve to improve literacy (Sutherland and Young, 2007; Swanwick, 2010; Kyle, Campbell, MacSweeney 2016) debate on the issues surrounding literacy and oralism still manifest in a lack of understanding of the use of written Deaf English; there remains an insistence that sign language users do not use Deaf English variety, but continue to strive to the use of standard English despite suggestions that this can help:

> "There is nevertheless a growing feeling that the language or dialect which children bring with them to the classroom is more likely to facilitate than hinder the acquisition of standard English…It is possible to argue that many of the problems which face both deaf and West Indian people are functions of the educational system which totally predicated upon the use of standard English."

> (Edwards and Ladd, 1983: 156-157)

A Deaf person's educational experience, then, is also likely to have an effect on communication between themselves and the hearing people that they interact with in later life, and impact upon how Deaf people operate within the workplace. Deaf people who have had a positive experience of the educational system are conceivably more empowered and better able to integrate effectively at work. As a result, the Deaf person is much more likely to feel that their contribution is valued and their experience of the workplace more fulfilling (Napier & Leeson, 2016). The educational factors that are of importance to this research study are illustrated in the following diagram (Figure 2-6):
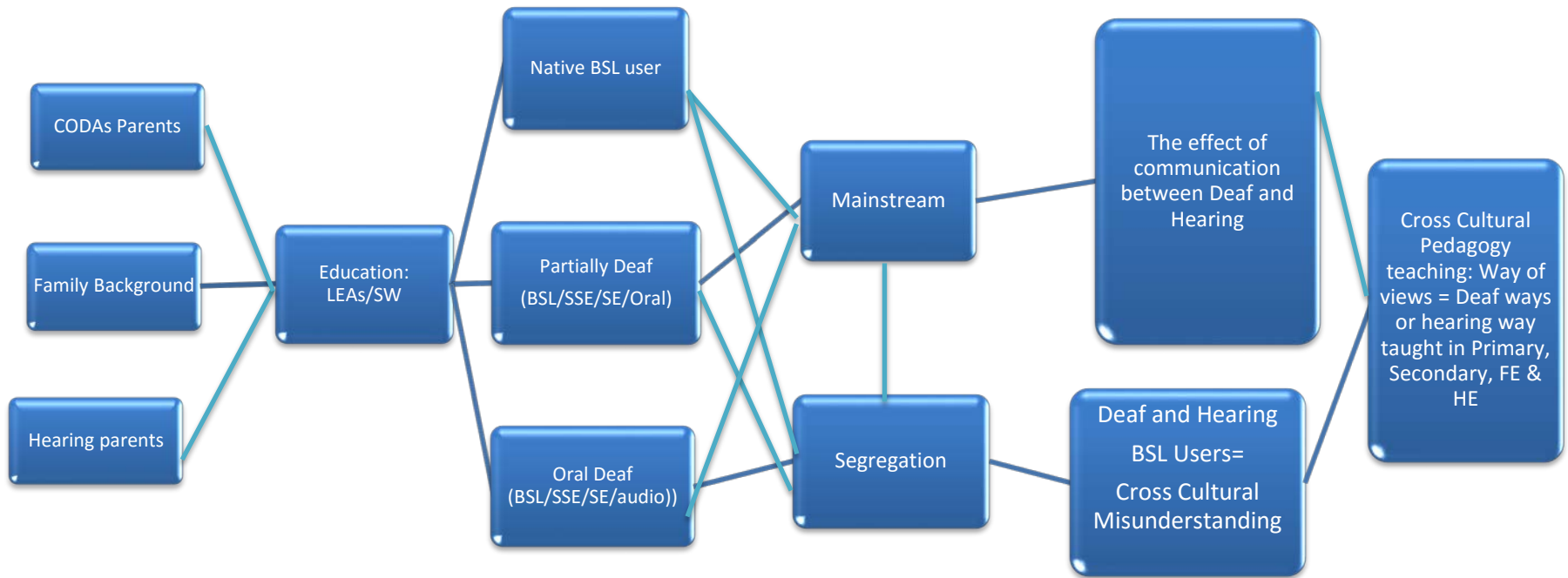
Figure 2-11 Education Factors

Figure 2-11 above presents a diagrammatical outline of the impact of education and early familial influence upon Deaf people's educational experiences. During the earliest stages of a deaf child's life, factors such as parental knowledge and awareness are relevant, for example, whether or not the parents of the deaf child were CODA's themselves and possess an understanding of Deaf people's language and culture (Hoffmeister, 2008). Such factors are likely to have a major effect upon early access to language and communication, laying the foundations of early educational experience, as Alker (1996; 2000) emphasises. If full and comprehensive information regarding educational choices is not given, hearing parents, for example, are potentially more likely to be influenced by the medical model of deafness, which may in turn impact upon their decision-making processes when choosing the preferred educational method for their deaf child and whether their child should be educated using oral/aural methods as opposed to being educated in a signing environment (National Deaf Children's Society, 2010). Other aspects of the family background are also important and influential. Issues such as familial socio-economic status, parents own educational background, nurturing and support, are all critical at this stage, as this is likely to influence attitudes towards their child's education. A further report compiled by the National Deaf Children's Society states that the quality and level of the educational facilities provided may also be subject to a "postcode lottery" - depending on the geographical area in which the deaf child lives (NDCS, 2013).

Additional factors are reflected in the diagram, such as a deaf child's native language, i.e. whether the Deaf child is a native BSL user or is partially deaf. Their primary mode of communication, be it BSL, a mixture of BSL and English together (known as Sign Supported English - SSE) or purely oral methods of communication, and whether they are educated in a mainstream setting or segregated, are all factors that are likely to impact either positively or negatively upon a deaf child's educational experience (Archbold, Nikolopoulos, O'donoghue & Lutman, 1998). It is highly probable that the deaf child's education will be enhanced if the child is able to access information first hand in their native language from a teacher using sign language, as opposed to accessing information via an educational support worker or learning by rote as a result of inherent difficulties in lip reading a teacher to access information using oral/aural

teaching methods. Despite this, Leeson & Sheikh (2010) found that, "…of the total population of moderately to profoundly deaf students of school age in England, 70% are taught through auditory-oral methods, 25% through 'total communication', and 5% through BSL/sign bilingualism" (p. 165). Furthermore, Leeson & Sheikh emphasise the fact that increasing numbers of deaf students are accessing sign language support in further education (through communication support workers) and in higher education (through Disabled Student Allowances funding) but this crucial access to visual language is denied to deaf children during the core school years of education in the UK. The study notes that for many years, "Society demanded access to Deaf people on hearing society's terms, and the educational system sought to meet that need" (ibid.)

2.5   Underemployment and unemployment

A review of literature related to the employment situation for Deaf people reveals the effect that Deaf people are not employed on equal terms to hearing people. In a study of employment differences, Rydberg, Gellerstedt & Denmark (2011), for example, found that Deaf people are more frequently employed in the public sector while hearing populations are employed in the private sector. This study also found a lower rate of employment for Deaf people compare to their hearing counterparts. This situation occurs within similar age groups and across the sexes and similar levels of educational attainment in the participant groups (although it is not made clear if the deaf population group studied was made up of sign language users or a mix of Deaf and hard-of-hearing people). The surveys carried out by the RNID (2006) and the Scottish Council on Deafness (SCoD, 2010), raised in section 2.4.1 above, both concluded that deaf people are more likely than their hearing counterparts to be unemployed or underemployed. The RNID survey found that 37% of deaf people, compared to 25% of the hearing population of working age, were unemployed at the time (RNID, 2006). The SCoD results show that deaf people were four times more likely to be unemployed and 70% of respondents felt that their job applications had been unsuccessful because of their deafness (SCoD, 2010).

Rosengreen, Saladin & Hansmann, (2009) note that underemployment is an employment issue in the general population, not only among Deaf people, but underemployment among Deaf populations is particularly high. This is clearly noted in Leeson and Sheikh's (2010) study of the employment situation:

"Many Deaf people who have struggled to gain hard earned qualifications then face discrimination in the workplace and are highly likely to be underemployed. For the "average" Deaf person, the situation is perhaps even worse, with unemployment rates running at 3-4 times higher for Deaf people than their hearing counterparts. Together, these facts paint a very bleak picture of the human rights situation for European Deaf people today, despite a range of EU and national level anti-discrimination legislation, and despite increased awareness of signed languages as fully fledged human languages."

(Leeson & Sheikh, 2010: 184)

In Haynes & Linden's (2012) study, findings on Deaf people report discontentment with the levels of support in employment, and issues such as inaccessibility and access to appropriate technology. Dobie and Hemel (2004) focus on medical and assistive models of employment, and on assessment systems, and found that hard-of-hearing people also experience communication stress, isolation and lack of support from supervisors and managers. There does, however, appear to be less employment discrimination against hard-of-hearing people in comparison to Deaf populations, which reflects the difference in attitudes toward the two groups in society in general. Lane (2005) reports that people in general still fail to see Deaf people as a cultural linguistic minority, hence negative attitudes prevail. In Weisel's (1998) study, Deaf people are concluded as having lesser educational achievement that lead to inequalities in employment and lack of access to professional levels, resulting in economic disadvantages. This also results in a lack of satisfaction in employment (Hiriyappa, 2009) and increased frustration at work (Geyer & Schorodiel, 1998), and in Deaf people facing greater challenges (Backenroth, 1997). In comparison, a study

including qualitative questionnaires sent to 201 American and Israeli participants (112 Deaf and 89 hearing) regarding what created an essentially positive employment environment, the main findings reveal that good communication and being employed in a suitably qualified position leads to Deaf employees being more contented to stay in their current position.

In a case study concentrating on young deaf adults, Valentine and Skelton (2003) focus on the negative predicaments relating to four areas: the home, education establishments, the workplace and the Deaf community. With regards to the workplace, the interviews (of people ranging from 16-24 and 21 older people, and service providers) reported high levels of underachievement, and a need for collective knowledge and solution. The study concludes that Deaf people are not prepared for work during their school years and, furthermore, there are limitations regarding levels of Deaf awareness in the workplace that is primarily orientated towards hearing people, and notes that access to the language of the workplace during interviews is an issue that results in a "higher level of unemployment and underemployment amongst the D/deaf population" (Valentine and Skelton, 2003: 309). Young, Ackerman and Kyle (2000) came to similar conclusions and similar results are seen in Corker's (1998) study. Leeson and Sheikh (2009) discuss the importance of preparing for work, concluding that essential resources must be put into place that enable people to prepare for entering the world of employment, a world where some Deaf people have the least qualifications due to the hindrance of lower literacy skills (Luft, 2014) and lower levels of education in general. The disadvantages of a poor education are felt more severely later in life, when underachievement and underemployment influence personal confidence (Gournaris & Aubrecht, 2013).

2.5.1   Employment barriers and struggles

In terms of career progression, in the United Kingdom survey discussed in the previous two sections, it is clear from the RNID report that Deaf people felt lacking in this area. Over half of the participants felt that they had been held back from promotion or from career developments, and that they had been prevented from pursuing further training

or education because of their deafness or lack of communication (RNID, 2006). Similar conclusions are drawn by Perkins-Dock et al. (2015) and Rosengreen and Saladin (2010). In a similar way, the survey that focussed on Scotland found that three quarters of the deaf respondents felt that they were unable to progress at work because of their deafness (SCoD, 2010). Some of the issues relate to the physical problems caused by lack of access to information, and other environmental barriers in the workplace (Haynes & Linden, 2012; Pollard & Barnett (2009). Haynes and Linden (2012) also found that accommodation and accessibility in the workplace resulted in Deaf people reporting unsatisfactory levels of physical support in the workplace, which accompanies an ineffective structure to allow Deaf people to consider other jobs (Schur, Kruse & Blanck, 2005). However, in a qualitative case study of 12 deaf people conducted by Grant (2005), where face to face interviews were conducted in BSL about experiences in the workplace, the study found that the focus on 'physical adjustments' are insufficient. The study concludes that Deaf people often feel cut off and unequal to their hearing colleagues in the workplace, leading to high levels of stress among the population. The negative outcomes also include the statistics that 5 out of the 12 people interviewed described being bullied, and 7 out of the 12 reported not having an appraisal. Woolfe (2004) and Dickinson (2012) found, in a similar way, that Deaf employees miss out on the 'small talk' at work and are not included in office life, experience a lack of support from the Access to Work[2] scheme due to not being aware of it, and find difficulty in being part of the team.

It is also relevant to note that a recent survey was conducted in the UK, the Total Jobs survey (Action on Hearing Loss, 2016), based on a variety of Deaf and deafened people's experiences in the workplace. The methodology comprised a survey designed to analyse responses from 437 participants nationally, with 61% being female and 36% male (the other 3% being from non-binary categories); and 86% of respondents identifying as White British). This survey, carried out in conjunction with Deaf charities and Deaf organisations, ensured that all information was accessible in BSL where

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[2] Access to Work is a publicly funded grant awarded to people with disabilities to fund access in employment. Further information is available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/access-to-work-factsheet

preferred and the findings are relevant for this study, as they highlight several issues related to the current employment situation for Deaf people. According to their key findings for the UK, 55% of respondents identified as using hearing aids and 36.6% identified as BSL users. A high proportion of the respondents (72%) report not having received support in finding their job because of the stereotype of being deaf and only 14% reported having received support in this area (7% of the support coming from a deaf organisation). With regards to employment types, 13% stated as working in healthcare and 46% worked in a company among less than 250 employees. Despite 75% of the participants progressing to post-compulsory education, only 52% expressed being satisfied with their job. In addition, less than half (43%) indicated that 'anti-disability discrimination' policies were implemented in their workplace, and only 32% have support from the Access to Work (ATW) funding (30% using BSL interpreters). The study reveals a high level of non-provision for Deaf employees in the workplace, and low levels of access to BSL translations of text-based materials or subtitles for video materials (17%) and very low levels of access to counselling services for deaf employees (8%).

Another area of the survey enquired about the number of deaf colleagues in their workplace, and the findings reveal that 33% of the respondents have 'only one' deaf colleague; 32% have 1-5, and only 5% have 20+ deaf colleagues – the fact that both BSL users and deafened people (i.e. non-BSL users) completed the survey is relevant to this finding. Questions related to experiences of discrimination at work resulted in 62% of respondents reporting discrimination from their colleagues, and 53% from the management team. The biggest challenge that deaf people face in the workplace reported in the study is the lack of deaf awareness within organisations (34%), with attitudes of employers also being an issue (19%) and 16% of participants feeling isolated or left out at work, and 10% experiencing direct discrimination. Effort to communicate by colleagues was reported as 'strongly disagree-6%'; 'agree-33%' and 'fully agree-20%.

The struggles that Deaf people experience in the workplace in the UK are closely related to educational disadvantages and lack of appropriate training. Whilst Deaf people are employed in a number of areas at a number of levels, the RNID report concludes that Deaf sign language users are much more restricted when it comes to employment options (RNID, 2006). Studies in Sweden show that appropriate education

and training are provided for Deaf people, and the employment struggles relate more to the apprehension of employers in the private sector about Deaf people's competence and work capabilities (Rydberg, Gellerstedt & Danermark, 2011: 343). This results in negative effects related to employment, including struggles to gain employment and lack of experience in employment (Achterberg, Wind, Boer & Frings-dresen, 2009; also Schley, Walter, Weather, Hemmeter & Burkhauser, 2011). It also leads to underemployment, which is explored in the next section.

2.5.2 Inequality: The Deaf glass ceiling

In a study of Deaf employment in the UK, Padden-Duncan (2007) found that a unique "Deaf ceiling" exists for Deaf people and, in discussing one person's situation, found that "his predicament demonstrates a factor in the glass ceiling challenge that other non-linguistic minorities do not have to face" (p. S155). The glass ceiling is described in detail by Cotter, Hermsen, Ovadia and Vanneman:

Criterion 1

A glass ceiling inequality represents a gender or racial difference that is not explained by other job-relevant characteristics of the employee;

Criterion 2

A glass ceiling inequality represents a gender or racial difference that is greater at higher levels of an outcome than at lower levels of an outcome;

Criterion 3

A glass ceiling inequality represents a gender or racial inequality in the chances of advancement into higher levels, not merely the proportions of each gender or race currently at those higher levels;

Criterion 4

A glass ceiling inequality represents a gender or racial inequality that increases over the course of a career.

(Cotter, Hermsen, Ovadia and Vanneman, 2001: 657-681)

This issue has been expanded by Coogan (2005), who considers the effect that the prevalent inequality has within the Deaf community. Coogan suggests that this has become internalised and that, in order to maximise the opportunities for promotion and progression, Deaf people may resort to competing against each other and even holding each other back; a situation described as "Lobster Theory" (Coogan, ibid: 90). Coogan refers to such people as 'double oppressed'. It is also interesting to consider here the distinction of 'oppressors-oppressed' that was raised as far back as Hegel (1802) and entered into the German Constitution: *"Catholics have been in the position of oppressors, and Protestants of the oppressed"*. Freire (1972) draws an interesting comparison when referring to his experience in student/teacher relationships when encouraging Brazilian students to read and write: the distinction here is termed 'colonizer' and 'the colonized'.

The effects of the glass ceiling for Deaf people are also seen in academic situations. Research in Canada focussing on Deaf instructors in the workforce, for example, found a high level of inequality for Deaf people in the further education sector. McDermid (2009) found that the importance of cultural norms, cultural sensitivities and the conflicts that can occur as a result of neglect of these issues were not considered as factors for concern in a further education setting. McDermid's research also suggests that the absence of Deaf people at the upper levels of the hierarchy meant that Deaf instructors were seen as "subaltern" rather than as professionals (p. 244). The study places Deaf people in a "post-colonial framework" (p. 240) and recognises the level of power and control that hearing people have over Deaf people's working lives (p. 238). This situation also occurs in the higher education arena, where "there are very few Deaf people in the UK who hold a PhD" (Emery, 2007: 252). Padden-Duncan (ibid.) also refers to the small number of Deaf people in senior and upper management roles compared to hearing people and suggests that there is a need for awareness of this imbalance in order for it to be redressed. The implications of this situation are seen clearly in Ladd (2008) where he discusses **"**space limitation" and the frustration that lack of empowerment can lead to, even to the extent of "bipolar tension"' (p. 50). For this reason, many Deaf people seek to work in Deaf-led environments, such as the many Deaf related organisations and businesses in the UK. Woolfe (2004) refers to this Deaf-

related employment as the deaf industry, finding that qualified Deaf teachers will be more likely to work with deaf children, and Deaf people qualified in media related subjects are more likely to seek employment within Deaf media.

2.5.3   The effects of positive employment

Despite the limited amount of academic research into the employment situation of Deaf people, some studies have focused on the benefits of a positive employment status (such as Kyle and Dury, 2004; Grant, 2005 and Dickinson, 2010). Turner (2003) noted the beginning of a positive shift in the Deaf community as a result of changes in deaf employment from labour-intensive to a move to mainstream and institutional and professional 'white-collar' positions. This is largely since the provision of support for disabled people in the workplace in the UK in the form of the Access to Work funding that came into force in 1994. Dickinson (2010) suggests that the provision of sign language interpreters in the workplace, since the Access to Work funding was made available, has led to increased social interaction for Deaf employees. Dickinson proposes suggests that seeing the workplace as a Community of Practice leads to shared ideas and participation in the workplace, and in other areas too. Likewise, an increase in the number of Deaf professionals in the US is noted in Hauser (2010). Hauser, Finch and Hauser (2010) provides further evidence of increased employment opportunities and Foster and Macleod (2003) report an increase in the number of Deaf people gaining management level employment (also Kamm-Larew, Standford, Greene, Heacox and Hodge, 2008; Chin, 2010). The results of Woolfe's (2004) study recommend that further improvements in education and employment are at the core of improving the problems faced by Deaf people, and the need to break out of the 'negative cycle' that has persisted. Recommendations include increasing exposure to sign language for deaf children, the addition of sign language teaching in mainstream schools, and increased access to sign language interpreters (also, Bristoll, 2009).

2.6   Attitude as a component of conflict

Attitude, in essence, is a culmination of the ideas and concepts that are invoked when we think about a certain object or entity, or person or group, and the emotions that we feel towards them (Fauconnier & Turner, 2008). Certain views are formed about people, and these 'attitudes' may change over time. Several approaches to understanding attitude have been put forward by theorists, covering the evaluations, judgements and feelings involved, and the following three are central to the discussions in chapters five and six of this thesis. Hogg and Vaughan (2008) provide an account of attitude based on several components that are of relevance to this study:

One-component attitude model: An attitude consists of 'affect' towards or evaluation of the object;

Two- component attitude model: An attitude consists of mental readiness to act. It also guides evaluative (judgemental) responses;

Three-component attitude model: An attitude consists of cognitive, affective and behavioural components. This threefold division has an ancient heritage, stressing thought, feeling and action as basic to human experience

(Hogg and Vaughan, 2008: 149).

The elements that make up Hogg and Vaughan's component models are discussed in detail in relation to the broader field of disability, and to the focussed perspective of the workplace, in the following two sections.

2.6.1   Societal attitudes towards people with disabilities

This examination of societal attitudes is not exclusive to the relationship between Deaf and hearing people; it has been the topic of much discussion in the broader field of disability, where research has examined attitudes under the umbrella of diversity, both linguistic and cultural. As stated in chapter one, in order to identify the underlying root cause of any conflict, the interlocutors' attitudes and level of awareness and

understanding of each other is an important aspect of this study, hence it is explored in this review. Rao (2004) considers teacher and students' attitudes towards students with disabilities in a faculty in a higher education context, finding that "the majority of attitude researchers are concerned with social behaviours, viewing attitudes as emotion-laden mind-sets that serve as a more or less hidden motivator for behaviour" (p. 193). Livneh (1982) establishes six perspectives that are used when considering negative attitudes towards people with disabilities that are relevant to the sociocultural context in which this study is situated, adapted as below by Rao (2004):

(1) Sociocultural-psychological; the origins of negative attitudes associated with social and cultural values triggered by unique psychodynamic and developmental experiences.

(2) Affective-cognitive; roots of negative attitudes vary from those occupied by emotional reactions such as anxiety and guilt, to those characterized by intellectual determinants, such as poor self-insight, ambiguity intolerance, and cognitive dissonance.

(3) Conscious-unconscious; causes range from those of which the observer is considered to be fully aware to those of which he or she is assumed to be totally unaware.

(4) Past experience-present situation; the sources vary from those presumably stemming from early childhood experiences such as childrearing practices and parental influences, to those associated with current situational and interactional experience.

(5) Internally originated-externally originated; the determinants range from those related to the non-disabled individual observer, such as his or her demographic or personality correlates, to those related to characteristics associated with the disabled individual or the disability.

(6) Theoretical-empirical; the origins vary, from those based on purely theoretical or speculative formulations to those derived from empirical research findings.

(Rao, 2004: 193)

These six perspectives are useful for this research, as they enable the study to consider the relationship between thought processes, language attitudes and the effects that this has on behaviour. The issues highlighted by the six perspectives also enable this research to consider the early childhood experiences of Deaf people, and particularly lack of access to language in the family home and in mainstream schools.

Previous research into interrelationship conflict has also considered the reactions people have to the actions taken by others. For example, Cook (1992) discusses three elements of individual cognition, proposing an interrelationship between reactions to observations and sensitivity to correspondence, and concluding that responses to certain objects are underpinned by the individual's attitude towards that object. Rao (2004: 193) discusses the relationship between 'action and reactions' and considers conflict to be caused by negative attitudes and also concludes that beliefs underlie attitudes. Such scholars view difference from a mainstream perspective and there is very little research that highlights conflicts among sign language users from a sociocultural standpoint. In the further and higher education sectors, research has ascertained that "attitudinal barriers" exist for disabled people (Chubon, 1992).

Concerning the interaction among BSL users, it is important that underlying attitudes are examined, as there may be, consciously or unconsciously, certain behaviours towards Deaf people that can be explained in terms of the attitudes that are held. The attitudinal factors that are relevant to this research study are illustrated in the following diagram (Figure 2-7):
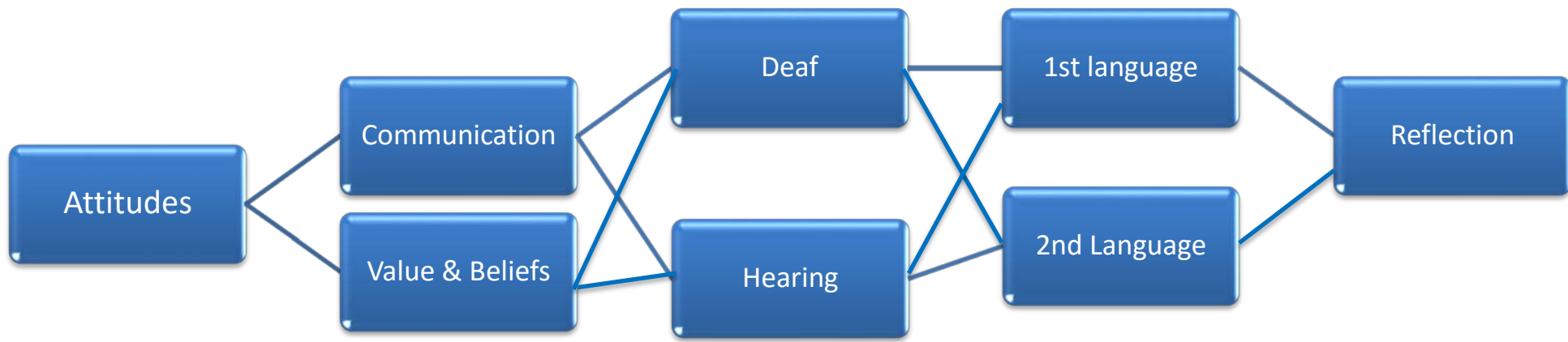
Figure 2-12 Attitudinal Factors

As the above diagram indicates, when people approach communication with different attitudes, the communication is underpinned by different values and beliefs. First language BSL users have a different attitude towards interrelationships, with Deaf BSL users valuing sign language as an equal right and a necessity, and some hearing BSL users treating sign language as a hobby. It was noted in section 2.4.3 that understanding aspects of language use is important in a study of Deaf and hearing BSL users, and attitudes towards language are particularly relevant. When participants reflect on their experiences, attitude is a primary factor in the discourse. Furnhama and Lane (1984) discuss attitude in relation to interaction, suggesting that a mis-match of attitudes can result in a lack of empathy between the two people. This study explores, in the case of Deaf and hearing BSL users, whether or not perceptions of Deaf BSL users may be very different.

This study examines the attitudes prevalent during interaction that may aid or hinder relationships among BSL users; it explores the persistent misunderstandings that occur in the workplace, where values, beliefs and norms remain culturally different. This has largely come about due to the resurgence of Deaf culture and sign languages, as many scholars have noted over the last few decades (e.g. Lane, 1999; Ladd, 2003; Bahan, 2008). On a broader level, the use of labels and categorisations for people has been examined and criticised as causing misconception (Davis, 2008) and a deliberate attempt at government level to pacify certain groups and leave them without an avenue to challenge the labelling. Hearing people's acceptance or rejection of terms used within the Deaf community is of interest to this research, as this may be a reflection of positive or negative attitudes of hearing people who are involved in the Deaf community to a lesser or greater extent. Napier (2002a) discusses the several signs that exist in BSL for 'hearing', which are used by Deaf people to refer to hearing people according to their perceived attitude towards Deaf people and knowledge of the community. This topic continues to be debated in Sutton-Spence and West's (2011) exploration of their hearing identities:

"The paradox of Deaf Studies is that it is largely populated, organized, researched, and taught by hearing scholars, but from an historical Deaf perspective, a hearing person is a member of the majority group of oppressors. There is, however, almost no debate about the tricky epistemological and ontological ground navigated by hearing people who work in Deaf Studies."

(Sutton-Spence and West, 2011: 422)

In a recent discussion, Napier and Leeson (2016) share their experiences of working within the field of applied sign language studies and highlight various methodological approaches to exploring Deaf and hearing identities, Deaf Studies language and discourse, and the need to work as hearing allies alongside Deaf people in order to decolonise the concept of "hearing privilege" (p. 11). The issue of interest here is the level of acceptance of the position as a hearing person involved in the Deaf community and the positive attitude that prevails.

2.6.2   Attitude and the conscious mind

Rationally Speaking (2012)

Figure 2-13 The Conscious Mind
(picture for illustrative/visual purposes only)

The issue of people's conscious or unconscious knowledge of their own behaviour and reactions to other people has been examined in depth by Gertz (2008). The unconscious, negative reaction to Deaf people that is experienced in many workplaces is referred to by Gertz as "dysconscious audism". This present sociocultural study aims to identify conflicts arising in workplaces that employ Deaf and hearing members of staff, hence this notion is relevant. Workplace attitudes toward Deaf and hearing BSL users, and the emotions that such attitudes evoke, are explored in later chapters. In a study of the Deaf personality, Ridgeway (1993) informs us that Deaf employees feel emotional when they regularly find that they are not up to date on work-relevant information. Young, Ackerman and Kyle (2000) also report that Deaf people experience emotions, such as feelings of exclusion and rejection. Steinberg, Sullivan & Montoya (1999) and Backenroth (1997) report similar findings: that Deaf people generally experience feelings of loneliness, social isolation, lack of ability to develop relationships and frustration due to the extra effort that is required. The consequences of consciously adapting language use and the implications for the emotional experiences of Deaf people are explored by Bahan (2001), who suggests that many Deaf people have experienced a loss of identity and that this has been re-found to some extent in communities of Deaf people worldwide. In an edited text, Bauman (2008) brings together current academic writing on related issues. The emotional factors that contribute to the interrelation conflicts among BSL users are illustrated in the following diagram (Figure 2-14):
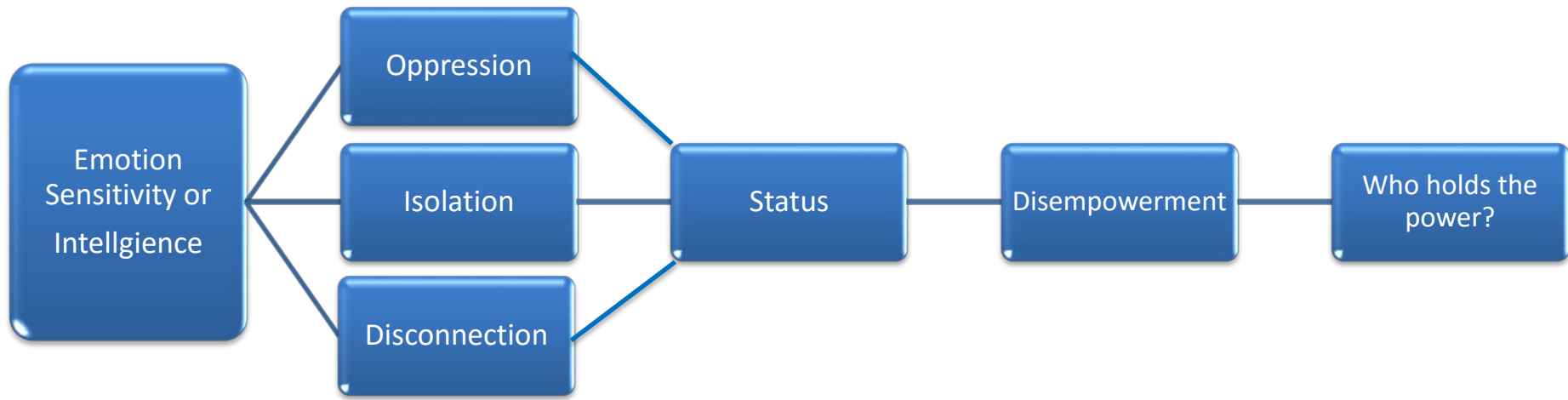
Figure 2-14 Emotional Factors

The above diagram shows that feelings of isolation and disconnection in the workplace have an emotive reaction. Deaf BSL users may experience this as a form of oppression, as the result is a lower status in the workplace compared to hearing BSL users. Emotion impacts at a cultural level like the physical forces of Newton's Third Law, such that: "To every action there is always an equal and opposite reaction":

"If a body impinges upon another, and by its force changes the motion of the other, that body also (because of the equality of the mutual pressure) will undergo an equal change, in its own motion, toward the contrary part. The changes made by these actions are equal, not in the velocities but in the motions of the bodies; that is to say, if the bodies are not hindered by any other impediments. For, as the motions are equally changed, the changes of the velocities made toward contrary parts are reciprocally proportional to the bodies."

(Newton, cited in Schreuder, 2014: 378)

In both signed and spoken languages, interlocutors react continually to the emotion that is visible on the face and in the body movements of the conversational partner. In sign languages, where certain facial expressions and upper body movements serve a grammatical purpose, this emotion is still revealed, and the visual language user will be astutely aware of them. Linguists and psychologists have studied the non-manual expression of emotion during sign language use and compared it with emotion displayed during spoken language use (such as Goldstein and Feldman, 1996), many concluding that there are many cultural differences in the expression of emotion and the reaction to it during interaction. As Newton's Third Law suggests, reaction is natural and automatic; emotion, however, may also be conscious and then the interlocutor has the choice to hide the emotion and not allow a physical reaction to take place. Sartain, North, Strange & Chapman's (1973) discussion of hiding emotion when playing the card game, Poker, is just one example of how emotion can be consciously hidden but often readable despite attempts to suppress it. The reactions that BSL users have to each other during interaction can lead to conflict.

2.7   Chapter summary

A review of relevant literature and previous work in this area has highlighted the need to consider the workplace experiences between Deaf and hearing BSL users in terms of interactions, and the divide between the two groups has shown a fruitful area for research. Lived experiences have been considered in the light of conflict theory and this thesis proposes that a community of BSL users can be researched according to the conflicts that exist in order to understand its make-up. Reasons for misunderstanding and conflict have been considered and the review has highlighted the oppression and control that Deaf people and their languages have experienced, as well as the dysconscious audism that remains; experiences that the notion of Deafhood has allowed the review to illustrate. It has been necessary to understand the models of deafness that have influenced attitudes of hearing sign language users towards Deaf sign language users, hence the review considered the proposed paradigm shift to a sociocultural model of Deafness. The review has shown that Deafhood is an important aspect of the Deaf community and reveals itself in a pride in being Deaf and in sharing a language and culture. Being Deaf, I argue in this review, is usefully seen as part of a cultural identity, and a sharing of a multiplicity of experiences, such as family background, education and employment, etc. Deaf people have a shared sense of the daily facing of oppression and disempowerment that is most relieved in the Deaf clubs or at events where Deaf people come together.

Deaf people constitute a disempowered group in society: the group holding all the power being the wider hearing society, and the marginalisation and inequality being felt in education, in employment, in health services and in lack of opportunity to choose and to progress (Backenroth, 1997). This review has shown that there is a need for continual re-addressing and re-interpreting of issues in order to create a situation of improved understanding, of improved access, and of improved sharing of resources across communities. What remains, then, is that change is required within the social system in order to support people and to create and promote equality and inclusion. The following diagram (Fig 2-15) illustrates the sociological processes that have affected our understanding of how Deaf people fit into a hearing, mainstream society:
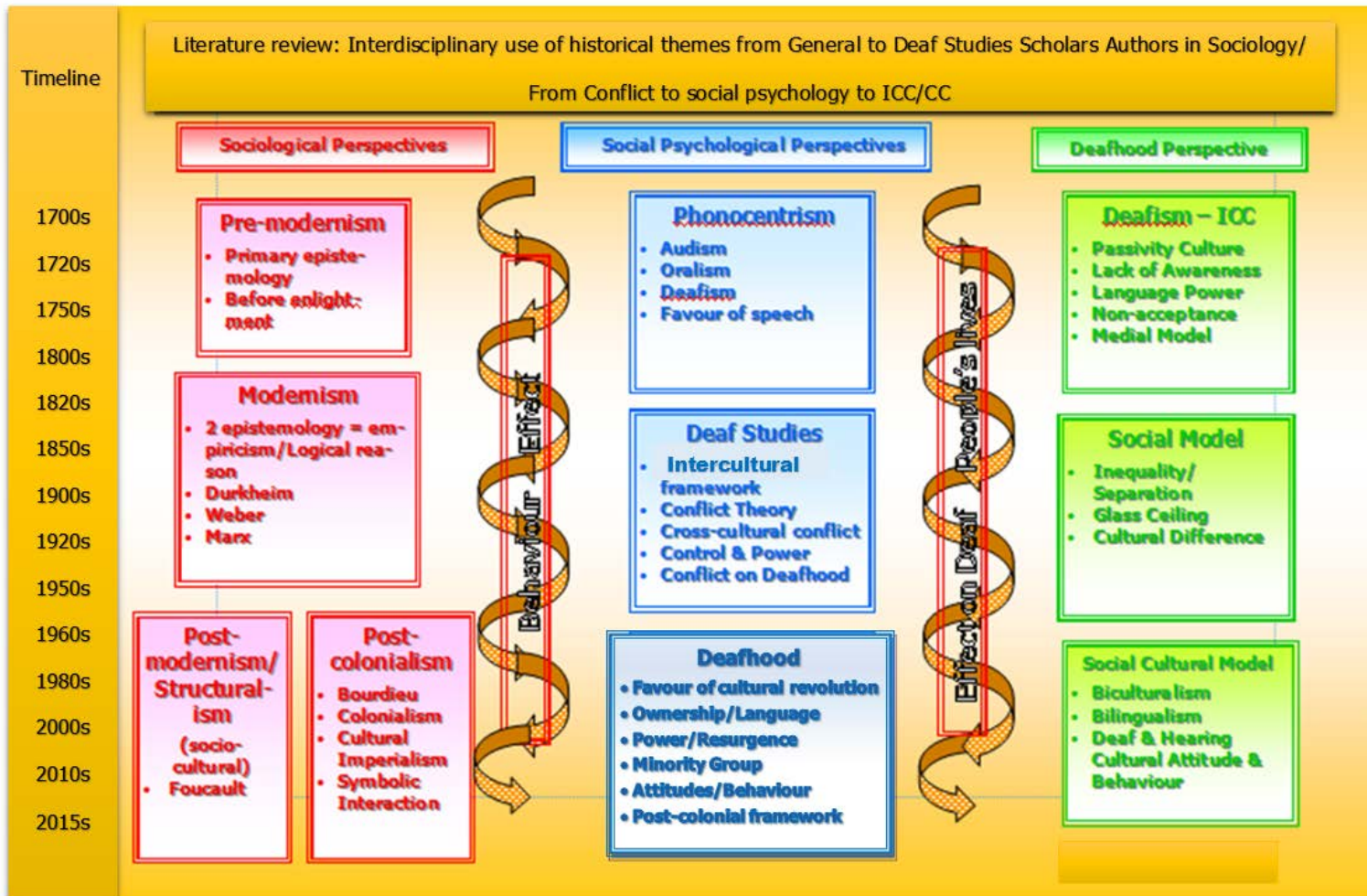
Figure 2-15 Sociological Perspectives

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3   Chapter Three - Theoretical Framework:
A critical hermeneutic phenomenology approach

3.1   Introduction

In this chapter, the backdrop to the investigation continues with a detailed description of the theoretical underpinnings of the study. This includes a discussion of the sociocultural perspective taken and the options available to a researcher embarking upon a qualitative study of lived experiences. The phenomenological framework is presented, along with a rationale for the hermeneutic approach that has come about as a result of steady developments in the field of phenomenology. This chapter also provides a reflexive discussion of the researcher's background and positioning in relation to the study. This is an important aspect of the thesis, given the interpretivist nature of the research methodology. Insight into the researcher's background is followed by a discussion of insider research, and the benefits that being a member of the community being researched can bring to a study. This is followed by a discussion of sign-based methodologies, in order to highlight the differences between auditory and visual frameworks, and the need for a model that enables the visual-cultural aspects of Deaf people's lived experiences to be examined in detail. It is the intention that this chapter will provide a comprehensive picture of the theoretical background to the study before moving to describe the research methodology in the next chapter.

3.2   Theoretical framework

3.2.1   Main disciplinary position: the sociocultural perspective

This research is carried out according to a sociocultural perspective. Sanderson (2010) regards this positioning as, "A perspective describing people's behavior and mental processes as shaped in part by their social and/or cultural contact, including race, gender, and nationality" (p. 19). This definition enables a researcher to seek understanding as to how and why humans behave in certain ways during interaction,

particularly with reference to characteristics as members of either social groups or subgroups. This ability to explore individual experiences and the culture influences on our thinking is an avenue to understanding human interactive behaviours, and the influence of one group over another in society. This broad sociocultural perspective can be applied to more specific areas of study, such as the workplace in the case of this research, in order to identify aspects of workplace behaviours and the dynamics that are at play in a socioculturally mixed working environment. This approach, which involves viewing Deaf people as a linguistic minority, enables this study to consider the position of Deaf people in the workplace and the level of interaction with hearing people that they have. This central perspective provides the research with an overriding interest in people's experiences when interacting in the workplace, and how these are influenced by the attitudes and perceptions of sign language use as an environmental space (Hintermair, 2008). From this broad theoretical perspective, this research comprises a sociocultural study of a mixed Deaf and hearing workplace environment. The social aspect of this standpoint brings the attention to issues of power, control and equality that were considered in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.4 above; the cultural aspect allows attention to be paid to the language and cultural differences introduced in section 1.2.1. Bringing the two perspectives together provides a suitable basis for studying the systems and structures that are at play in the workplace.

3.2.2   A phenomenological framework

As the central aim of this sociocultural research is to explore the meanings of BSL users' experiences, it has a naturally interpretivist nature, and is not based in the positivist domain of the hard sciences. Furthermore, its focus on conflict among BSL users as a workplace phenomenon places the interpretive study under the branch of phenomenology (Moustakas, 1994). As a wide, theoretical approach, phenomenology is the study of experience and how people experience events from a subjective or first-person point of view. Phenomenology is interested in the structures of conscious experience, along with intentionality - the way an experience is directed toward a certain object in the world). It has its roots in the theoretical disciplines and methods of

philosophy and psychology. This approach has developed from the work of notable scholars, largely Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger, and Hans-Georg Gadamer who study methodologies for understanding the structure of human experience as a phenomenon. Husserl, originally influenced by philosophers such as Plato, Leibniz and Brentano, believed that that thoughts could be understood as "intentional" phenomena and that our understanding of them can be revealed by attention to consciousness in the individual. This established early phenomenology as "the science of the essentials of consciousness" (Polkinghorne, 1983: 41), and moved research more towards a science of philosophy, i.e. a post-positivist approach. At the centre of a phenomenological approach is how a "lived experience" (p. 42) is defined, and the notion that "phenomenological reflection does not produce factual statements or generalizations derived from particular experiences. Instead, it produces descriptions of what is essential or invariant to such-and-such a kind of experience." (p. 42). It is for this reason, for example, that current generations can shed different light on a later interpretation of an earlier written text period. The challenge to phenomenology, then, is to study the lived experiences of people in context, bringing experience and consciousness together in order to arrive at a core description of the phenomenon, as Creswell (2013) notes:

"Individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences – meanings directed toward certain objects or things. These meanings are varied and multiple…They also focus on specific contexts in which people live and work, in order to understand the historical and cultural settings of the participants."

(Creswell, 2013: 8)

3.2.2.1 Descriptivist phenomenology

Phenomenology is broadly divided into two types: descriptivist and interpretivist. Descriptivist phenomenology developed as a result of Husserl's formulation of a method of studying human experience and is also referred to as 'realistic' or 'transcendental' phenomenology. This level of research is based on the analysis of the intentional

structures of mental acts in relation to both real and ideal objects. Transcendental Phenomenology is a method that explores the way people experience a certain phenomenon and discovers the essential features of the experience and the essence of what we experience (Sloan and Bowe, 2014). Descriptivist perspectives aim to explore the objects of human experience. When describing the experiences of participants, descriptivist phenomenologists set aside their own perspectives and reduce any level of researcher influence on the findings (referred to as 'bracketing') in order to give a level view of whatever is being researched. Giorgi (1997) describes this descriptive framework as a three-phase phenomenological process of reduction, description and findings. Bracketing in phenomenological research, then, involves setting aside any researcher's assumptions before extracting any further understanding of the topic (Fischer, 2009).

3.2.2.2 Interpretivist phenomenology

The addition of an interpretivist methodology for studying human experience came with scholars such as Heidegger (Polkinghorne, 1983). Building on Husserl's earlier descriptive approach to phenomenology, Heidegger established a method of interpreting the phenomena being studied, alongside providing a rich description. Polkinghorne (1983: 204) notes that this method of studying human experience focusses largely on human existence, and the nature of being in the world, known as 'dasein'. The aim is to comprehend a person's own level of consciousness of their place in the world, or what the world is according to their human perspectives. One of the central differences between descriptive and interpretive accounts of experience lies in the extent to which a researcher feels that they can bracket themselves from the data analysis. From Heidegger's interpretivist perspective, it is believed that the observer cannot separate him/herself from the world around them and so cannot have the detached viewpoint Husserl insisted upon. The researcher and the participants' existence is a factor in the research process and the interpretivist method takes this existential effect into account. The differing methodologies are described clearly by Sloan and Bowe:

"To compare the two versions of phenomenology; Husserl's descriptive or transcendental phenomenology was so called because the observer could transcend the phenomena and meanings being investigated to take a global view of the essences discovered; i.e. settling for generic descriptions of the essences and phenomena without moving to a 'fine-grained' view of the essences and phenomena under investigation. This meant that there was an objectivisation of the meanings of human experiences…Heidegger was of the view that the observer could not remove him or herself from the process of essence-identification, that he or she existed with the phenomena and the essences. He or she would be required to bear that in mind during the phenomenological process, hence the alternative description."

(Sloane and Bowe, 2014: 6)

In Finlay's (2009: 6) discussion of which type of phenomenological approach is suited to a particular study, six questions are posed that aid the researcher's task of deciding on an appropriate methodology for answering the research questions:

"(1) How tightly or loosely should we define what counts as phenomenology? (2) Should we always aim to produce a general (normative) description of the phenomenon or is idiographic analysis a legitimate aim? (3) To what extent should interpretation be involved in our descriptions? (4) Should we set aside or bring to the foreground researcher subjectivity? (5) Should phenomenology be more science than art? (6) Is phenomenology a modernist or postmodernist project, or neither?"

Interpretivist theories of research developed also in the work of Gadamer (2004). Gadamer's theory of interpretation, a reader-response theory, focuses on the meaning of a text, which is dependent not only on the position of its author but also influenced by the position of the receiver of the text, and by the historical situation of the interpretation. According to Gadamer, human understanding of the present is an interpretation of the past, alongside the present-day ways of being. Such personal

biases, Gadamer claims, come from the inability to detach ourselves from our past, and the need to interpret texts and actions based our own historical situation.

3.2.2.3 Critical hermeneutic phenomenology

The interpretivist method of phenomenology is often referred to as 'hermeneutic', that is, a method or theory of interpretation. Building on Heidegger's understanding of interpretivist phenomenology, and largely expounded by Gadamer, hermeneutics involves attempting to interpret the world as the participants experience in order to understand the situational meaning of being human in the world. This approach enables a study to reflect on lived experiences, with interpretations drawn by the researcher. According to Schleiermacher (1977) 'hermeneutic sensitivity' is a skill that every social researcher should have. Hermeneutic sensitivity comes from the researcher's ability to be aware of their limitations, to understand the participants' positioning as a way of establishing an equal relationship in the methodology.

The intention of this study of BSL users in the workplace is to understand the participants' experiences and the causes of shared workplace experiences, and a phenomenological approach enables the research to accomplish this in the pilot and the extended studies. From a more specific perspective, then, an interpretive phenomenological approach is taken, and this is found in the theoretical foundation of hermeneutic phenomenology. According to Matua and Van Der Wal (2015) phenomenology has developed from mainly descriptive accounts of phenomena (with very little researcher influence) to the hermeneutic approach that permits the researcher to interpret the data (adding their own understanding of the phenomena to the descriptive account). Langdridge (2008) notes that there is some overlap between the descriptive and the interpretive levels of phenomenological research, as interpretive analysis must also seek to provide descriptions of the phenomena. For this study, the hermeneutic nature of the approach means that the data analysis and the findings are also subject to the researcher's interpretation and, as such, alternative researchers may draw alternative conclusions from further analysis.

In addition to the hermeneutic approach, this study also aims to identify areas of concern in relation to the presupposed divide between Deaf and hearing BSL users, hence a critical approach is also taken. Critical hermeneutics stresses the need to expose individuals to the meanings that they cannot see themselves (Thompson 1990). Gadamer is credited with helping to extend philosophical hermeneutics to critical hermeneutics by stressing the importance of tradition, background and history in our ways of understanding (Annells, 1999; Byrne, 2001). Due to the conflict nature of the problem statements underlying this study, presented in section 1.1.2, a critical approach is necessary. It is only through this critical hermeneutic approach that the true meaning of how BSL users experience workplace conflict, the focus of research question one, and the causes of intergroup conflict, at the centre of the second research question, can be understood. According to Gadamer (2004), this critical approach involves prejudgement – the notion that one's preconceptions or prejudices (or horizons of meaning) are part of our linguistic experience and make understanding possible; and universality – the idea that the persons who express themselves and the persons who understand are connected by a common human consciousness, makes understanding possible.

3.2.3   Critique of interpretivist research methods

The last decade has seen a rise in the number of Deaf researchers networking on a global level and this has led to an increase in Deaf-led research and further understanding of Deaf ways of being, i.e. Deaf culture, and Deaf ways of gaining knowledge, known as Deaf epistemologies (Young and Temple, 2014). Hauser, O'Hearn, McKee, Steider and Thew (2010) provide a clear and succinct explanation of Deaf epistemology:

> "Deaf epistemology constitutes the nature and extent of the knowledge that deaf individuals acquire growing up in a society that relies primarily on audition to navigate life. Deafness creates beings who are more visually oriented compared to their auditorily oriented peers."

> (Hauser, O'Hearn, McKee, Steider and Thew, 2010: 486)

Despite important research of this nature, the influences of sociological standpoints such as those described in section 2.2 and 2.6 continue to impact on attitudes towards Deaf people. Paul & Moores (2010) have emphasised the interest in the field that research into Deaf epistemologies has raised but they inform us that the medical model standpoint still exists, as do other recent scholars: Ladd, 2003; O'Brien, 2005; 2012; de Clerck, 2007; Emery, 2008; O'Connell, 2008; 2011; Association of American Geographers, 2012. Informed scholars are still urging a shift to the sociocultural model in order to take on board the concept of 'Deaf epistemologies'. The differentiation in the relationship between general epistemologies and those of Deaf communities lays in the fact that Deaf epistemologies are 'Deaf centric' and include the construction of a 'Deaf way' of knowing (de Clerck, 2010). De Clerck's confrontation of the issues culminates in a call for a shift when researching Deaf communities and highlights the groundwork still to be done in order to construct new methodologies:

"Is there a deaf way of viewing the world? What is the status of (indigenous) deaf knowledge(s) versus science? How can deaf knowers be conceptualized in science? In what context are science and knowledge produced, and what is the value of science? How do deaf people construct their knowledge? Is it legitimate for deaf people to claim knowledge, and why?"

(de Clerck, 2010: 435-6)

A shift to a sociocultural perspective of Deaf people has not yet occurred in many research arenas and, primarily, it is still hearing people that undertake to research Deaf communities. The use of interpretivist methods alone, then, is not sufficient to ensure an appropriate sociocultural understanding. In addition, a data collection method that makes use of a hermeneutic analysis is naturally interpretive, and subject to the researcher's bias. As the researcher's interpretation of the data forms a natural part of the data analysis.

3.2.4 Qualitative vs. quantitative methods

During the last ten years, there have been an increasing number of research methods used in the collection of qualitative and quantitative data, and implications have been raised regarding the subsequent translation of videography sources (Young, Oram, Dodds, Nassimi-Green, Belk, Rogers, Davies and Lovell, 2016). The expansion of research methods and discussion of scholarly issues serves to raise the level of debate about research in the field of British Sign Language and the Deaf community. The descriptive basis of this study serves to enable illustration of areas of misunderstanding, thus providing a basis for qualitative research and so the research is being carried out with the use of qualitative methods. The primary aim of this study is to examine the experiences of working in a mixed environment; hence, a qualitative approach enables investigation at this personal level. The use of qualitative data allows the researcher to identify the experiences and feelings of the participants. Derrida (in Kamuf, 1991) illustrates the difference between cognition and articulation of thought, placing greater importance on text than on spoken language means and the researcher was mindful of this issue in this study. As this research intended to understand as closely as possible the *meaning* of participants' contributions, qualitative data collection methods therefore enabled the most appropriate methodology. The issue of quantitative vs. qualitative methods is also raised by Smith (2005), who proposes a change in research methodologies in order to create a space for indigenous people to speak out and this change requires a break from traditional research methods:

> "Qualitative research has an expanding set of tools that enable finer-grained interpretations of social life. Expanding the understandings and tools of qualitative researchers is important in an era when the diversity of human experience in social groups and communities, with languages and epistemologies, is undergoing profound cultural and political shifts."
>
> (Smith, 2005: 103)

Wisker (2001) states that the methodology chosen must allow a natural flow of the "design and methods used, the data analysis" (p. 69). In order for this study to achieve a steady flow from data analysis to discussion of credibility and dependability, the critical hermeneutic phenomenology approach has been taken. This provides a unique combination of activities in order to construct understanding in an area with enduring ethical concerns (Creswell, 1994); this also lessens the conflict of researcher roles (Oliver, 1990; 1996). As the study is underpinned by a hermeneutic phenomenological approach, the methodology needed to allow for debate around resolution of any identified conflicts that Deaf and hearing BSL users encounter in their daily working practises, and a qualitative methodology was deemed most suitable in this case.

3.3 Researcher background

3.3.1 Transparency

The hermeneutic phenomenological approach is particularly effective for research related to human subjects, and attempts to find knowledge that will improve their lived experiences (Rehorick & Bentz, 2008). As Sokolowski (2002) notes, this approach enables the researcher to delve into "the study of human experience and the way they present themselves to us through such experience" (p. 2). In line with Mertens' (2007; 2010) method of researching groups, this phenomenological approach is taken in this study. This also involves the research being as transparent to the reader as possible with regards to personal beliefs and values, ethical considerations, such as respect and beneficence, and appropriate research processes that enable those credentials to be maintained in the methodology. For this research study, this involves informing the reader of the implications of conducting a study over a relatively long period, seven years (part time) in this case. This lengthy process can affect the researcher's interpretations of the data, and of the context in which the study is situated. It is, then, about providing a "platform for the stories" that unfold during the study. Etherington (2004) note that it is with transparent research that scholars began to "encourage voices that had previously been marginalized and oppressed and provided platforms for the stories of minority group members" (p. 27). As Mertens suggests, this paradigm provides

"a framework that is useful for raising questions about the assumptions that underlie research and the contribution of research to enhancing human rights" (2007: 224). To this end, the power and influence held by the researcher must be dealt with on a culturally sensitive level in order for the community being studied to be involved in the process and be accepting of its findings, hence this chapter considers the effect of its insider research basis.

This necessity for research to be transparent and ethical is also highlighted by Cross, Bazron, Dennis and Isaacs (1989) who state that "too often research has been conducted without the consent, consultation, or participation of the subject population and the resulting information has not found its way back into the community" (p. 26). Mertens investigates the role of the researcher and the potential to draw inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches in a single study or program of inquiry. While a phenomenological approach is effective in mixed methods research that combined both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, it is also effective in research such as this study, which makes use of single method of analysis (qualitative) but mixed methods for the collection of appropriate data (qualitative group discussions and individual self-testimonies), as section 4.4 below illustrates.

3.3.2   *The researcher - Deaf habitus and reflexivity*

In this chapter, it is necessary to position myself in the research project according to the concept of habitus: the notion notarised by Bourdieu (1977) as the individual's set of socially learnt dispositions, which are acquired through the activities and experiences of everyday life (Swartz, 2002). To this purpose, I briefly mention my personal upbringing and its influence in this research as part of the reflective nature of this section and before moving to describe the research process in the next chapter. Born and raised in Newcastle, UK, my education was based within a mainstream school setting, in a small unit dedicated to deaf children, known as a partial hearing unit (PHU). Despite having a brother who is also Deaf, I was not encouraged to develop my identity and behaviours as a Deaf child and somehow imagined that I was just like all the hearing children that attended the school. The school's 'oral' philosophy meant that they operated a system

of educating deaf children where the teacher uses amplified spoken language and a deaf child's entire education is spent on attempts at hearing with the aid of (usually ineffective) lip-reading skills. This, in my case, led to an oppressive and discouraging environment, and one where school days became a milieu of confusion, frustration and led to never-ending conflict. This conflict was external, in the form of misunderstanding and rebellion against the educators, and was within, in the form of misunderstood identity and non-acceptance of myself as a Deaf person. I was experiencing the cultural hegemony of ill-informed hearing members of society and of sound-based normative behaviours and customs. These obstacles sparked my interest in working relations between Deaf and hearing BSL users. It was only later as an adult that I finally realised that the affiliation I had developed with being hearing was unreal and maladjusted. Moving into mainstream employment in the industrial sector led to the realisation that deaf people, although accepted, are seen as being different. Subsequent work in a specialist industrial environment for disabled people only clarified that this was because deaf people are stereotyped and viewed as disabled by the wider society. Through my personal identification with being Deaf, and my experiences of working within the Deaf community, I gained insight into the lived experiences of Deaf and hearing sign language users. My experience ranges from working in mainstream organisations to working in organisations for Deaf people led by hearing people, and into the Deaf-led sector. This has afforded me first-hand experience of workplace conflict/clashes at various levels and through various causes, such as personal values, goals and expectations, and the effects on a Deaf or hard of hearing person's identity (Hintermair, 2008) and the level of stress in remaining competitive, as described in Tye-Murray, Spry and Mauze (2009). Eventually, being fortunate to work in one or two specialist organisations for Deaf people helped me to realise that I was, in fact, part of a cultural group. In a short space of time, I learnt to communicate in sign language, became an avid member of the Deaf community and finally accepted myself as a Deaf person. This personal experience led me to develop an interest in Deaf identity, culture and space, and in how cultural differences in the working environment affect Deaf and hearing relationships; I proceed to examine this topic with the knowledge of the influences that being a 'subaltern'

researcher (Ladd, 2003) can bring but suggest that a community member may also bring much needed insider attention to a topic that requires a deep level of understanding.

My interest in this field has no doubt influenced my choice of topic, and has instilled in me a natural interest to understand why Deaf and hearing BSL users are not professionally united. This previous experience is the reason for the title of this study, and why I chose two research questions that would enable me to study the experiences of Deaf BSL users in the workplace where hearing colleagues are also BSL users, and the causes of the conflict that exists. It has been emphasised that the personal background of the scholar brings influence on the research, not only in terms of prior interests but also with regards to the level of objectivity that can hope to be achieved (Durkheim, 2012). Early references to subjectivity and objectivity in scientific research have encouraged researchers to be as reflective and open as possible with regards to the influence they bring. Having worked in several types of organisations influenced my decision to invite participants from various types of organisations to take part in my study, as I have become aware of the conflicts between Deaf and hearing colleagues in the different contexts. Being a Deaf researcher had implications for conducting this study, which are outlined below in detail:

Conducting a literature review: undertaking a literature review in a second language is a daunting task for the first language BSL user. I relied on BSL translations of some highly complex academic texts for this research study, as this enabled a level of understanding of the academic works in my first language. However, this was hampered by the fact that even the most highly experienced and skilled sign language interpreters in the region struggled to understand the academic texts to a high enough level to enable effective translation to take place; only a limited amount of translation was therefore possible. The translations that were successful did provide me with a higher level of confidence to understand the written academic texts. This is also a very time-consuming aspect of conducting research via sign language. This has implications for time-management of a project, including ensuring translations are completed in time for the data coding and analysis process to begin. The recent addition of subtitles on YouTube tutorials and lectures has been of benefit, as the language is less taxing than

academic texts for the second language English user. It is also interesting to note that, in relation to the literature review and methodology journey, Deaf BSL users often prefer to begin with the data collection, then conduct a literature review afterwards, rather than following the hearing-based route. This may not be the preferred method for all Deaf researchers, but appears to be an instinctive tendency for strongly culturally Deaf academics (Klima & Bellugi, 1979; Temple & Young, 2004). During the review of literature, I did become aware that I was gravitating towards Deaf authors, perhaps as a result of being a Deaf researcher myself.

Collecting the data: It is essential that the researcher is aware of any subjective influence when collecting data materials. As well as my previous working experiences having influenced my choice of organisations, living in the North West has influenced the collection of the data. I was able to make contact with organisations that I am aware of by virtue of where I live, though I may have missed other opportunities further afield by narrowing the data collection to this region. For this study, it was felt that presenting a loosely-structured question and then leaving the group would achieve the best level of objectivity possible. This strategy of the researcher not remaining in the qualitative group discussions meant that the participants would decide who would contribute and when, and that the conversation could be steered in any direction that the participants wanted. Being a researcher who uses sign language as a preferred language has also influenced the design of the research for this study: the hearing participants, as section 4.4.4 details, where segregated into a 'hearing only' group but my expectation was that they would still communicate in BSL (and not through speech). This was important to me as a researcher, as I was then able to access the data directly, rather than having to rely on interpretations of the data into BSL. I valued this aspect and felt that it did not cause any stress to the hearing participants, as they had already expressed a willingness to use BSL during the activities.

Observation and analysis of video data: The use of signed video data enables a Deaf researcher to engage with the real life setting on a three-dimensional level and to extract relevant aspects or themes visually in the native sign language. This avoids the researcher relying on interpreted data to code and analyse collected data. Translations

into written form are of benefit, as long as they remain as neutral, detached and objective as possible, as the translations may be influenced by the translator in the same way that the analysis may be influenced by the researcher. Having worked in the scholarly field of deaf studies for many years, I have often witnessed Deaf people attempting to conduct research according to hearing ways of researching, such as working from translations to analyse data; this has influenced my decision to work from the signed data, and other methodological choices. This past experience has also instilled in me a need to be treated equally as a researcher, and to encourage other Deaf academics to conduct research in their preferred language too. According to Attia and Edge (2017), this "prospective reflexivity", that is, reflection on how a researcher influences the research and its design, brings benefits to the study:

> "Rather than seeing such influences as potential contamination of the data to be avoided or allowed for by achieving competence in an appropriate methodological procedure, prospective reflexivity seeks to help researchers grow their capacity to understand the significance of the knowledge, feelings, and values that they brought into the field to the research questions that they came to formulate, to the analytical lenses that they chose to employ, and to their findings".
>
> (Attia and Edge, 2017: 35)

Prospective reflexivity also enables a researcher to consider the influences of the author on the analysis of the data. It is relevant for the reader to note that my personal and professional experiences, and my journey into academia, will all come to play during the analysis stage, and will have influenced which parts of the participants' experiences I have selected as relevant. Creswell and Miller (2010) stress how important it is for researchers to describe their biases during the research process, and I remained aware of my bias towards Deaf BSL users whilst analysing the data. Particularly in relation to selecting the extracts for analysis, where being Deaf could have unwittingly have led me to lean towards comments that express experiences of oppression – similar to the oppression I have personally experienced whilst climbing the employment ladder. I

made a conscious effort to bracket my personal researcher biases, as Creswell and Miller recommend, and remained aware of the need to extract, and therefore analyse, the hearing BSL users' experiences also. Creswell and Miller (ibid.) suggest that this involves researches reflecting on "the social, cultural, and historical forces that shape their interpretation" (p. 127). With regards to my position, the social, cultural and historical forces culminating in research bias are my rejection of negative attitudes towards Deaf people in society, my personal refusal to operate within hearing research cultural norms, and a consistent consciousness of the historical oppression of Deaf BSL users and their language (all of which are described in detail in chapter two of this study). However, as Mauthner and Doucet (2003) note, "there a limit to how reflexive we can be, and how far we can know and understand what shapes our research *at the time of conducting it*, given that these influences may only become apparent once we have left the research behind and moved on in our personal and academic lives" (p. 415, italics in original).

Transcribing the video: as a BSL user whose command of English does not reach the same academic level as that of first language users, the interpretation of the data was also a daunting task. This was partly due to being seated in front of a word-processed document that had become very large and had been translated to a high academic level, and having to think about how to begin to interpret the data in line with the progressing thesis. As with other sections of the thesis, parts of the information were signed in BSL and interpreted into the English texts, and other parts I typed myself. This latter process began with thinking in BSL and then typing out the ideas and mental interpretations of the data into English. The written English that is produced was based on the grammatical structures of the BSL and is extremely idiosyncratic. Because of this, the translator's task does not involve proof-reading of a grammatically incorrect piece of text alone, but also involves understanding how I express ideas and concepts as an individual and the translator must, therefore, be well-known to me in order to understand the English produced. There was also a further stage in this process, as once the Deaf English was translated, it was necessary for me to sit with the translator in order for the text to be signed back to me so that I was able to clarify that the interpretations of the Deaf English were correct. As the thesis became larger, this stage led to difficulty in keeping track on which parts had been most recently translated and

had not yet been checked. In order to facilitate this, the Deaf English was typed in blue font colour so that the translator could identify the added sections. Once the translation was completed on a specific section, the translator changed the font colour to purple and returned the thesis by email. On receiving the updated thesis, I was able to go straight to the new translated (purple) text and read through it in order to decide if I was satisfied with the translations or if I wanted a back-translation of them to BSL at a later date. Once satisfied, the purple data was change to black font colour.

This flow of information from conceptual BSL to written academic English format is very time consuming and leads to triple the amount of work that a native English user needs to produce text, and it is important that academic institutions are aware of this issue. 'Deaf English' is discussed further in section 4.5.1.2 but here it is important for the reader to understand the idiosyncratic nature of the English produced for translation, hence an example extract of the English, followed by its translation, is presented in Appendix 7. For this study, then, two qualified interpreters were employed: one with expertise in translating the Deaf English, and any clips produced in BSL, to English, and the other with expertise in translating academic texts into BSL to enable me to access the available current literature (see acknowledgements).

3.3.3 Scholarly research influences

Outside the academic field of Deaf Studies, this research has drawn its main influences from several notable scholars: Aristotle (in Cahn, 1990), known for the categorisation of the five senses; Bourdieu (1977; 1984; 1991), and his examination of the dynamics of power relations and social life; Foucault (1967; 1977), for understanding of power and control and individualisation; Derrida (in Kamuf, 1991) for the interplay between mind, thought and behaviour; Gramsci (1992), for the concept of cultural hegemony and the need for 'alliance building' in order for diverse social groups to co-exist; and Spivak (1988), for the power dynamics and marginalisation of subaltern discourse. Within the Deaf Studies arena, the most influential writers are Ladd (1988; 2003; 2008), for his concept of Deafhood, and Gertz (2008), for the dynamic understanding of dysconscious audism, a concept that is introduced in section 2.2.4 above and raised again in chapter

five. The culmination of such influences has led to the current focus on the effects that cultural hegemony exerts in the social structure and within social classes (Lévi-Strauss, 1996b). Prior to the beginning of the research project, issues of power and control, attitudes, assumptions, reaction and resolution and interrelationship interaction formed the central conceptualisations and will undoubtedly have influenced this research.

3.4 Insider research: a Deaf subaltern

3.4.1 Enrichment from a Deaf researcher

Insider research may be described as research that is carried out by people who belong to the community being examined and, at a cultural and linguistic level, are first or preferred language users of the language under scrutiny, which brings an added dimension to that of outsider research. Research conducted by people who do not use a signed language as a first language may of course be insightful and valuable, particularly where the researcher has gained a high level of cultural understanding of the community, such as Lane's well-noted works (1989; 1999) and the studies conducted by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000). However, research conducted by (first language) sign language users, in this context, Deaf people, brings a different perspective to a study of interrelations among Deaf and hearing sign language users. This insider perspective, in fact, extends beyond the research arena and into the political field too. Mullane, Conama and Fourie (2011: 90), for example, suggest that in the case of drawing up legislation, "legislators should ensure that there are minority group representatives in politics to provide these insider perspectives when major decisions are being made…To do this, legislators need to create public forums, with Deaf leaders at the forefront of these discussions".

There has been a recent increase in the number of Deaf scholars researching in the field of deaf studies in the UK, such as O'Brien, 2005; Collins, 2007 and Sutherland, 2008. This issue is also raised by Ladd, Gulliver and Batterbury (2003), who emphasise the need for Deaf people to be recognised as a linguistic minority and to be involved at all levels in decision-making and in Deaf-led research (p. 7). The fact that Deaf people

have been excluded from research into their own community for many years is an issue that was raised as far back as in the 1950s, as Edmondson and Karlsson (1987: 276) note, and is still raised in academia currently (e.g. Leeson, 2010). From sign language users' perspectives, Jones and Pullen (1992, 2003) and Baker-Shenk and Kyle (1990) have explored the issue of hearing people researching Deaf communities and the need for more Deaf-led research. It is also interesting to note that this is an issue on a global level: de Clerck (2009: 173) states that "there is a strong need for more deaf-centred and deaf-led research". This is echoed in Potts and Armstrong (2003: 237) who discuss a "noticeable difference" between research carried out by Deaf and hearing people on an international level. Kyle and Woll (2005) raise the need for collaborative research, so that, "by engaging with Deaf researchers, the hearing dominated research world will have better research which will inform the policy world in a way which will benefit and safeguard the rich linguistic heritage of Europe's diverse citizens" (p. 28).

More recent Deaf-led research includes Rogers' (2013) study of the association between childhood and adulthood mental well-being in d/Deaf populations. Adam (2013), another example of a Deaf academic, has completed his doctoral research, examining unimodal bilingualism (between dialects of British Sign Language and Irish Sign Language in Australia, Ireland and Northern Ireland) where language contact exists among different sign languages. There is still little insider research to refer to, and most relevant literature is still available only in written English and not in BSL. While the use of various methodologies is not uncommon, it is only in the last decade that scholars have begun to conduct research in the language of the participants, such as Ladd (2003) and Emery (2008) and this enables discussions to proceed without the need for language interpretation. The insider perspective is seen clearly in Kusters' (2012) discussion of the ethical implications of being a Deaf, white anthropologist in Adamorobe, a small village in Eastern Ghana. Kusters expresses the importance of conducting research in a way that was suitable and familiar to the villagers, a divergence from traditional methodologies, particularly when gaining informed consent. Such research highlights the need for academic institutions to enable research to be conducted in non-traditional ways in accordance with the needs of the community being studied. The strength of this research project is that alongside a culturally appropriate methodology for gaining

consent and conducting the research, all subsequent data coding and analysis was also conducted in BSL, a stance that may be described as 'deafening methodologies' in response to the traditional notion of 'defining methodologies'. By 'deafening methodologies', I refer to a methodology that 'deafens' the traditional sound-based activities and provides a way of designing methodologies in line with the sign language approach. This includes sign-based methods that enable the collection, coding and analysis of visual data during the study, and these are discussed further in section 3.4.4 below. The discussion of the findings of this research is enriched with this insider perspective and the researcher was mindful of any ethical issues that may emerge, which are considered in the next chapter. My own personal values and beliefs have also naturally influenced this study. I have a steadfast belief in equality and empowerment for all people, particularly for Deaf BSL users, and this is no doubt the result of my own position in society. Such values and beliefs will have influenced the choices and interpretations of the data made in this study. Making values and beliefs clear and transparent gives the reader a clear understanding of the researcher's positioning and why the researcher has interpreted the data in the particular way (Etherington, 2004). Having stated already in this thesis that Deaf and hearing people are culturally different, it is understandable that research conducted by Deaf people may be completed from a Deaf perspective, in a way that is culturally appropriate and making use of methodologies that are sign language based (Deaf methodologies). This perspective has been raised by Lane (1992), Ladd (2003), Pollard (1994), Fox (2007) and Fischer (2009), who suggests that there is a need for a shift in order to apply cross-cultural principles and practices in deafness research. The importance of enabling this 'Deaf way' of conducting research is that it not only shows cultural and linguistic respect for the community being studied, but also empowers Deaf people whose first language is a signed language to aspire towards academia, therefore enabling the contributions of Deaf people to the academic field. O' Connell (2008) emphasises the benefit of researching from a Deaf perspective:

> "Knowledge from the Deaf informants' standpoint necessitates studying the
> world from their own perspectives because traditionally studies of the Irish

Deaf community have often been distorted by having been centred in the perspectives and experiences of hearing people."

(O' Connell, 2008: 25)

Deaf-led research, therefore, may bring an enriched level of observation and translation of the interactions, applying a nativist approach to the research due to being of the same cultural group as the people and culture under examination. This 'Deaf to Deaf' research is scarce, and the majority of the hearing-led research has been seen to be 'hearing centric' (O' Connell, ibid). O' Connell, among other Deaf scholars (e.g. Ladd, 2003; Emery, 2008; 2011) has proposed a paradigm shift and an attempt at deconstruction in order to enable Deaf scholars to contribute to academia with culturally appropriate ways of researching. This includes creating research questions and using methodologies that are appropriate to the target group and a Deaf researcher brings knowledge and experience of belonging to the community being explored that facilitate a greater awareness of cultural appropriateness. Young and Ackerman (2001: 182) refer to this insider instinct as "ways of knowing" and make the comparison of Deaf to Deaf research with that of research into the sociocultural situation for Black people, suggesting that Black researchers generate questions that are different from those asked by white researchers. Mizock, Harkins and Morant (2011) suggest, even further, that matching researcher and participant race may increase comfort levels in the research and increase participant satisfaction and disclosure.

During the research for this study, the researcher was aware of the implications of being present in the room as a Deaf person with a mixed group of Deaf and hearing participants. In order to avoid influencing the group discussion too much, a loosely-structured question (presented in section 4.4.1) was asked and the researcher then left the room. Given that the participants comprised Deaf and hearing BSL users, and the researcher is Deaf, the individual self-testimonies offered after the qualitative group discussions were also organised with this issue in mind. The qualitative group discussions were recorded with the idea that this would capture any apprehension or short length contributions (see section 4.4 below).

3.4.2   A sign language researcher and the observer's paradox

The research conducted in this study is qualitative, and the term is taken in its broadest sense to mean the systematic study of people and culture, and the analysis is based on observations of qualitative group discussion video recordings and of recordings of individual self-testimonies. In the case of Deaf people, observation is always happening as a matter of course, in all directions and all the time, as Deaf people are naturally observant and active onlookers, watching what is going on around them. While hearing people might 'tune in' to a spoken conversation nearby, Deaf people of course rely on their eyes and on constant scrutiny of what is happening, what is being signed and who is present (Dye, Hauser and Bavelier, 2008). Visuality is an essential part of Deaf life, and observation happens all the time. In the case of this study, it was necessary to remain as objective as possible and not be revealed as a formal 'observer', as this may have inhibited people's natural communicative behaviours. Humphries (1977) describes the problem of being a natural part of the life of the observed, and also mentions similar difficulties. Before the pilot study, there was some anticipation, discussion and thought about the methodological process: some difficulties were anticipated and it was expected that some of the observation group would feel some discomfort at the prospect of being observed, a natural reaction that the variationist sociolinguist Labov (1972) coined as "the observer's paradox": that people who are the subject of an observation might, as soon as they realise they are being observed, behave in a different or unnatural way. Mason (1996: 61) has noted that we "do need to engage with criticisms of the idea that a setting can be natural" when researchers are involved but also recognises the dilemma of the observer:

> "…you [the researcher] should ask yourself how far it is possible to be a complete observer, in the sense that you have no influence on the setting, or that your observations remain 'untainted' by experiencing or feeling what the setting is like."

<div align="right">(Mason, 1996: 64)</div>

Mason uses the term *'epistemological privilege'* to describe being a *'knower'*, i.e. one who understands the situation when doing participant observation. As a Deaf person, this is true: being already involved in the Deaf community could be an advantage, but it is necessary to be aware that knowledge of the situation may not be as full as you believe (ibid: 62). There is also value in a non-community member eliciting responses that insiders do not always fully recognise.

3.4.3   A hearing alliance

The points raised in the previous section related to insider research do not intend to suggest that there is no place in Deaf Studies research for hearing people; of course, Deaf people have always welcomed allied research in order to move knowledge and awareness of the sociocultural situation of Deaf people forward together. The intention of removing the pathological marginalisation of Deaf people is shared by many hearing scholars and hence Deaf and hearing working relationships have come about as a natural result of this allied aim. The consequences of the bilingual/bicultural situation that this has led to has been of interest to many academics (e.g. Baker-Shenk & Kyle, 1990; Jones & Pullen, 1992, 2003; Lane, 1992; Young, Ackerman & Kyle, 2000; Young & Ackerman, 2001; Ramos, 2004; de Clerck, 2007; Bauman, 2008; Gertz, 2008; Fischer, 2009; McDermid, 2009; Sutton and West, 2011; Young & Temple, 2014; Orfanidou, Woll & Morgan, 2015; Napier & Leeson, 2016). Many of the aforementioned scholars have made use of qualitative ethnography in order to explore hearing-centric environments in a similar way to that of the study of other oppressive contexts, such as the oppression of women in society. For example, May (2011) considers a dominant work model - androcentricity - in comparison to the infrastructure of Deaf and hearing relationships in the workplace (also Horning, Gerhard and Michailow, 1995). Obasi (2014) also conducted gender research, which considered the experiences and perspectives of Deaf women and Black women and used a constructivist paradigm to examine inequality in the workplace. Nicholson's (1997) study presents 'gynocentrism' as the opposite notion of placing a female-oriented perspective at the centre. Many researchers, in fact, are now conscious of the need to avoid ethnocentric methodologies in joint research

projects, and this is also the case for sign language research. The importance of complying with the principles and practices of the studied community cannot be overstated, and the key principle in joint ally research is that ownership and control of the research, its conduct and its intention, must remain with the researched community.

Young and Ackerman's (2001) research relays a descriptive account of the culturally appropriate methodology used (also Young and Temple, 2014). The researchers were mindful of working in a cross-cultural context, using inductive methodology with Deaf respondents in order to elicit information for analysis, and remained highly aware of the cross-cultural principles relevant to their findings. Their explicit discussion includes reference to the potential to influence and undermine, given the "unequal power relationships" (p. 187), and the authors are particularly aware of the moral and ethical issues involved in gaining knowledge from a minority community and the implications of its use. This research project proceeded with particular attention to the ethical issues of working in a cross-cultural environment and attempts to respect the values and principles held by Deaf and hearing people. The cultural differences between the groups means that methods of researching needed to be culturally appropriate, hence the hermeneutic methodology used. Jones and Pullen (1992, 2003) report a similar situation when video recording their informants and they refer to a 'deaf way' and a 'hearing way' of interviewing, and this strategy was adopted during this current research project. McDermid (2009) also reports making use of a phenomenological methodology and reflects on the moral issues raised when researching the Deaf community. McDermid makes use of open-ended questions and discusses the effect of subaltern research and the tension, cultural sensitivity, conflict in values, and sense of feeling used that can result from this type of research.

3.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided an understanding of the theoretical background to this research project. Previous related research has tended to focused on the issues that arise when Deaf sign language users interact with hearing *non-signers* and has suggested that the differences between Deaf and hearing people can be attributed to differences in culture and language use. This research has extended this and focused its attention on Deaf sign language users and hearing sign language users in order to explore experiences that arise within the group of shared language users. The main intention of the research was to examine the personal views and experiences of Deaf and hearing BSL users in the workplace, hence qualitative research activities were chosen. The chapter has shown that a phenomenological approach enables the study to examine the experiences of the target group in depth, and the hermeneutic slant to this approach enables the researcher to interpret the data collected in terms of implications for workplace interaction. Furthermore, the additional critical element allows the study to consider the experiences that the participants express in relation to the issues of power, equality and control raised during the literature review. Following from the insight into the theoretical background to the study, this chapter has also explored the background of the researcher in order to provide a reflexive account of researcher positioning and the benefits of insider research.

PART III: RESEARCH DESIGN AND ANALYSIS

4 Chapter Four – Research methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this comprehensive methodology chapter, the design of the research is explicitly discussed. Firstly, however, the chapter considers the ramifications of proceeding from a largely inductive perspective for the analysis of data and considers the options available for the qualitative researcher in this area. The inductive thematic analysis is presented as the most suitable method for investigating the first research question, regarding identifying the experiences of BSL users in the workplace; subsequently, the wheel of conflict is presented as the most appropriate framework for understanding the causes of workplace conflict, the focus of the second research question. Before presenting the central research activities, the chapter also highlights the process of translating research data and the ethical implications of researching within Deaf communities. Next, two substantial sections focus on the processes of collecting and coding of the data, and the chapter provides an understanding of the subsequent data analysis stages. The final section of this chapter contains an in-depth discussion of the credibility and dependability of the research methods, including details of the pilot study that was carried out to test the chosen research activities. The implications of effective triangulation and peer debriefing to aid credibility are also considered.

4.2 Qualitative method: inductive thematic analysis

Phenomenological research that takes a hermeneutic approach seeks to find and interpret "commonalities in meanings and practices of particular lived experiences" (Wilson and Hutchinson, 1991: 271). As an interpretive and presentation strategy, Wilson and Hutchinson note that a thematic analysis is a suitable methodology in that the interpretive aspect involves identifying common themes that appear in the textual data and the presentational element includes articulating the themes in combination with extracts that serve as clear evidence for the theme (p. 273). The interpretive capacity of a thematic analysis (TA) is also discussed by Braun and Clarke (2014):

TA *can* be used in a realist or descriptive way, but it is not limited to that. The version of TA we've developed provides a robust, systematic framework for coding qualitative data, and for then using that coding to identify patterns across the dataset in relation to the research question. The questions of what level patterns are sought at, and what interpretations are made of those patterns, are left to the researcher.

(Braun and Clarke, 2014: 1)

For this study of BSL users' workplace experiences, a thematic analysis method is used and is discussed from a critical perspective in order to answer the first research question regarding the types of experiences that Deaf and hearing BSL users have of working together, and the second research question related to the causes of workplace conflict, and is detailed in chapter five below.

4.2.1 Inductive vs. deductive research

Before proceeding with the research activities, it is necessary to consider the relationship between theory and observations that the inductive vs. deductive debate brings to the research arena. Trochim's (2006) diagram (Figure 4-1) and related quotation below illustrate the relationship between the two:
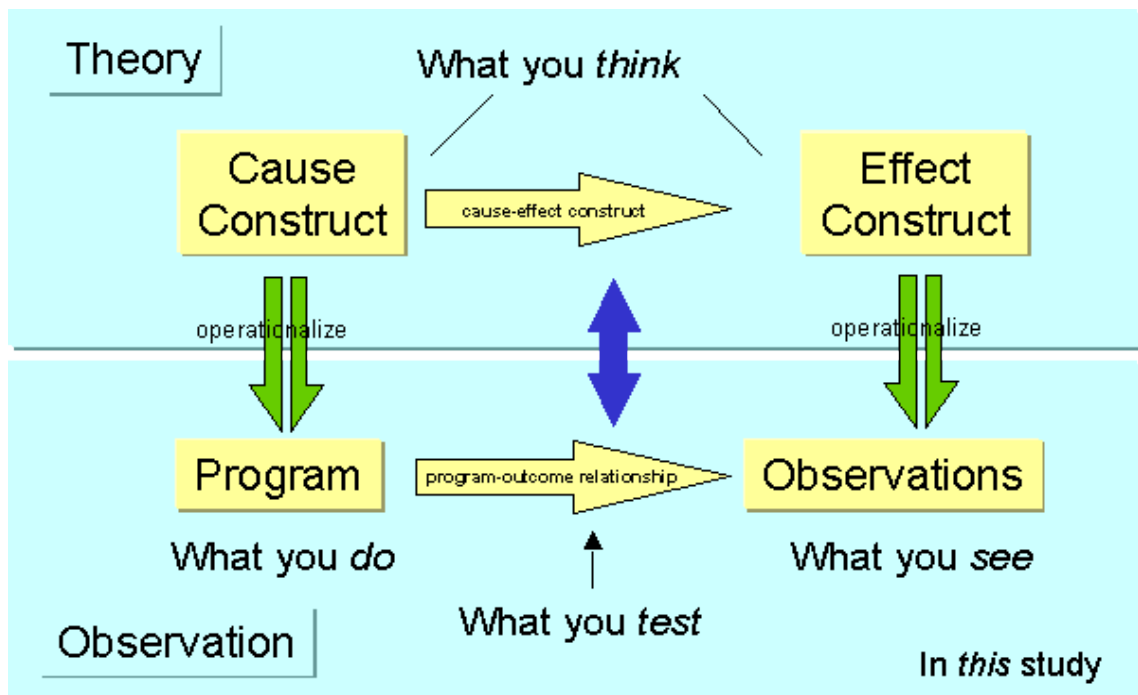
Figure 4-1 Theory and Observations in Research

"The figure shows that there are really two realms that are involved in research. The first, on the top, is the land of theory. It is what goes on inside our heads as researchers. It is where we keep our theories about how the world operates. The second, on the bottom, is the land of observations. It is the real world into which we translate our ideas -- our programs, treatments, measures and observations. When we conduct research, we are continually flitting back and forth between these two realms, between what we think about the world and what is going on in it."

(Trochim, 2006)

Although this research study began with a hypothesis (see section 1.1.2), this was not taken into account during the data analysis stages and the analysis began with an inductive approach, moving from data to theory. This allowed the researcher to make unpredicted observations and identify patterns and regularities in order to then draw some conclusions. This theory building approach was used to enable observations and reactions to be made in relation to BSL users' descriptions of their experiences of working together, and for those observations to then be presented in the form of a

theory. Because such theories were produced after the observations were made, they are referred to as "post factum" theory (Merton 1968).

Initially, the choice of an inductive or deductive approach in the study led to some difficulty. Previous research carried out by Deaf researchers has pointed to a tendency towards an inductive approach for researching Deaf communities (such as Emery, 2008; O' Connell, 2008; de Clerck, 2007; Sahasrabudhe, 2010; Padden-Duncan, 2007 and Sutherland, 2008) and has been comprised of questionnaires, case studies or fieldwork-based focus group activities. Such research activities allow for qualitative based, inductive research that results in empowerment in the study of the "stigmatized languages" (Fischer, 2009: 1). Emery (2011) draws attention to the results of phonocentrism and disempowerment in the lives of Deaf people that have led many Deaf citizens to rely on a more concrete approach.

In the case of this research, an inductive approach is also appropriate, as it enables the research to establish its outcomes and sets a background for the results through this "framework of ideas, concepts, and design of the study – that put into action and yield interesting and achievable results" (Wisker, 2001: 80). The following diagram (Figure 3-2) illustrates the inductive approach taken in this study. That is, the data collection and analysis were carried out in an inductive manner and the following discussion draws on the themes and issues that were identified during the literature review and pre-analysis stage. The theoretical stages of this research project are illustrated in an extension of Silverman's (2007: 53) diagram (Figure 4-2 below). The arrows begin at the point of looking at various 'models' and move downwards through a list of the concepts and theories that influenced this study. This is to indicate that the research did begin with a hypothesis (in section 1.1.2). At the point of methodology and onwards, the arrows move upwards to reflect the fact that the data collection and analysis stages proceeded inductively:

Concepts
Conflict
Oppression
Equal Treatment
Empowerment
Attitudes
Expectation
Divided/United
Subconscious/Con
sciousness
Personality
Stigmatisation

Models
Deafhood
Phenomenology

Findings
Reflexivity; Subjective
Objective
Translation Direct
Videography
Observation
Nomothetic themes

Theories
Deaf Studies & Disability
Conflict theory
Social Psychology
Social interpretive

Methods
Unstructured Group discussion
Direct (reactive) Observation
Unstructured/Evaluate Observation
Thematic analysis

Hypotheses
United or Divide? (Prediction)
Social Psychology (Prediction –
emotion/reaction/behaviour)

Methodology
Epistemology
Qualitative (Social cultural)
Hermeneutic phenomenological

Figure 4-2 Adapted from Silverman's Levels of Analysis

4.2.2 Translation: traditional vs. non-traditional methods

Most hearing authors working in the field of Deaf Studies have produced written texts when accounting for the lives, the language and the culture of Deaf people and there has been very little research that has led to accounts of this community group that are available in the natural language of the community, i.e. British Sign Language. There has, however, been a dramatic advance in available technologies, resulting in most people having access to computer and internet facilities. This phenomenon has challenged scholars working in the Deaf Studies field to produce more appropriate methodologies and research output methods. The use of video-recording of signing to capture the original data has become more popular in deaf studies research but this is known to lead to extensive time-consuming translation work. Translation difficulties have been continually raised and a minority of Deaf scholars have begun to produce research findings in BSL format (Temple and Young, 2004). Temple and Young report that the translation issues are masked by the dissemination of academic work in the written medium:

> "The debates around perspective in qualitative research, and translation studies specifically, are ignored as the spoken word or signed language becomes fixed on paper."
>
> (Temple and Young, 2004: 164)

This "translation dilemmas" issue has raised cause for concern regarding the interpretation and editing of materials collected in sign language and Hibbard and Fels (2010, also Stone, 2010) have advocated the production of 'sign language videos instead of in written form', using technology such as 'Sign Link Studio'. Hibbard and Fels's attempts to employ both languages (English and American Sign Language - ASL) for the purposes of producing and submitting a postgraduate thesis in ASL led to a lot of extra pressure, which they clearly feel could have been avoided:

"The translation and interpretation between ASL and English and then English and ASL was a time-consuming and difficult, high workload task for me. In addition, my level of English literacy is not as high as my ASL literacy level and therefore I was less confident in the completeness of my answer. If I was able to work directly in ASL rather than having to constantly translate between the two languages, I would have been much more efficient and confident in my answer."

(Hibbard and Fels, 2010: 6)

Roberts (2011) also raises concern about the lack of appropriate assessments in BSL, in this case for the purposes of mental health assessments, and informs us that materials must be translated and then back-translated several times before they have reliability and validity. Researching in a signed language only is a move towards research output that is not subject to intensive interpretation and is readily accessible to members of the Deaf community in their native language, as previously discussed in this chapter, and is important for this study. There is clearly more work to be done in order to arrive at a more appropriate methodology in deaf studies research. More recent innovations, such as hypertext or videotext are now beginning to be used, and this provides the benefit of enabling the sign language output to be seen alongside a text translation, making it accessible in both formats. Clifford & Marcus, (1986) and Barker (2008) have considered this issue further, and other research, such as Clifford (1988) have also questioned the fact that the products of research are always written texts:

"…produces interpretations through intense research experiences, how is unruly experience transformed into written account? How precisely is garrulous, over determined cross-cultural encounter shot through with power relations and personal cross-purposes circumscribed as an adequate version of a more or less discrete 'other world' composed by an individual author?"

(Clifford, 1988: 25)

Translation between spoken and signed languages presents a clear picture of how true meaning is not found in speech or text alone. For example, a translation is subject to the translator's personal upbringing and background, which greatly influences the outcome of the translation. This influence is seen in the new phenomenon of 'ghostwriting', where a writer takes another person's ideas and puts them into text for them but there is unavoidable influence from the ghostwriter. Temple & Young's (2004) discussion of 'translation dilemmas' has raised this issue in relation to researching sign languages. In the case of an academic whose first language is a signed language, for example, there is cognitive process where the author thinks in the signed language but has to go through a process of interpretation in order to present that information in text. This involves a process of editing and re-editing and results in a substantial loss of information and hence scholars such as Alker (2000) and Emery (2011) have attempted to produce and present information in BSL, rather than rely on a translation or interpretation. As Emery (2006) emphasises, any text can always be given an alternative translation and therefore trying to find the true meaning is problematic; each speaker has their own unique way of expressing meaning in its own context and, as Emery notes, "neither the researcher nor translator can know what these are" (p. 146).

4.2.3   Understanding causes: the conflict wheel

The thematic analysis presented in chapter five was applied in this study in order to identify the nature of the workplace experiences among BSL users (the subject of the first research question). As the second research question demands the study to explore potential causes of workplace conflict, further analysis was carried out with the application of Mayer's (2000) wheel of conflict to the data (Fig 4-3 below). This enabled the analysis to explore the experiences identified during the thematic analysis with the causes of the conflict that ate at the centre of the conflict wheel. Mayer expresses the fundamental core of conflict situations as revolving around "needs" and 5 key elements surround the core: communication, emotion, history, structure, and values, described by Mayer (2000: 9-16) as follows:
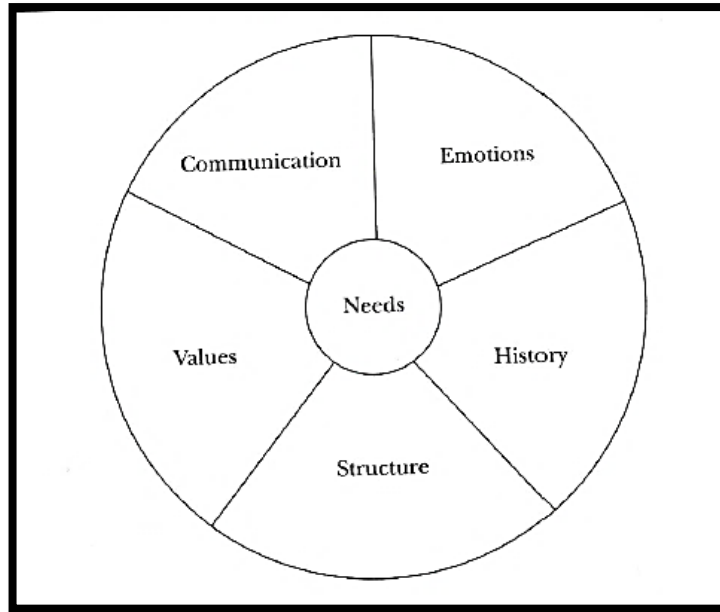
Figure 4-3 Mayer's Wheel of Conflict

Communication

Mayer (2000: 9) informs us that "humans are very imperfect communicators", and this is an issue that is at the core of communicative experiences where conflict is concerned. When social interaction takes place, communication breakdown is an inherent aspect of the discourse (Schegloff, 1992b). Interaction is regularly subject to misunderstanding, hence the consistent clarification and repair strategies that takes place as part of the communication process (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks, 1977). Tzanne (2000) describes this process:

> "Studies that have been concerned with how misunderstandings evolve in discourse have identified two main stages, realisation, which involves recognition of the misunderstanding, and repair, which involves the participants' attempt to negotiate meaning and to resolve the problem".
>
> (Tzanne, 2000: 128)

A misunderstanding, according to Humphreys-Jones (1986a), occurs when a communication attempt is unsuccessful because what the speaker intends to express differs from what the hearer believes to have been expressed. As misunderstanding

occurs in social interaction, in one-to-one or in group situations, interlocutors can feel lost and individuals employ various levels of empathy with the conversational partner/s. The misinterpretation, however, can lead to conflict. For the study of human conflict, as important as 'the inevitability of misunderstandings' is the notion that there are instances of 'negotiated' misunderstanding (i.e., realised and explicitly addressed as such) and 'non-negotiated' (unnoticed) misunderstandings that remain unresolved (Blum-Kulka and Weizman, 1988).

Emotion

Emotions are the physiological reactions to feelings derived from a person's circumstances, mood or relationships with others. This physiological reaction is often referred to in scholarly works as 'the James-Lange theory of emotion' (Cannon, 1927). According to Myers (2004), this includes a range of phenomena, including temperament, personality, mood and motivation, and is encapsulated in "...physiological arousal, expressive behaviors, and conscious experience." In social interaction, emotions, then, are cognitive processes that are inextricably related to physical reactions. These physical reactions need to be managed (Shapiro, 2002), and vented in appropriate ways in order to avoid conflict, or even masked in order to avoid confrontation. Exact definitions of the range of emotions, however, are difficult to find, and scholars place varying emphasis on the range of behaviours. Myers, for example, classifies emotional variables along three ranges: one set – ranging from enthusiasm to reluctance, a second set – ranging from expressiveness to rationality, and a third set – ranging from volatile to inappropriate calm. Emotions are both a cause and escalator of conflict, and positive feelings among the parties are often a key component of resolution. Once one accepts that emotion is the foundation of all conflict, the issue of how emotion influences the management of conflict becomes central. Retzinger and Scheff (2000) propose that emotion is core to irretractable conflict situations:

"…when a solution or compromise cannot be reached, the problem may lie hidden in the emotional and relational world".

(Retzinger and Scheff, 2000: 76)

Values:

The principles and moral judgements by which we live our lives are referred to as 'values'. Content values, comprising the thoughts and behaviours that individual people find acceptable, are expressed through processes that take place during interaction. Values are at the core of the struggles that people endure when deciding on how to prioritise work-life balances. Values indicate the beliefs that people hold true, and such values have meanings. Interlocutors will find each other's values either acceptable or not, and may or may not share the values indicated among conversational partners. Pearce and Littlejohn (1997) refer to this as collision among social worlds, particularly in relation to protracted conflict, that is, conflict that continues over long periods of time:

> "Protracted conflict sometimes results from a clash between differing world-views. One group's most fundamental and cherished assumptions about the best way to live may differ radically from the values held by another group."

> (Pearce and Littlejohn, 1997: 49)

Bartos and Wehr (2002) note that interlocutors may have different standards of rightness and goodness and give fundamentally different answers to serious moral questions, and these opposing values may lead to conflict. As Mayer (2000) suggests, "When a conflict is defined or experienced as an issue of values, it becomes more charged and intractable" (p. 11). Deeply personalised conflicts may become intractable, as vastly different beliefs can lead to interlocutors feeling severely aggrieved. The result of this, Maiese (2003) states, is often a bewildering tangle of values, morals, and needs, and each party remains focussed on their own position in the conflict. It is of relevance to this study to note that Chambers Schlenker and Collisson (2012) found that, "People liked groups who were ideologically similar to themselves far more than groups who were ideologically dissimilar to themselves" (p. 147).

Structure:

The structured framework in which an interaction takes place is another cause of conflict according to Mayer. The structures on a broader level include the political and economic processes that have an influence over individual people's lives. Organisational structures can lead to conflict when resources are limited, or workers are forced to deal with structural changes. Galtung's (2010: 14) conflict model illustrates the dynamic relationship between structural difficulties, workers' attitudes towards those problems, and the affects that they have on workplace behaviours. Each element influences the other and they are interlinked. This may be due to incompatibility of goals and the conflict may be escalated when emotions are high and negative. Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (2011) suggest that resolving the conflict must involve "a set of dynamic, interdependent changes that involve de-escalation of conflict behaviour, change in attitudes, and transformation of relationships or structures" (p. 14). This is illustrated in Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse's (ibid.) conflict triangle:
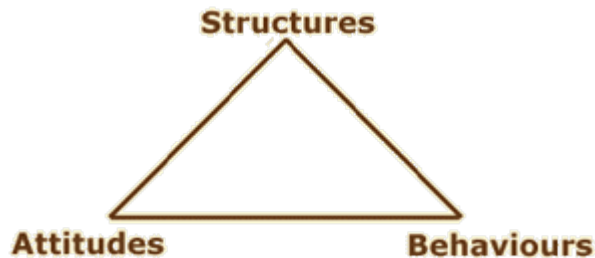
Figure 4-4 The conflict triangle

History:

Mayer (2000) notes that, "Conflict cannot be understood independently of its historical context" (p. 13). In the history of time we find key events that symbolise cultural values and in the history of people we can trace many conflicts, both locally and globally (Bartos and Wehr, 2002). Conflict cannot stand-alone – there is always a historical context, such as financial struggles over wars or struggles for status. Conflict is noted as far back as the ancient world, and through Egyptian times. It is noted through Persian wars, Greek wars, and during Roman civil wars (Dahrendorf, 1959). Societies have continued to

experience large-scale conflicts, during which they have developed complex ways of interacting and conflict has become intrinsically related to historical events and circumstances. Organisational conflict can often be traced back to the industrial revolution (Jaffe, 2008), a historical time when workers rebelled against capitalist employers because their working conditions were so dire. Fear of on-going change is also at the heart of conflict that can be traced back to historical events.

Needs:

The five elements of Mayer's wheel of conflict described above are brought together by the aspect that is at the centre of the conflict wheel – human needs. It is relevant to note that all humans have basic needs, and cultures satisfy those needs in various ways. Such cultural identity needs include a sense of meaning and belonging to a community, and the requirement to allow individuals to experience intimacy and autonomy. Needs, then, include meaningfulness, feelings of belonging, and intimacy. Individuals need to feel unique and important, and need to have freedom of such expression. Burton's (1990b) exploration of human needs as a facet of conflict claims that humans need to reflect "universal motivation" in order to feel a sense of growth and development. The study of basic human survival needs takes us as far back as the mid-20th century, when Maslow (1954) developed a hierarchy of basic needs based around five core elements: 1) self-actualization – which describes creativity and inner potential or purpose; 2) self-esteem – which describes success, respect, confidence and recognition; 3) social needs – including belonging, relationships, love and being accepted; 4) safety and security – basic order, structure, employment, resources and stability; and 5) Basic physical needs – food, drink, clothes, health protection and home. When basic human survival or identity needs are threatened, conflict can occur.

4.3   Ethical procedures and participant briefing

4.3.1   Primary ethical issues

The primary ethical considerations for this research project were confidentiality and anonymity. These issues were considered as part of the application for ethics approval and full research ethics approval was secured from the research ethics committee at the University of Central Lancashire to undertake the study. As the participants were using sign language, not speech, it was necessary to record the research activities onto video camera. This resulted in the participants being fully identifiable from the data. In order to maintain good ethics, the participants were asked for permission for the data to be openly presented. This included seeking permission for quotes to be selected for further analysis. The option to employ an 'actor' to create a reconstruction of the selected data were considered for the production of the DVD, as this would remove the participant completely and provide a maximum level of confidentiality, but this was not necessary, as none of the quoted participants requested this.

The issue of confidentiality was raised at the point of inviting people to take part in the research and again at the beginning of each research activity. Participants were informed that their contributions would remain anonymous (aside from the researcher and translators) in order to ensure confidentiality. The invitation to take part was sent via email along with a consent form (see Appendix 3) and a participant information sheet (Appendix 4), informing participants that all information could be made available in BSL if this was preferred. On the day that the research activities took place, participants were again informed of the interview process and this was conducted directly in BSL. A reminder about the high level of confidentiality required was given and participants were given the opportunity to discuss any aspect of the research. Participants were also reminded that any samples selected for use in the signed DVD version of the thesis and in any subsequent publication could be performed via a reconstruction with an actor if this was preferred. Alongside the issue of anonymity and confidentiality, participants were also informed of the potential risks of being involved. The researcher remained aware that the discussions could lead to sensitive issues being raised and this may have

had an adverse effect on some of the participants, so this potential consequence was made clear.

The aim of this research is to adopt a culturally appropriate 'Deaf way' of conducting research. Traditionally, academic research in British universities has placed expectations on researchers to carry out studies according to norms that comply with being hearing and with a spoken/written first language. This places emphasis on written materials and audio-based methods of data collection and analysis. Researching a community whose primary functioning is via a visual means is enhanced by research conducted through visual means, as the previous section noted. Visually-based research places emphasis on accessing and presenting research information in sign language and on video-based data collection techniques. This enables the researcher to interact with the data and with the analysis on a more direct level and without over-reliance on interpretation, the implications of which are considered below in section 7.2. In the case of this study, this visual method of carrying out research is in keeping with the cultural context of the thesis. It is for this reason that the discipline is now seeing research centres being established that incorporate a fully visual method of conducting research, such as the International Institute for Sign Languages and Deaf Studies at the University of Central Lancashire. Ethics committees may expect to be presented with an increasing number of applications of research that aims to adopt this visual approach to studying sign language user communities, as the number of native sign language users entering the academic arena rises.

Providing information in the written medium, in this case in English, may be a requirement for submission and dissemination of thesis materials but the incorporation of visual materials in the thesis is now an option due to advances in hypertext links, etc. This research was conducted primarily in sign language and efforts have been made to make the thesis as visually accessible as possible. It is also important that the visual medium is also considered for the dissemination of the research findings, as this makes the results accessible for the signing community being studied. Advances in technology have also recently contributed to developments in this area, especially with the release of the world's first online signed peer reviewed journal by Gallaudet University in the US. The Deaf Studies Digital Journal features scholarly articles and creative work, all of which

is produced in American Sign Language (available at: http://dsdj-gallaudet.edu/). The recent ability of posting recorded sign language clips on to social network sites, such as Facebook and Deaf online news websites, such as 'The Limping Chicken', means that sign language users are now becoming more accustomed to partaking in discussions of an academic nature in their native language.

4.3.2 Further ethical implications and the legalisation and status of BSL

Alongside the recent increase in more contemporary research methods in the field of deaf studies, there has also been on-going consideration of the ethical principles of researching within the Deaf community (Pollard, 1992; Young & Temple, 2014; Mertens, 2015). It is in order to contribute to this development, and to encourage and enrich future research, that this study took its unique approach. The advancement of computer technologies over the last decade, which has assisted in the development of advanced research methods, has expanded the need for careful consideration of ethical issues. The use of recording onto video camera has facilitated a method of collecting sign language data that can be viewed in its original form and this cultivates a 'give back' situation, where researchers can empower deaf people by providing information back to the community and further in sign language. This dissemination of research findings in sign language not only enables access to information for Deaf people in the language being studied, it also confirms and reinforces the status of BSL as a unique and fully-fledged language. An increased Deaf-centred approach to research would therefore aid the necessary legalisation of the language; Deaf-led methodologies are a way forward in supporting this initiative. While Emery (2006) warns against treating all Deaf people as a homogenous group, he does acknowledge that "a space is nevertheless being created that enables Deaf citizens to be more involved in the research process than if they were simply interviewed for their accounts or experiences" (p. 63). Where participants are hesitant to have their contributions published in BSL due to obvious issue of being overtly recognisable, reconstruction of comments by an actor can alleviate this issue. The use of sign language as a method of data collection and of research practise dissemination has been considered but it is also relevant to discuss the potential to conduct all research

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tasks in sign language. This approach enables Deaf people to be involved in research in a culturally instinctive way, including having first language access to the viva examination process, and opens up avenues to increase the number of Deaf scholars entering the research field (Alker, 2001; Fischer, 2009; Emery, 2011; Morris, 2011).

4.4   Collecting the data: the research activities

4.4.1   Data collection concerns

The phenomenological nature of this research is a primary factor in the following stages of the methodology, which comprise the research activities: participant selection, data collection, data coding and data analysis. There are many options available as suitable research activities for a qualitative study, such as conducting interviews, making observational notes, studying participants' journals, focus group discussions, and use of other tasks, including autobiographies, recording of social situations and analysis of email and internet interactions. The core research activities that facilitated this qualitative research study comprise qualitative group discussions, and subsequent individual self-testimonies, which are described in detail in this chapter. During the beginning stages of the research design, the intention was collect data in the form of focus groups. However, a decision was made to leave the groups with no facilitator: the researcher would not be present during the group discussions so that the participants could steer the discussions in any direction and feel able to express their experiences without any concerns regarding the researcher's presence. For this reason, the term 'qualitative group discussion' is used and this unique method was complemented by a loosely-structured question that was asked before the researcher left the room.

The loosely-structured question, which was signed to all groups in BSL, is translated as follows:

> *Can you describe your experiences of working in a signing environment with Deaf and hearing BSL users?*

In order to check that these research methods were suitable, and alleviate further concerns, a pilot study was carried out with participants from within the researcher's institution. After the pilot study data was explored, and the methodology was considered effective, an extended study took place, involving participants from several workplace environments, as section 4.5.2.1 below describes. The research stages of the pilot study were repeated for the extended study to ensure consistency, hence the stages illustrated in the following sections apply to both the pilot and the extended research activities. The main intention during all activities was for the data to be collected with minimal interference from the researcher in order for participants to be able to share their experiences and views of interacting with other BSL users in the workplace as freely as possible. The data collection and analysis part of any research study is a vital step in the research process and this study made use mostly of Mertens' (2015) perspective on working with data. Mertens suggests that the purpose of data collection is to "learn something about people or things" and highlights two central challenges in the process:

"In the initial stages of planning data collection, the challenge to the researcher is twofold: First, the attributes of interest must be identified; second, a decision must be made about how to collect data about those attributes."

(Mertens, 2015: 364)

Before the data collection process for this study began, the researcher was clear that the attributes of interest were the experiences that the participants had in mixed (Deaf/hearing) environments, and that the most effective process for collecting those experiences was qualitative group discussions and individual self-testimonies, a research activity that is unusual in the BSL and Deaf Studies field. The observations were made indirectly, by viewing the recordings after the events and the data analysis process is presented in detail later in this chapter. The intention was that the results of the initial pilot study would test the chosen activities and the extended study would proceed in a like manner, or be amended, depending on those results.

4.4.2 Qualitative group discussions

There are several forms that participant groups can take in the research field, and, as Boddy (2005) notes, terms often have "no commonly agreed upon definitions, especially in academia" (p. 251). These terms include focus group, group discussion, qualitative group discussion, group interview and focus group interview. The overriding factor for all terms is that the interaction found in a group setting produces an effective amount of data and insights into people's experiences. When participants listen to others expressing their experiences, it is known to stimulate memories of their own experiences and motivate their contribution. (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002) suggest that this interaction "…is also known as the group effect, where group members engage in "a kind of 'chaining' or 'cascading' effect; talk links to, or tumbles out of, the topics and expressions preceding it" (p. 182). It was this effect, of group members finding a motivation to share similar experiences that was deemed important for this study. Qualitative group discussions provided an opportunity for participants to share their experiences either in the mixed Deaf and hearing group, or in the segregated groups, where they may prefer to share stories among similar others and in a setting where they felt naturally validated. (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002) provide a good example of this group effect:

> "For example, in the context of workplace bullying, targeted employees often find themselves in situations where they experience lack of voice and feelings of isolation. Use of focus groups to study workplace bullying therefore serve as both an efficacious and ethical venue for collecting data."

> (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002:182)

The choice of a qualitative group discussion was made on the basis of the aim for descriptive, rather than prescriptive data. Cowley (2000) clearly explains the difference between the two group settings, reporting that, "…in the UK some researchers use 'focus groups' to describe a semi-structured, prescribed question methodology resulting in information, while 'qualitative group discussions' are used to describe exploratory,

open, non-directive groups leading to understanding". Hence, qualitative group discussions were appropriate for this study, and complemented the loosely structured question that was asked with descriptive intentions. Patton (2002) proposes that an unstructured, or loosely structured, discussion group question allows for a more "natural flow of an interaction" (P. 2) and this was the intention of this research activity. As other scholars have also suggested (e.g. Denzin, 1989; Roberston & Boyle, 1984) a loosely structured activity also allows the conversation to be geared towards the "participant's own perspective and in the participant's own terms" (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009: 223). It was felt important, in the case of this research, that the researcher was not in control of the conversation content, as this may have resulted in a situation where the participants geared their answers to their expectations of the researcher. It was deemed important that the participants felt free to move the conversation where they chose, and this is a common strategy in research (Trochim, 2006). This is also referred to as an "open-ended" question in the literature (e.g. Tuckman, 1999; De Vos & Van Zyl, 1998; Burgess, 1984) and is often cited as an appropriate method for collecting qualitative data, as it avoids predetermined data content and allows the researcher to remain flexible, as Josselson (2007) notes:

> "Most narrative studies are only loosely designed at the outset because narrative understanding is emergent. Thus, for example, interview questions and approaches may change in light of emerging analyses of the data. Good narrative research is conducted inductively, modifying procedure in light of growing understanding, shifting strategies as themes."

(Josselson, 2007: 557)

The reliability of this research rests on the results of the descriptions of the experiences among sign language users and it was decided that a loosely structured question would provide guidance for the discussion during the qualitative group discussions but would still enable participants to converse as naturally as possible. Scholars in the field of deaf studies have emphasised the fact that research participants tend to feel more

comfortable among people who share their own cultural values and beliefs and are more likely to contribute in this environment, as it creates a positive 'group dynamic' (de Clerck, 2007; O'Connell, 2008: 67; Emery, 2011). The participants separated into two groups and discussed the activity question in the segregated groups before moving to the inclusive, mixed qualitative group discussions. This method also allowed participants to exhibit natural reactions to being among other first and second language BSL users.

The nature of a group discussion setting, according to Kitzinger (1995), who conducted primary research in the health sector, allows participants to express themselves within a particular context. There has, however, been debate surrounding the use of focus group methodology. For example, Johnson (1996) argues that groups have the advantage of providing a natural conversational arena but Robson (2002: 284) suggests that one of the drawbacks of the focus group may be that "one or two of the participants is dominant". For this reason, the study made use of the individual self-testimony activity, which are discussed in the following section. In addition, Kitzinger raises the valuable point that group-based methodology enables a natural 'ice-breaker' to more in-depth conversation that may follow and enables parallels to be drawn from a comparison of the pilot data and the research data (Kitzinger, 1995: 300). As the intention of the study was to gain insight into how BSL users feel about interacting with each other, the qualitative group discussions were effective for the collection of qualitative data, which Clarke and Kitzinger (2004) suggest can help to gain insight into how people feel about a particular issue, question or range of subjects and ultimately answer why they feel that way (also Kitzinger, 1994; 1998; Millward, 2012). A small number of participants were brought together, here, in the form of mini qualitative groups (Burgess, 1984) to optimise the potential for all participants to contribute at some point in the discussion. The small groups then, provided the best-suited activity for the qualitative data analysis technique used (see also Onwugbuzie, Dickinson, Leech & Zoran, 2009).

In order to examine in detail the experiences expressed during the qualitative group discussions, and to enable the researcher to leave the room, the group sessions were recorded as video data. The signed conversations were captured on a digital camera placed on a tripod at just above eye level so that the frame captured as much of

the facial features and body movements as possible. Participants sat in a semi-circle position with appropriate lighting for a signed conversation, as illustrated in the diagrams below (Figure 4-5). After checking that the camera was set to record, the loosely structured question was asked and the researcher left the room.

Deaf BSL User Group   **Hearing BSL User Group**

Mixed Deaf & Hearing BSL User Group
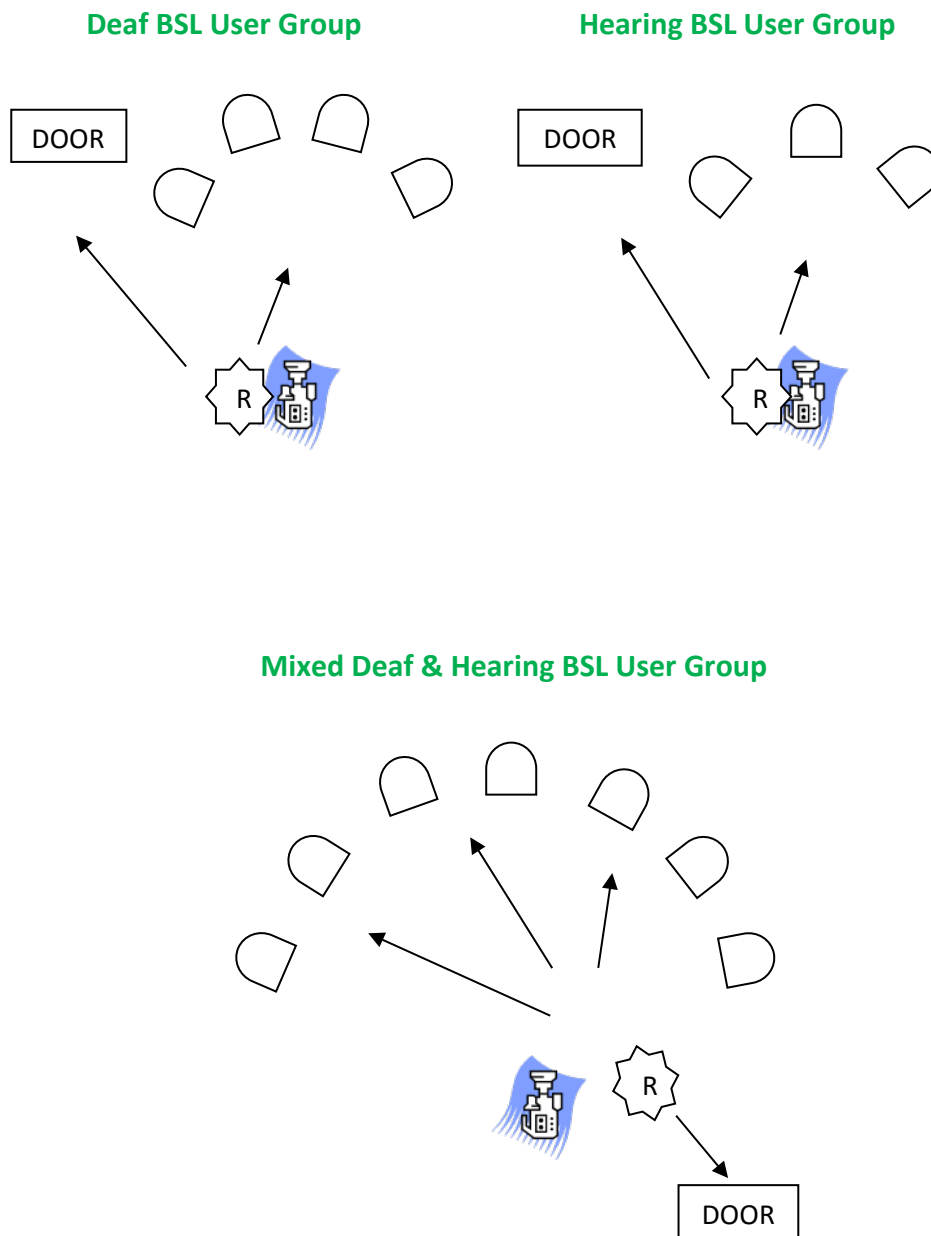
(R = researcher's positioning while asking the research question)

Figure 4-5 The Qualitative Group Discussion Settings

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The loosely-structured question resulted in spontaneous, narrative data and all of the participants relayed their experiences of interacting in this language group. The main intention in this study was to observe the interaction and note the initial reactions to the recordings. Features of body language and facial expressions, and whether or not the participants were aware of these behaviours on a meta-discourse level, and would comment on them in the individual self-testimonies, were also of interest to this study. In addition, the researcher was interested in passive participants, as the intention was to ascertain the underlying behaviours, i.e. the 'hearing way' and the 'Deaf way' of participating (considered in depth in section 1.2). Due to time and space restrictions, however, features of body language, passivity, etc., were not analysed.

4.4.3 The individual self-testimonies

Further data were collected when individual participants were invited to contribute further to the research by recording any additional information regarding their experiences of working in a mixed Deaf-hearing environment onto camera in individual recording booths in a language lab for 15 minutes each. Guidance on using the recording equipment was provided and the researcher again left the room. As mentioned in the previous section, any group situation may lead to some participants contributing more than others (Kitzinger, 1995) and some more passive contributors to, perhaps, refrain from expressing their true viewpoint. For this reason, the qualitative group discussions were followed by these individual self-testimonies. It was anticipated that this additional research activity would enable the participants to speak freely and allow "voices of dissent" (Kitzinger, 1995: 300) where necessary. This opportunity to discuss experiences and recall anecdotes was an important aspect of the research, as it enabled participants to express their experiences freely and this method is favoured in many research areas. A recent study of written English learning among travellers in the Lancashire area, for example, found that allowing people to video record their own narratives individually, and in their native language, resulted in a more "naturalistic approach" (Melling & Ali, 2012). This notion of enabling participants to engage naturally enables them to express their experiences without having to adjust (Freire, 1972; 2012, also Triandis, 1990). It is

this naturalistic approach that leads to a maximally natural collection of culturally embedded and rich data. As the focus of this research is the experiences of Deaf and hearing BSL users, it was important that participants felt able to express their occurrences in this non-threatening, individual environment.

The purpose of this stage of research activity, then, was primarily to elicit specific individual experiences and viewpoints of the participant group in order to formulate a descriptive account of the consequences of working in a mixed environment. The intention was to allow the researcher to identify any new themes and build a theory from the data. This could then be examined in relation to the hypothesis and the research questions.

4.4.4   The research stages illustrated

The following research activity stages was employed for both the pilot study and the extended study. Both data collection activities took place in the language lab at the University of Central Lancashire.

4.4.4.1 Stage 1

9.00am-9.30am: arrival and consent.
The qualitative group discussion members arrived, and the first half hour was used to explain the day's events and gain consent signatures. At this stage, participants were reminded that they would initially be filmed by the video cameras mounted on the stand of the large research room.

9.30am to 10.00am: refreshment break.
Participants were invited to take refreshments for 30 minutes. This enabled the participants to get to know each other and for the researcher to ascertain that all participants were able to communicate with ease in BSL and were comfortable with the groupings.

10.00am to 10.30am: segregated qualitative group discussions.

For the next 30 minutes, each group separately entered the first qualitative group discussion, participants making their own choice of seat. The loosely structured question, presented in section 4.4.1, was signed to each group by the researcher who then left the room.

Figure 4-6 The Mixed Qualitative Group Discussion Setting

4.4.4.2 Stage 2

10.30am to 11.00am:

Participants next moved to the inclusive Deaf and hearing qualitative group discussion. This stage enabled all participants to discuss (in BSL) the experiences in the first qualitative group discussion and to take part in further discussion of their experiences of working in a mixed Deaf-hearing environment. Again, participants were able to make their own choice of seat and they were reminded of the loosely structured question before the discussion began.

Figure 4-7 The Segregated Qualitative Group Discussion Setting

11.00am to 11.30am:

This stage comprised a further half-hour refreshment session, where the researcher was able to observe participant behaviours.

4.4.4.3 Stage 3
11.30am to 12.00pm:

Participants recorded individual experiences of working in a mixed Deaf-hearing environment onto camera in individual recording booths in a language lab for 15 minutes. Guidance on using the recording equipment was provided and the researcher then left the room. The purpose of this third stage of research activity was to elicit specific experiences and viewpoints of the individual participants.

Figure 4-8 The Individual Self-testimony Setting

Stage 1   9.30 – 10.00

Deaf group

D

Discussion groups - separate

H

Hearing group

Break – 10.00 – 10.15 mingle

D + H

Stage 2

10.15 – 10.45

D + H

Plenary discussion group - mixed

Break – 10.45 – 11.15 mingle

Stage 3

11.15 – 11.45

D   H   D   H

Individual anecdotes video-recorded in BSL Lab
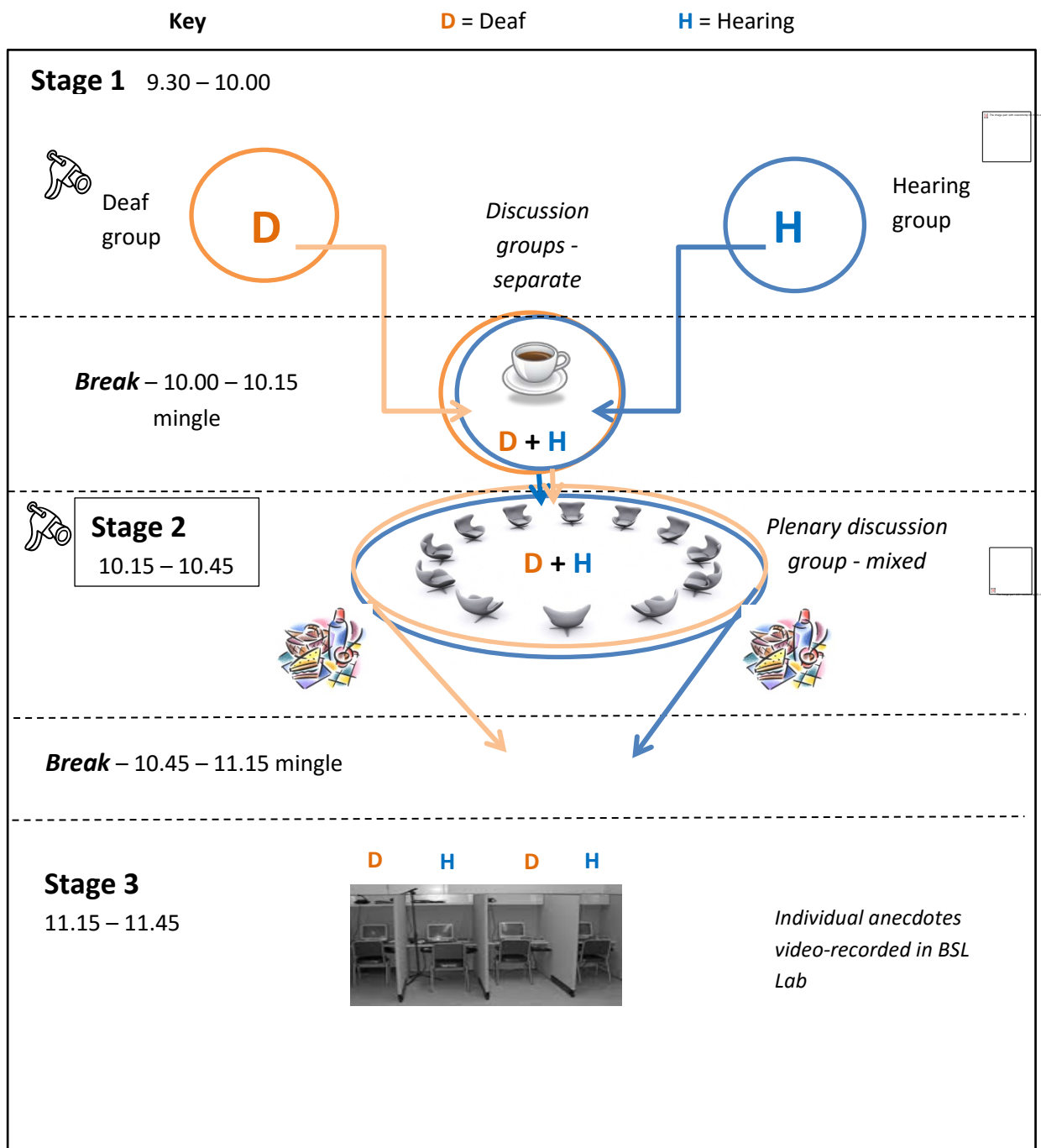
Figure 4-9 The Research Activities

4.5   Processing the data: data coding and analysis

4.5.1   The Pilot Study

4.5.1.1 Demographics: pilot study participants

Being employed in an academic environment provided the opportunity to carry out a pilot study by convenience sampling of a small group of participants from within the university in preparation for an extended data collection stage. Accessing a small group of pilot informants from within the organisation who had contact with and knowledge of the Deaf community on a global level therefore made this pilot stage possible. All participants were contacted by email and participated with line management permission. Once agreement to participate was given, the date for the pilot study was set. A multiplicity of experiences was found within the group to ensure that the key factors for participation were covered, including employment status, region of birth and family background (i.e. a mixture of participants with hearing parents, with hard-of-hearing parents, and with Deaf parents).

Groupings: The participants were grouped according to the following sets:

Group 1 : 3 hearing BSL users

Group 2 : 3 Deaf BSL users

Group 3 : all 6 participants

The pilot participant demographics are presented in the following table:

Table 4-1: Demographics: pilot study participants

Pilot Coding	Age Range	Gender	Deaf/ Hearing	Parent Hearing Status mother/father	Region of Birth	Employment
A	40-50	M	H	H/H	N West	Interpreter
B	50-60	F	H	H/D	South	Principal Lecturer
C	50-60	M	H	HOH/H	Wales	Senior Lecturer
D	18-30	F	D	H/H	South	Internship Student
E	50-60	M	D	D/D	North	Researcher/ BSL Teacher
F	30-40	M	D	H/H	N East	Senior Administrator

4.5.1.2 Initial data coding – pilot data extracts

The data collection process that is detailed in the previous sub-section resulted in 89.89 minutes of qualitative group discussion recordings and 38.74 minutes of data from 5 individual self-testimonies for the pilot study, resulting in a total of 128.36 minutes. A further individual self-testimony (from the remaining participant) was recorded but not uploaded with the correct software and was lost. To maximise confidentiality, by making the contributions in the thesis anonymous, participants were allocated a letter each, with the same number being used for each participant both in the qualitative group discussions and the individual self-testimonies. The activity groups are referred to in the study by the following abbreviations:

Deaf BSL User Group:	DBSLU
Hearing BSL User Group:	HBSLU
Mixed Deaf and Hearing BSL User Group:	D/HBSLU
Individual Self-testimonies:	IST

Hence, the coding reference 'DBSLUD' refers to the contribution made by participant letter D during the Deaf BSL User Group discussion, and so on. For the data coding, this study makes use of the hermeneutic phenomenological approach, which Perry (2013) suggests has "both investigational and interventional qualities, with transformative potential for both researcher and study participants" (p. 262). This approach, then, allows the study to gain insight into the particular experiences and perspectives that may not have come to light without such detailed scrutiny. The goal of the phenomenological approach to the data analysis was to enable the researcher to understand the meaning behind the experiences of conflict discussed through a consideration of the participants' unique points of view, and to consider potential resolutions. Once the data collection phase was complete, the analysis stage began and followed a process involving 'three steps in qualitative data analysis', presented by Mertens (2012: 428-443):

(1) Preparing the data for analysis, (2) data exploration, and (3) data reduction.

The first step involved preparing the data for analysis. In order to achieve this, the recorded data were viewed several times and Deaf English notes were taken to aid memory. As the author of this study is a first language BSL user, all initial research notes were made on paper, in Deaf English, whilst viewing the data. Following this, all of the recorded data were transcribed into standard written English. While mindful of the translation issues raised in section 4.2.2, this would serve the purpose of enabling relevant points to be highlighted and correlated with the signed data easily, and would provide the data samples required for presentation in text in the next section. The translated transcriptions for the pilot study are presented in Appendix 8. The original data recordings are not made available as an attachment to the thesis, as consent to

share or publish the signed recordings was not gained. This decision was made to aid the confidentiality of the participants, as signed recording expose the full face of the signer, and the full translated transcriptions are considered adequate. The participants were informed that they could view the data afterwards but they did not request to view the transcripts. The recordings were translated by a qualified BSL/English interpreter, and were deemed as acceptable, so no further review of the data was necessary.

In order to begin the process of data exploration and reduction, the second and third steps in the data analysis process, the transcribed data were translated back to the researcher in BSL in order to aid the matching of the signed data with the text, and to enable the researcher to examine the data in BSL. The back-translation process is effective in sign language research and is relatively new for the field in the UK. Rogers, Evans, Campbell, Young and Lovell (2014) found that this process enabled verification of the data and added to the validation process (also Rogers, Young, Lovell, Campbell, Scott & Kendal, 2013). The typed transcriptions were next sectioned according to any relevant discussion content, and brief summaries of the topic were added to the beginning of each selected section. In the case of this study, providing initial summaries made the data more visual and helped the researcher to remember the signed version more vividly, and proceed in a culturally appropriate way. The section of content was then explored for relevant extracts that highlighted the experiences of working in a mixed Deaf and hearing environment. The signed extracts were matched to the typed transcriptions, to which the transcription numbers were added. The selected extracts were numbered in sequence as they were selected for analysis, and this is indicated by the initial number of each extract and is shown in sequence in Appendix 8.

The following example illustrates the initial data coding exercise:

2. Sign language Policy/attitude: Show empathy in reflection the experience in the different workplace aspect view of how people measurement of acceptance policy and the attitude behind it
D/HBSLUA: I've worked in different places. Some that had communication policies and others that did not. But I found that even if you had the very best policy which could all the different eventualities it still didn't change the mindset and attitude of those with a

very stubborn attitude towards sign language. My experience involves working in large mental health hospitals with strict policies but it doesn't always affect the change of attitude required by some hearing people. I remember when I was about 18 or 19, I thought the policy was very good but the policy itself didn't solve the attitude issues with some people. I think you still need to have face-to-face communication to help someone to talk through their issues. Whatever language is used BSL, English, Polish, French there will always be some differences between linguistic groups and you have to work at resolving those issues.

Figure 4-10 Example of initial data coding

4.5.1.3 Pilot study results

The pilot study showed that the research activities were effective and revealing, resulting in 65 extracts, examples of which are provided later in this section. The loosely structured qualitative group discussion question allowed the groups to focus the discussion on the topics being investigated but left enough room for spontaneous conversation to take place and unanticipated topics to emerge. The participants' behaviours were captured on the camera and indicated that the participants felt more secure among people from the same cultural group and tenser when placed in a mixed group. For example, one of the pilot participants was hesitant to contribute in the mixed (Deaf and hearing BSL users) group but showed no hesitation in participating in the Deaf-only group. This participant referred to this hesitation in the individual self-testimony. Other Deaf BSL users also tended to be more passive in the mixed group. In addition, several of the Deaf BSL users proceeded immediately to a seat in the Deaf-only group but hesitated with where to sit in the mixed group.

The pilot study results show that this method of bringing Deaf and hearing BSL users together in the form of qualitative group discussions results in sufficient evidence for analysis and enables the research questions for this study to be answered. The qualitative group discussions enabled the participants to speak openly, as they were away from the workplace, whereas studying their experiences in the workplace may have inhibited their ability to discuss issues so freely. The individual self-testimonies provided an additional opportunity for participants to express their experiences. The

discussion in the qualitative group discussion sessions and the individual self-testimonies reveal the experiences of working in a mixed environment and the pilot study therefore showed that this methodology provides detailed answers suited to the research questions. There is also evidence from the discussions that the knowledge and awareness of Deaf culture that BSL users bring to the interaction has a relevant effect and indicates that the fuller research activity leads to sufficient information related to the research questions. The pilot study, therefore, endorsed the suitability of the research activities by showing that approximately 90 minutes of qualitative group discussion, and accompanying individual self-testimonies, leads to a detailed amount of manageable, analysable data, and also served as a source of preliminary data. As the sole purpose of the pilot study was to check if the methodology and the method was suitable and effective, a thematic analysis was not carried out on the pilot study data, and the results of the pilot study data were not compared with the results of the extended study data. In addition, all of the participants from the pilot study were from the same organisations, for convenience sampling, so it was deemed inappropriate to analyse the pilot study data as part of the thematic analysis process, which aimed to explore experiences of BSL users from a variety of organisations. The following examples illustrate some of the data from the pilot study recordings that indicate the effectiveness of the activities:

Pilot Example 1:

Key concept	Summative example and data extract
Hearing BSL users feel more **affiliation** with the language/community depending on their involvement within the community and extent to which the language is used.	Deaf BSL users come from a position of mixed experiences. Some have been positive, with hearing people trying to accept the language difference, and some negative experiences, with hearing people not having an **inclusive** attitude: *"I just kept my head down and carried on working because it made me really depressed"* Group 2, 02:00.

Pilot Example 2:

Key concept	Summative example and data extract
Hearing BSL users are led to assume that effective policy means effective interaction; Deaf BSL users are more aware that policy implementation only comes with a change in **attitude**.	Deaf BSL users feel that it is 'people' that need to change alongside policies in order to achieve **equality** for Deaf people in society. Hearing BSL users tend to assign **cultural tension** to just a deaf or a hearing 'way' of doing things: *"...there's still a legacy of suspicion from Deaf people. For example, a perception that hearing people conspire to deliberately hide information from them. Which of course doesn't happen"* Group 1, 06:06.

Pilot Example 3:

Key concept	Summative example and data extract
There is a tendency for hearing BSL users to treat the **language** as a commodity, rather than an essential process.	Hearing BSL users may not be aware of the effect of their behaviour on Deaf BSL users when they use spoken language in front of them; Deaf BSL users tend to rate this either as an **access** issue and a right to know what is being said in the room, or as an unexpected advantage, given that this would happen so rarely in the past: *"It was quite surprising for me to find that they had a strict sign language policy. Hearing staff had to sign at all times, whether or not Deaf people were engaged in the conversations"* Group 2, 08.32.

Pilot Example 4:

Key concept	Summative example and data extract
Deaf BSL users are generally aware that technological advances, especially email, means that BSL users are less likely to partake in face-to-face **communication** in work settings but email is not deemed acceptable in the case of urgent or important issues.	Technology based on written English often leads to **misunderstanding** of tone, intention, etc. Access to conversation is a point where Deaf BSL users often feel 'left out' or 'last to know' and creates a feeling of **dissatisfaction** and **conflict** in the workplace. Hearing people talking on the telephone and not signing so that present Deaf people have access to the conversation is a point where Deaf and hearing BSL users disagree: *"The hearing person should always offer to involve the deaf person when answering the phone"* Group 2, 26:27.

4.5.2   The Extended Study

Once the pilot study was complete, the research activities were repeated (see section 4.4.4 for details) and the data from this extended study were prepared for analysis in the same way as per the pilot study data (see section 4.5.1.2) before the focussed coding, the thematic analysis, described below began. The data collection process for the extended study resulted in 89.89 minutes of qualitative group discussion recordings and 38.74 minutes of data from 7 individual self-testimonies, a total of 128.63 minutes.

4.5.2.1 Demographics: extended study participants

Mertens' (2015) discussion of research and evaluation begins with a consideration of 'sampling': the "decisions that a researcher makes regarding from whom data will be collected, who is included, how they are included, and what is done to conceal or reveal identities" (p. 319). As this study aimed to enlist a sample of participants that would represent typical experiences of working in a mixed Deaf and hearing environment, a

'purposive' sampling strategy was used for the extended study, i.e. a strategy that would lead to "an identification of groups, settings, and individuals where (and for whom) the process being studied are most likely to occur" (Ibid.). This strategy is clearly the most suitable for hermeneutic phenomenological research, with its aim of studying a population who have previously been underrepresented in research.

With this in mind, one Deaf BSL user and one hearing BSL user were selected from the following: an academic institution with a deaf studies department; from 2 local organisations for Deaf people; and from a mainstream employment organisation well known for employing Deaf people. While the participant group may appear small, the researcher was confident in the level of representativeness that this sample would provide, as this group would reflect common experiences of interaction among BSL users at work, and the pilot study had shown that a small group can produce adequate data. Research from psychology, cross-cultural studies and intercultural communication studies recently argues that small participant numbers for qualitative investigation still yields a sufficient amount of data (such as Holloway and Jefferson, 2000; Joffe and Yardley, 2004). It was also necessary to keep the sample size small to ensure that the data was kept manageable and because of the depth of the analysis required; this was an important consideration. According to Flyvbjerg (2006), single case studies of a small size can be the appropriate method for qualitative research that aims to focus on individual experiences, which can then be generalised to the larger population. A small-scale study allows depth of information to be gathered:

> When the objective is to achieve the greatest possible amount of information on a given problem of phenomenon, a representative case or a random sample may not be the most appropriate strategy. This is because the typical or average case is often not the richest in information....In addition, from both an understanding-oriented approach and an action-oriented perspective, it is often more important to clarify the deeper causes behind a given problem and its consequences than to describe the symptoms of the problem and how frequently they occur."

(Flyvbjerg, 2006: 13)

The ability to generalise was also not a cause for concern in this study, as Deaf people worldwide are known to exhibit shared experiences and this notion is at the very heart of the Deafhood concept (Ladd, 2003). Dye, Hauser and Bavelier (2008: 6) note that "deaf individuals in general vary greatly with regard to the etiology of their deafness, its severity, and the age of onset" but the study of American Sign Language acquisition also maintains that Deaf people are similar in many areas, and that "many individuals who have severe to profound hearing loss before the age of 3 years acquire ASL as their first language". They state that, "this group relies on visual routes for learning and language access and has similar values, beliefs, and behaviours that reflect deaf culture" (ibid.). Personal observations and discussions within the community and at academic conferences had previously indicated that the experiences of Deaf BSL users in the workplace is very similar across the UK, and also in many other countries across the world, hence heterogeneity was not a concern. Such experiences are publicly discussed, in the community and on social media websites, such as the recent discussion of the similar ways of Deaf people on the Deaf blog, 'Limping Chicken' (2013a). The cultural commonalities of Deaf people have been mentioned at several points in this thesis and serve here as a reminder of the common experiences of BSL users. The need to 'decolonise' the language and identity of BSL users is noted in Stone (1993) and Abdi (2002) and the need to preserve the shared language and culture has also had recent media attention (The Guardian, 2013).

The organisations that the participants were selected from were known to the researcher, and to the Deaf community locally, as regular employers of Deaf people, hence their suitability for this study. After receiving email permission from the relevant line managers, the number of participants was selected as follows:

Table 4-2 Organisation Types

Mainstream	1 Mainstream Organisation - 1 Deaf BSL user (1 person).
Hearing-led	1 Higher Education Institution – 1 Deaf and 1 hearing BSL user (2 people) and 1 Deaf Organisations – 1 Deaf and 1 hearing BSL user from each (2 people).
Deaf-led	1 Deaf Organisations – 1 Deaf and 1 hearing BSL users (2 people)

Therefore 4 organisations were invited to participate, aiming for a total of 8 people. One of the people from the mainstream organisation was unable to attend on the day, giving a total of 7 participants. Before the research activities began, all participants completed a personal background questionnaire (see Appendix 5); the researcher offered to translate the form into BSL for any participants who would prefer to access it in that language. The participant demographics for the extended study are shown in the following table:

Table 4-3: Demographics: extended study participants

Extend Coding No.	Age Range	Gender	Deaf/ Hearing	Parent Hearing Status mother/father	Region of Birth	Employment
1	30-40	F	D	H/H	N West	Deaf-led
2	40-50	F	D	H/H	N West	Mainstream
3	30-40	F	H	H/H	N West	Hearing-led
4	50-60	F	D	H/H	Midlands	Hearing-led
5	40-50	M	H	H/H	Non-UK	Hearing-led
6	18-30	F	H	H/H	N West	Deaf-led
7	30-40	M	D	D/D	South	Hearing-led

4.5.2.2 Focussed data coding: the thematic analysis

As the data coding process for the pilot study led to a successful number of examples of text that illustrated the participants' experiences, a decision was made to extend the initial coding phase for the second set of data collection activities (the extended study), through to a "focused coding" stage (Mertens, 2015), in the form of a thematic analysis. The distinction between the coding levels is made clear by Mertens:

> "In the initial coding phase, the researcher codes individual words, lines, segments, and incidents. The focused coding phase involves testing the initial codes against the more extensive body of data to determine how resilient the codes are in the bigger picture that emerges from the analysis. The development of codes can be used to form the analytic framework needed for theory construction."

(Mertens, 2015: 440)

Thematic analysis is one of the main methods used to analyse data in qualitative research. As Braun & Clarke (2006) explain, a thematic analysis is a "method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (p. 79). This involves multiple readings of the data and identifying connections, patterns, and themes; the findings are then discussed in the context of a broad range of academic literature. Braun and Clarke (2006) discuss what constitutes the prevalence of a theme and emphasise that there are no right and wrong methods for determining prevalence. Identifying relevant content is no easy task, and there are several methods to use in order to do so. Ryan and Bernard (2003) consider the following eight techniques for what to look for during this stage of the thematic analysis: (1) repetitions, (2) indigenous typologies and categories, (3) metaphors and analogies, (4) transitions, (5) similarities and differences, (6) linguistic connectors, (7) missing data and (8) theory-related material. As this is a qualitative study, the techniques that lead to large amounts of statistical data (such as looking for transitions, linguistic connectors and missing data) and are more suitable for qualitative analysis, were considered inappropriate. In order to build

up what Gibbs (2007) refers to as "a framework of thematic ideas", the following five strategies were employed, taken from Ryan and Bernard's (2003: 89-94) techniques, Looking for:

1) "repetitions: the more the same concept occurs in a text, the more likely it is a theme;

2) indigenous typologies and categories: local terms that may sound unfamiliar or are used in unfamiliar ways;

3) metaphors and analogies: the search for metaphors in rhetoric and deducing the schemas or underlying themes that might produce those metaphors;

5) similarities and differences: searching for similarities and differences by making systematic comparisons across units of data;

8) theory-related material: evidence of social conflict, cultural contradictions, informal methods of social control, things that people do in managing impersonal social relationships, methods by which people acquire and maintain achieved and ascribed status, and information about how people solve problems".

(Ryan and Bernard, 2003: 89-94)

Once the data had been perused for comments related to issues that arise in a mixed Deaf and hearing working environment, following the five techniques above, 83 extracts were selected and, in the same way as for the pilot study, the signed extracts were matched to the typed transcriptions, and the selected extracts were numbered in sequence as they were selected for analysis - indicated by the initial number of each extract (the transcription number) and is shown in sequence in Appendix 9. The second step of the thematic analysis next involved categorising the extended study data. For this purpose, the 83 selected data sections were highlighted with colours (and would later be assigned a theme). This is an effective method for organising data, and, as Ryan and Bernard (2003) note, "looking for themes in written material often involves pawing through texts and marking them up with different coloured pens" (p. 88). Sections of the data that illustrated conflicts in the workplace were, for ease of analysis, highlighted

in red; data related to other problematic issues were grouped and highlighted in yellow, and data indicating positive working experiences, in green. The data were colour coded in line with Mertens' advice that data should be "well labelled and organized to facilitate data analysis processes and accurate reporting of the results" (ibid.). Organising the extracted data with colours was visually associative for the researcher. The cognitive functioning of Deaf people as visual and associative has been recorded by much scholarly research (such as Arnold & Murray, 1998; Marschark & Hauser, 2008; Hauser, 2010). On reviewing the data, additional highlights were added to separate the 83 extracts further: extracts highlighting other negative experiences were grouped and highlighted in orange, discussions of potential resolution were highlighted in dark green and extracts that illustrated an acceptance of difference in the workplace were coded in blue. This colour coding technique is highly suited to academic research conducted in the visual medium and in line with Deaf people's 'visual cognition' (Pavani and Bottari, 2012). Pavani and Bottari's literature review refers to over forty empirical research debates that have considered the capabilities and cognitive functioning of deaf individuals as highly visual.

The next step in the thematic analysis activity was a 'paper-cutting' exercise. Mertens suggests that this stage of working with the data naturally leads to a reduction, which is important in order for the data to remain manageable. While computer-based analysis programmes are effective for quantitative data crunching, it was felt more appropriate for this qualitative study to make use of this manual technique, which Mertens refers to as the "old-fashioned way" (p. 438). The 54 pages of transcribed and highlighted data were printed out and spread out along a set of 8 large, rectangular tables in a deaf studies lab at UCLan, which was secured with a door coding pad, so entry was restricted. The colour coded sections were cut out so that the data could be organised into sets of data according to the colours that they had been highlighted with. The sections of the data that had not been highlighted and were deemed unusable, as they did not contain any remarks related to the experiences of working in a mixed environment, remained white and were left aside. As the selected extracts were now grouped, a second number (the extract number) was allocated in order to assign the cut-

out extracts to the sub-themes, (detailed in the following section), giving each selected chunk an extract number as well as a transcription number.

4.5.2.3   Idiographic vs nomothetic themes

Ideographic and nomothetic approaches to the study of human subjects are effective processes for understanding experiences, and are mainly used in case study research, or for identifying unique individual or group phenomena (ideographic and nomothetic respectively), enabling a researcher to identify patterns of experience within data. The fundamental aim of the nomothetic approach to this thematic analysis is to identify the workplace experiences that illustrate the participants' ways of being and shared experiences across the group (Atkinson, 2007). The nomothetic method would enable the researcher to identify sub-themes and escalate the analysis to categorising the sub-themes under key themes that occurred across the whole group of participants. According to Opler (1945), in every culture, there are:

"…a limited number of dynamic affirmations, called themes, which control behaviour or stimulate activity. The activities, prohibitions of activities, or references which result from the acceptance of a theme are its expressions."

(Opler, 1945: 198)

Once the nomothetic approach to the themes was chosen it was also important to consider the type of theme, as well as the distribution of themes across the participants. This choice, in the hermeneutics field, generally consists of choosing between semantic or latent themes. Semantic themes appear within the data and serve as descriptive themes that reflect the actual content of the dialogue; latent themes, however, are decided by the researcher and involves scrutinising the selected extract for beliefs, presumptions and further semantic content of the data, with a level of interpretation by the researcher. Javadi and Zarea highlight the interpretive nature of latent themes that is suited to phenomenological research such as this study:

"In fact, it can be said that the semantic approach is after the literal meaning while the latent or analytical approach requires going from description in which the data are just organized to reveal some patterns in semantic content and made concise, to interpretation in which efforts are made to create a theory based on the importance of the patterns and a wider framework of meanings and connotations."

(Javadi & Zarea, 2016: 34)

Once the thematic approach was considered, the next step in the thematic analysis involved assigning sub-themes to the parts of the signed video data that matched the colour highlighted piles of printed extracts. This task enabled the researcher to continue the data coding process by "assigning a label to excerpts of data that conceptually "hang together"" (Mertens, 2015: 439). As a Deaf researcher using a visual method of data analysis, it was important that I could work from the signed video data, not the printed transcriptions. For this purpose, two qualified sign language interpreters were brought in to back-translate each of the typed extracts one at a time. Once the interpreter back-translated an extract, I was able to find that section in the signed data. The signed extract was viewed several times until the overall context of what was signed was clear, and a sub-theme was then assigned. The sub-themes developed by use of Ryan and Bernard's five techniques for assigning themes and sub-themes, described in the previous sub-section (section 4.5.2.2). For example, a colleague's attitude or opinion towards sign language use was often the context of an extract, invoking the first strategy: 'repetitions: the more the same concept occurs in a text, the more likely it is a theme', hence the extract was assigned the sub-theme 'attitudes towards sign language'. A sub-theme reflecting the context of the excerpt was marked on each of the 83 cut out extracts visually by the use of post-it-notes with the sub-theme written on, as the following Figure (Figure 4-7) illustrates:

Figure 4-11 Example of data extracts with sub-themes

Across the 83 extracts, sub-themes often occurred several times, and these were grouped together, resulting in 20 sub-themes across the 83 extracts. The sub-themes are presented in the following table, and further results of the thematic analysis process are presented in the next chapter.

Table 4-4: Nomothetic Sub-themes Identified during Data Analysis

Extracts Identified in the data sectioned into 20 sub-themes			
Sub-theme 1:	Assimilation	Sub-theme 2:	Oppression
Sub-theme 3:	isolation	Sub-theme 4:	Authority
Sub-theme 5:	passivity	Sub-theme 6:	Identity
Sub-theme 7:	attitude towards Deaf people	Sub-theme 8:	attitude towards sign language

Sub-theme 9:	acceptance	Sub-theme 10:	respect
Sub-theme 11:	attitude and reaction	Sub-theme 12:	attitude towards hearing people
Sub-theme 13:	allies	Sub-theme 14:	Cultural awareness
Sub-theme 15:	policy	Sub-theme 16:	signing environment
Sub-theme 17:	benevolence	Sub-theme 18:	Incongruence
Sub-theme 19:	equality	Sub-theme 20:	Recognition

The final stage in the data categorisation process for the thematic analysis involved grouping the 20 sub-themes together into a set of more manageable themes in order to explore the experiences that the participants had expressed in more depth. In order to do this, sub-themes that contained similar contexts were grouped together, and, where possible, a theme reflecting one of the issues that came to light during the review of literature (chapter two) was assigned to the data set. This provided a way to assess the extent to which the findings related to the central concepts of the literature review, and this was the case for many of the extracts. This stage of data analysis resulted in six themes, the results, and further discussion, of which are presented in chapter five below.

4.5.2.4 Analysing causes

The thematic analysis carried out and described in the previous sub-sections led to a good amount of data that illustrates the participants' experiences of working in a mixed Deaf/hearing environment. In order to consider how this knowledge of the nature of the workplace conflict could aid the process of moving towards resolution within an organisation, it was necessary to identify the causes of the experiences. For this purpose, additional analysis was carried out in the form of conflict analysis (International Alert, 2003). International Alert propose that conflict analysis is "the systematic study of the profile, causes, actors, and dynamics of conflict" (p. 2), which highlight the context of the conflict (see Figure 4-12 below). In light of this suggestion for how to analyse conflict, the data extracts were explored in relation to the profile of the interaction (the experience) and the actors (participants in the conflict) and this illuminated the context of the conflict. The context of each extract was then considered further, in order to assign the extract to one of the causes of Mayer's wheel of conflict (see section 4.2.3). The focus for the conflict analysis, therefore, was the context of each extract, and this was an appropriate mechanism for analysing conflict at the local level of the workplace.
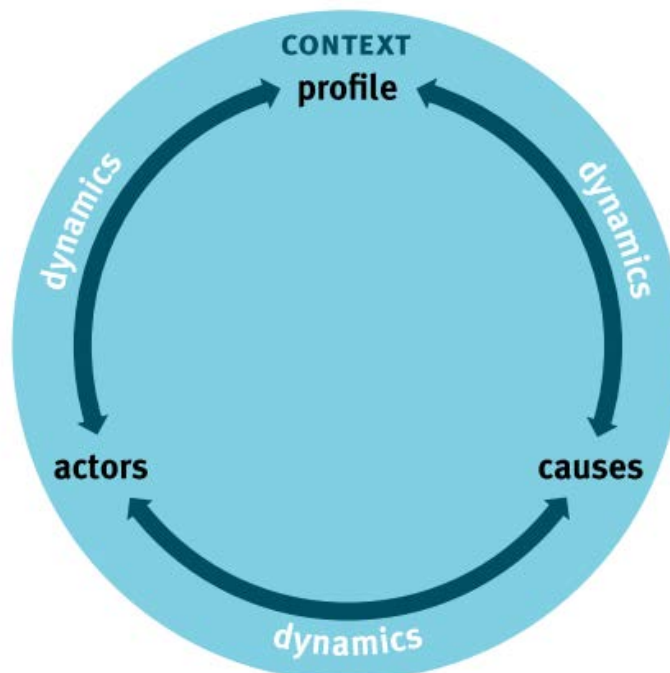
Figure 4-12 Key elements of conflict analysis (International Alter 2003)

In order to illustrate the conflict analysis process, one of the extracts is provided here. This experience relayed in this extract is that the participant had been made to feel very uncomfortable in a lecture when the lecturer (who was a fluent sign language user) would not use sign langue, and continued to speak in front of him:

I said, "Stop speaking at me and sign, you can sign". Well my confidence just went through the floor as everyone in the room, who were all hearing, stopped and was watching this being done to me . The teacher carried on speaking at me and again and again I said, " xxxxxx, please stop speaking at me and sign". But they just shrugged their shoulders and said to me, "Well you're the one that's turned up to class without an interpreter so that means then you can lip-read me".

Extract 30: D/HBSLU7

The context, in this example, is the problems that result from ineffective interaction, hence the extract was assigned to the 'communication' element of the wheel. The full data analysis is presented in Appendix 10, and the findings of the conflict analysis are presented in the following section.

4.5.3   Wheel of Conflict findings: a numerical outline analysing of causes

Causes No:	Wheel of Conflict: Causes	Experience-themes	Number of extracts
1.	Communication	Audism	5
		Attitude	9
		Paternalism	1
		Transition	0
		Resolution	8
		Empathy	0
			24/83
		Audism	5

2.	**Emotion**	Attitude	1
		Paternalism	1
		Transition	0
		Resolution	0
		Empathy	1
			8/83
3.	**History**	Audism	0
		Attitude	5
		Paternalism	1
		Transition	1
		Resolution	2
		Empathy	0
			9/83
4.	**Structure**	Audism	0
		Attitude	10
		Paternalism	3
		Transition	7
		Resolution	3
		Empathy	2
			25/83
5.	**Values**	Audism	1
		Attitude	11
		Paternalism	2
		Transition	2
		Resolution	2
		Empathy	0
			18/83

4.6　Credibility and dependability - a comparative overview of the data analysis

4.6.1　Dependability

In order to ensure a good level of dependability of the methodology in this research project, the pilot study was carried out. This served the purpose of ensuring that the methodology would result in data that were sufficient to reveal the conflict among BSL users in the workplace before moving to collecting the further data for the thematic analysis. In order to test the consistency of the research method, the pilot study activities were carried out using the same format that would be used for the data collection for analysis later, in order to form a replica study; examples from the pilot study, which confirmed that the data collection method was effective, are presented in section 4.5.1.3 above. The use of a pilot study, then, served to ensure typicality, as the issues that were raised during the pilot discussions were able to be compared with the results of the actual data so different participants were used for the extended study.

4.6.2　Triangulation

Many research scholars have questioned traditional concepts of qualitative and quantitative research methods, and a diverse range of approaches are now used to provide robust checks during the research process, such as multi-strategy research methods (Bryman, 2004), mixed methods (Creswell, 2009; Taskhakkori & Teddlie, 2003), and multiple methods (Mertens, 1998). Scholars continue to find challenging ways to validate their research, and triangulation can be an effective method, depending on the nature of the specific thesis or research study in which the findings are to be validated. This modern notion of triangulation involves conducting several diverse junctures of data collection and providing explanations for why each is used and how it divulges or opens up information about the data to us. The central reason for adding triangulation to a study, then, is to achieve or gain the credibility of the research outcomes that is crucial. This is concisely referred to by Mertens (1998: 183) as the "check on factual data". Denzin (1970; 1978) refers to several triangulation designs, and proposes a process of 'methodological triangulation' for research. Furthermore, Patton (1999)

categorises four types of triangulation: methods triangulation, triangulation of sources, analyst triangulation and theory/perspective triangulation. Further options include Kirk and Miller's (1986) time triangulation, space triangulation, level triangulation, theoretical triangulation and observer triangulation. Other triangulation methods, which are of more interest to this study, include the validating quantitative data model, the data transformation model and the convergence model put forward by Creswell and Plano Clark (2007). For this research, elements of the data transformation model are used, as the findings are transformed into some numerical data, and a process of 'methods triangulation' serves to validate the findings. The triangulation process begins with the use of the pilot project (see section 4.5.1), carried out in order to test the research activities and achieve credibility and dependability. The pilot stage of the study enabled a flow of data with which to ensure the dependability of information from the qualitative group discussions and the individual self-testimonies, and between the pilot and the extended study activities, and is illustrated in Figure 4:13 below:

Methodological Triangulation
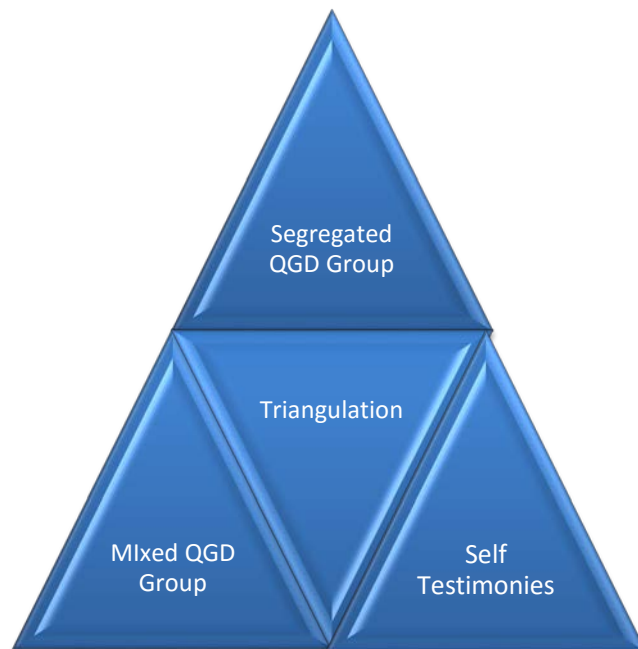
Figure 4-13 Data Triangulation Methods

4.6.3 Credibility

Alongside the robust checking of research data findings that triangulation provides, the credibility of the results is an important aspect of the research validity process. Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose a four-element process of additional validity, which supports the testing of the data: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (p. 315). A rigorous, multi-level process such as this ensures that the research findings are not only credible, but can also be transferred to other contexts and remain dependable. Lincoln and Guba suggest that the trustworthiness of a research study is important to evaluating its worth and the four elements provide the following:

Credibility - confidence in the 'truth' of the findings;

Transferability - showing that the findings have applicability in other contexts;

Dependability - showing that the findings are consistent and could be repeated;

Confirmability - a degree of neutrality or the extent to which the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not researcher bias, motivation, or interest.

(Lincoln & Guba, 1985: 315)

In the case of this research project, it was necessary to verify the allocation of the extracts taken from the data to the assignment of sub-themes (presented in section 5.2.2). In line with Merten's (2005: 259-260) notion that peer debriefing is often an appropriate way to achieve research credibility, a suitable academic peer, who is a Deaf, native sign language user from a family with many generations of Deaf people, was selected to perform a peer debriefing of a selection of the extracts. The selection was made on the basis of one extract from each sub-theme being chosen.. This resulted in 20 extracts being checked. The peer debriefer was provided with a paragraph explaining each sub-theme, and the extracts with the sub-themes that they had been assigned to. The debriefer read the paragraph to understand the sub-theme and then checked to see if he agreed that the extract was assigned to the appropriate sub-theme. The peer

debriefer agreed that the allocation of each extract to its sub-theme was appropriate. The peer debriefer was sent the 20 extracts from the translated transcriptions and the sub-themes that they had been allocated to by email. This process aided the **credibility** of the research by checking that the first stage of the thematic analysis was effective and served to minimise the researcher's sole judgement of the participant contributions. The extracts selected for peer debriefing are presented in the following table:

Table 4-5: Peer-debriefing Data Extracts

Themes	Sub-themes			
Audism	**Assimilation**	**Oppression**	**Isolation**	
	Extract 32: IST 1	Extract 17: DBSLU 4,7	Extract 13: DBSLU 2	☒
Attitude	**Deaf people**	**Sign Language**	**Hearing people**	**Reaction**
	Extract 39: IST 3	Extract 12: HBSLU 5,6	Extract 46: D/HBSLU 7	Extract 10: D/HBSLU 2,5
Paternalism	**Authority**	**Passivity**	**Cultural Awareness**	**Benevolence**
	Extract 71: IST 1	Extract 23: DBSLU7	Extract 15: DBSLU 7	Extract: 65 D/HBSLU 1,7,4
Transition	**Identity**	**Policy**	**Incongruence**	
	Extract 21: DBSLU 4	Extract 5: HBSLU 6	Extract 54: IST 6	☒
Resolution	**Acceptance**	**Respect**	**Allies**	**Sign Environment**
	Extract 59: HBSLU 3 & 6	Extract 49: DBSLU 2	Extract 74: IST 1	Extract 2: HBSLU 5
Empathy	**Equality**	**Recognition**		
	Extract 57: H/DBLSU 2	Extract 70: IST 7	☒	☒

With regards to the remaining levels of the research credibility process, **transferability** of the finding of this study can only be achieved when future research has studied the same language user group in other contexts. Previous research, however, has shown that conflict exists among Deaf and hearing people in general (e.g. Young & Temple, 2014) and research such as the study carried out by O'Brien (2005) has evidenced tensions in interrelationships among Deaf BSL users and hearing non-signers in a social setting. There is evidence to a certain extent, then, that the findings of this study have applicability in other contexts, and this is at least some step towards checking for **transferability**. Due to the absence of research with a group of Deaf and hearing participants who are all BSL users, the pilot study was an important aspect of this project in terms of **dependability**, and serves to show that, while the experiences may be expressed in a different way, the topics of discussion are consistent when the activities are repeated, as described earlier in this section. Interestingly, despite the difference in participants recruited for the two data sets, the pilot participants and the extended data participants expressed much the same experiences. The recall of the experiences was expressed in slightly different ways but the themes to be drawn from them would be very similar. For example, in the pilot data, participant **D/HBSLUA** states:

> *I found that even if you had the very best policy which could all the different eventualities it still didn't change the mindset and attitude of those with a very stubborn attitude towards sign language. My experience involves working in large mental health hospitals with strict policies but it doesn't always affect the change of attitude required by some hearing people. I remember when I was about 18 or 19, I thought the policy was very good but the policy itself didn't solve the attitude issues with some people (pilot data, extract 2).*

This is comparable to participant DBSLU7, who also refers to the policy not having the desired effect:

> *I have spent untold hours telling hearing people to please sign and to respect the rules of our communication policy. Instead of concentrating on my work and what I was supposed to be doing I was getting all stressed and worked up over having to persistently tell people to sign and not speak (extended data, extract 22).*

That is, the themes are consistent when the same researcher repeats the analysis. However, another researcher conducting the same analysis with the same data set may draw very different interpretations of the experiences, and may come to somewhat different results. As Rodgers (2014) notes,

> "…a different investigator might elicit different descriptions from people…changes in context for data collection, and other factors that can influence what is obtained in a qualitative study…The question therefore is not whether the same results would be obtained if someone else did the research. The appropriate question is whether the results obtained by the researcher who did the study are appropriate, reasonable, and the processes can be traced and documented so that the results are defensible."
>
> (Rodgers, 2014: 183)

As explained in section 4.4.2, the qualitative group discussion participants were left to discuss the topic without the researcher's presence, and this helped to achieve a level of neutrality within the data collection and analysis phases of the project. This minimised the subjectivity level and provided **confirmability** for the study, helping to minimise the researcher's judgement during the data analysis process and ensure that the data was shaped by the respondents and not by researcher bias, motivation, or interest.

4.7   Chapter summary

In this chapter, the methodology has been explicitly stated and research considerations have been presented and discussed. The most appropriate research frameworks – the thematic analysis and the wheel of conflict, have been explored in detail. The nature of the study led to various ethical and methodological considerations being taken, and they have been discussed in this theoretical chapter. This includes the need to conduct all activities in sign language and to ensure that the cultural differences among the participants was taken into account at all stages. The choice of methodology also led to an understanding that there is a need for development in this area: previous research

has been undertaken according to the norms and expectations of hearing researchers and it is for this reason that this study was conducted in a way that is in line with Deaf culture, bringing visually-based research to the fore. The discussion of the data coding and analysis process has revealed that a loosely-structured question steered the qualitative group discussions in a relevant direction and then allowed the conversation to become spontaneous and flexible; the use of individual self-testimonies provided the benefit of an alternative method for expressing workplace experiences. Finally, strategies for achieving a satisfactory level of credibility and dependability have been presented and considered as effective.

PART IV: PRINCIPLE DATA FINDINGS

5   Chapter Five - Interpreting the Data: understanding the experiences of conflict in the workplace

5.1   Introduction

This chapter focuses on the interpretation and presentation of the data. Beginning with some preliminary analysis, the chapter presents a numerical overview of the results of the thematic analysis, which illustrates the incidence of each issue in the data. This is followed by a comparison of the number of times an issue is raised in the qualitative group discussions to the number of incidences of the same issue in the individual self-testimonies. In the following section, each theme, and corresponding sub-theme, is presented and discussed in detail, and is supplemented with extracts from the data translations that illustrate each experience. Once a theme has been fully interpreted, and the meanings of the experiences of BSL users in the workplace in relation to the theme are presented, the discussion is followed by a consideration of the sub-themes in relation to the elements of the wheel of conflict, which foster understanding of the implications and causes of the conflict experiences. This chapter overall, then, begins to provide answers to the research questions and the hypothesis held.

5.2   Preliminary analysis

5.2.1   General overview

A general overview of the data shows that the amount and frequency of the contributions of participants was varied, with some contributing more than others, and the individual self-testimony activity provided an opportunity for any participants who did not want to contribute a lot to the group discussions to express their experiences in this alternative way. Observation of the mixed group data compared to the segregated group data resulted in a similar finding to Kusters' research: "…deaf-hearing interactions that I observed were typically shorter than deaf-deaf interactions" (2012: 30). A further initial observation of the data is that, for both the pilot and the extended study, a Deaf

male from a Deaf family began the group discussion in both of the mixed Deaf and hearing groups.

As section 4.4.2 stated, the researcher did not remain in the qualitative group discussions once the loosely structured question was asked. It is interesting to note that the Deaf BSL users were content to begin the qualitative group discussions with this question while most of the hearing BSL users asked for clarification/further explanation of what was required, and perhaps this is because the question was signed to them. For the Deaf BSL User groups, the participants received the question in the first language, as the researcher signed the question, and no clarification was sought; the hearing participants also received the same question in BSL (also presented by the researcher) and as BSL is the second language of these participants, some clarification was sought as to what was expected. The question may have been more easily understood by the Deaf BSL users because discussion of their experiences of mixing with hearing people is very customary, whereas hearing people do not regularly consider this issue. The fact that the question was presented by a Deaf researcher may also have had an impact here, as the Deaf BSL user participants exhibited a clear affiliation with the researcher being Deaf. This heightened affiliation between Deaf participants and a Deaf researcher is noted in Kusters' (2012: 39) study of her research in Adamorobe. Kusters suggests that, as a Deaf researcher, she could "understand certain deaf-related experiences from the inside out, for example, being primarily visually oriented and experiencing barriers".

5.2.2   *Thematic Analysis findings: a numerical outline of the qualitative data*

The thematic analysis of the extended study qualitative group discussions and individual self-testimony data resulted in a total of 20 sub-themes, which were organised into 6 nomothetic themes (see section 4.5.2.2 for details of how the themes were assigned). These are listed in Table 5-1 below, and a definition and discussion of each sub-theme is presented during the discussion of findings in the following section. The assigned themes are: Audism, Attitudes, Paternalism, Transition, Resolution, and Empathy.

Table 5-1: Nomothetic Themes and Sub-theme Groupings

Theme No:	Themes (6)	Sub-themes (20)	Number of extracts
1.	Audism	Assimilation	6
		Oppression	1
		Isolation	4
			11/83
2.	Attitude	Attitude towards Deaf People	10
		Attitude towards Sign Language	16
		Attitude and Reaction	3
		Attitude towards Hearing People	7
			36/83
3.	Paternalism	Authority	2
		Passivity	1
		Cultural Awareness	3
		Benevolence	2
			8/83
4.	Transition	Identity	1
		Policy	6
		Incongruence	3
			10/83
5.	Resolution	Acceptance	5
		Respect	4
		Allies	1
		Signing Environment	5
			15/83
6.	Empathy	Equality	2
		Recognition	1
			3/83
		Total	83

The frequency of occurrence of the sub-themes that were identified during the qualitative group discussions and the individual self-testimonies of the extended data taken together are highlighted in Figure 5-1 below:
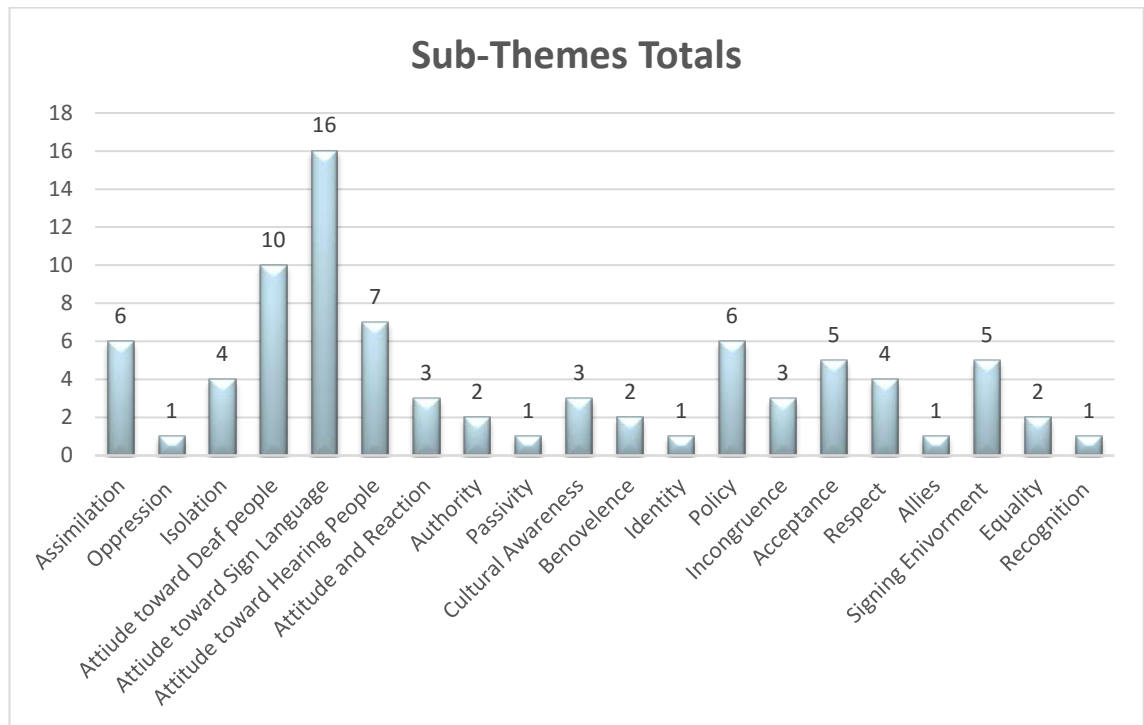
Figure 5-1 Totals of Incidence of Issues

Although the primary method of analysis for this study is qualitative, some data related to the frequency of occurrence of issues is provided in this findings section. In the case of most mixed methods research, according to Mertens (2015), the qualitative and quantitative methods have an interactive relationship and this often results in one method informing the other, or at least both methods informing the findings and conclusions of the research. In this case, a sequential design was used for the study, leading to some numerical data naturally informing the qualitative discussions and serving to reinforce, rather than extend it. The rationale for the numerical analysis, then, is purely to produce an overview of the findings. This enables the reader to view the sub-themes with the number of cases related alongside. It is posited by Mertens (2015) that numerical data may serve either, or some combination, of three quantitative data analysis techniques that are of interest to this study:

1. Descriptive statistics: statistics whose function it is to describe or indicate several characteristics common to the entire sample.

2. Correlational statistics: statistics whose function it is to describe the strength and direction of a relationship between two or more variables.

3. Inferential statistics: statistics that are used to determine whether sample scores differ significantly from each other or from population values.

(Mertens, 2015: 419-420)

With regards to the inclusion of the numerical data for this research, the relevance of all three techniques is shown in the chart above (Figure 5-1), which shows the extent to which each sub-theme correlates with the themes. On a descriptive level, the chart reveals that there is generally a commonality across the sub-themes with regards to the fact that they appear across the various themes. At a correlational level, it is evident that attitudes play an important role in affecting working relations among BSL users; and on an inferential basis, the diagram shows a significance in relation to attitude, with as many as 16 examples in one sub-theme (attitudes towards sign language).

The findings indicate that, where BSL users in the workplace are working together, attitude is the overriding factor in how successful or unsuccessful the interaction will be. Under the theme of attitude, the findings show that the participants' experience of attitudes towards Deaf people and towards sign language is the most significant factor. There is also a peak at the theme of 'policy', as issues related to policy and procedure and their implementation often occur in the data. Incongruence is also a significant sub-theme. At the more positive end, the findings show that allies, respect and acceptance are central to this theme. The findings also show that the signing environment is a key factor and that the participants feel that effective working relationship, and hence reduced conflict, can be achieved through respect.

5.2.3 Comparison of qualitative group discussion and individual self-testimony data-set results

In order to view and compare the number of instances where participants raised issues related to their work experiences in the qualitative group discussions with the number raised in the individual self-testimonies, the data results are separated out. As the percentages table below indicates (Table 5-2), the issue that was most frequently raised in both the qualitative group discussions and the individual self-testimonies is *attitude*, occurring in the qualitative group discussions at 43% and the individual self-testimonies at 45%:

Table 5-2 Data sets comparison results: Attitude

QGDs: from 61 extracts	Attitude	Self-Testimonies: from 22 extracts
5	Attitude towards Deaf people	5
13	Attitude towards sign language	3
3	Attitude and reaction	0
5	Attitude towards hearing people	2
26	Total	10
43%	Total percentage	45%

This finding aids the validity of the results, indicating that attitude is deemed a very important factor in work interrelations. The incidence of audism being discussed across the data is also significant, as this issue results in 11% of the qualitative group discussion data and 18% of the individual self-testimony data.

Table 5-3 Data sets comparison results: Audism

QGDs: from 61 extracts	Audism	Self-Testimonies: from 22 extracts
2	Assimilation	4
1	Oppression	0
4	Isolation	0
7	Total	4
11%	Total percentage	18%

It is also interesting to find that resolution is discussed quite frequently in the group forum (at 24%) but is not a significant feature of the individual testimonies (at only 5.0%). The reason for this could be that the participants were asked to discuss their experiences but were not explicitly asked to discuss potential resolution of any conflict.

Table 5-4 Data sets comparison results: Resolution

QGDs: from 61 extracts	Resolution	Self-Testimonies: from 22 extracts
5	Acceptance	0
5	Respect	0
0	Allies	1
5	Signing environment	0
15	Total	1
24%	Total percentage	5%

Further results show that issues related to Transition were raised to a similar extent (at 13% and 9% in the qualitative group discussions and individual self-testimonies respectively), and that aspects of paternalism were discussed more in the self-testimonies (at 14%) than the qualitative group discussions (7%).

Table 5-5 Data sets comparison results: Transition

QGDs: from 61 extracts	Transition	Self-Testimonies: from 22 extracts
1	Identity	0
6	Policy	0
1	Incongruence	2
8	Total	2
13%	Total percentage	9%

Table 5-6 Data sets comparison results: Paternalism

QGDs: from 61 extracts	Paternalism	Self-Testimonies: from 22 extracts
0	Authority	1
1	Passivity	0
2	Cultural awareness	1
1	Benevolence	1
4	**Total**	**3**
7%	**Total percentage**	**14%**

Comparison of the extracts that indicate a level of empathy indicates that this theme occurred in only 2% of the qualitative group discussions, whereas in the individual self-testimonies, participants showed a level of empathy in 9% of the data. It is interesting to note that participants appear more able to express their experiences and their views in the individual, self-testimony setting when compared with the qualitative group discussions.

Table 5-7 Data sets comparison results: Empathy

QGDs: from 61 extracts	Empathy	Self-Testimonies: from 22 extracts
1	Equality	1
0	Recognition	1
1	**Total**	2
2%	**Total percentage**	9%

The following two percentage charts (Figures 5-2 and 5-3) highlight the number of times each theme arose, and the percentage occurrence in relation to the data for each research activity.

Qualitative Group Discussions

Empathy 2%
Audism 11%
Resolution 24%
Transition 13%
Attitude 43%
Paternalism 7%

Audism   Attitude   Paternalism   Transition   Resolution   Empathy
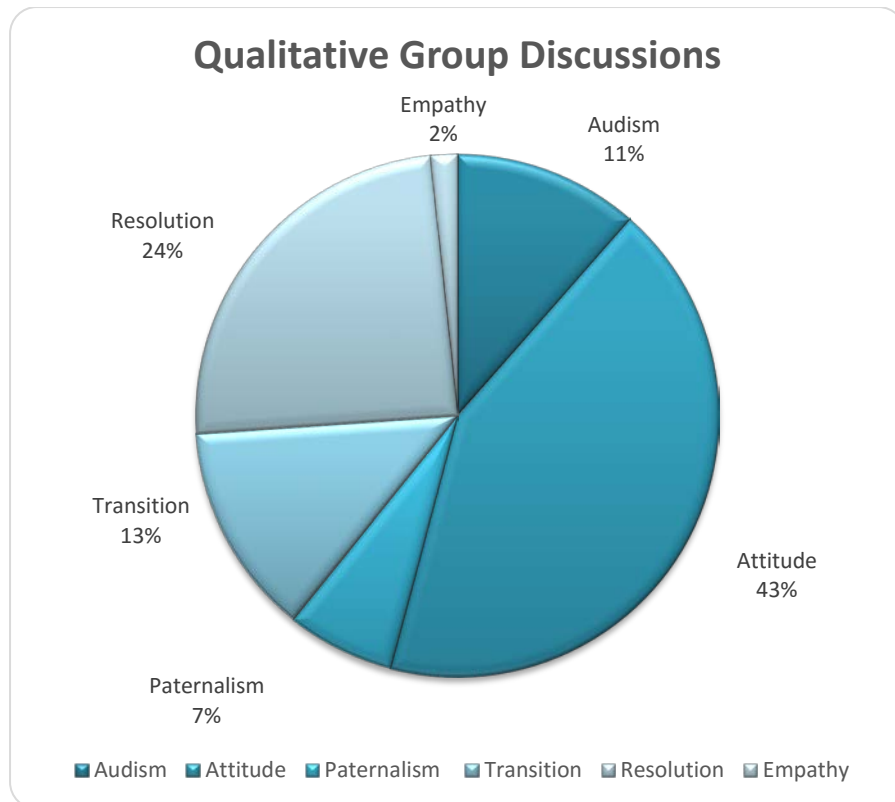
Figure 5-2 Percentages of Incidence of sub-themes during the Group Activities

Self-Testimonies

Empathy 9%
Resolution 5%
Transition 9%
Audism 18%
Paternalism 14%
Attitude 45%

Audism   Attitude   Paternalism   Transition   Resolution   Empathy
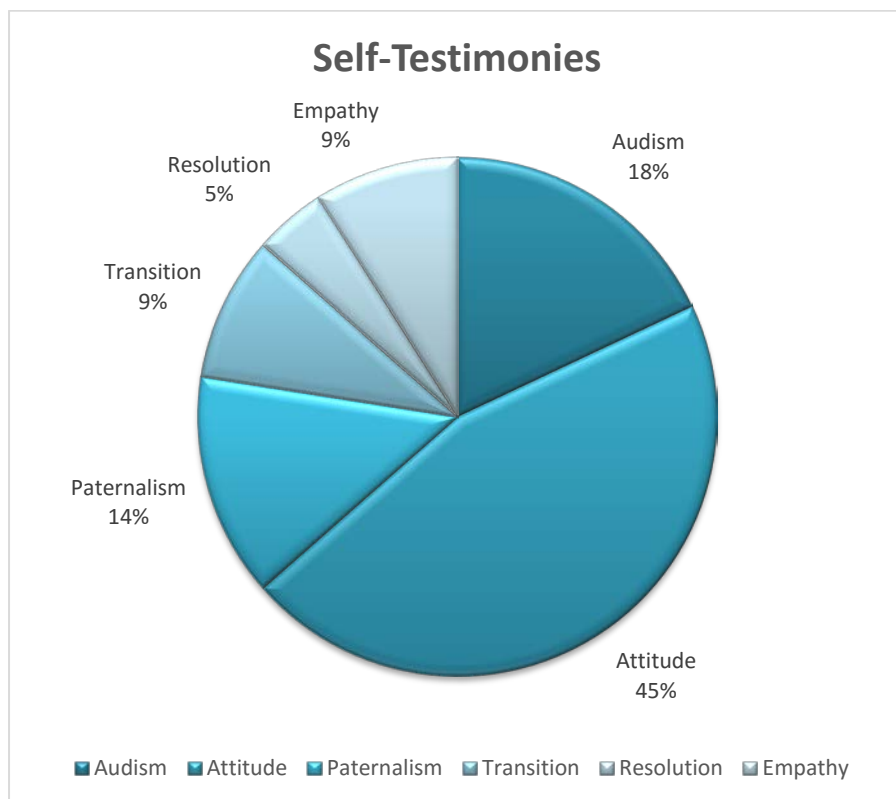
Figure 5-3 Percentages of Incidence of Issues during Individual Self-testimonies

The most significant factor in the analysis of the data collected, then, is the attitude that Deaf and hearing BSL users bring to the working environment. Attitudes towards Deaf people and towards sign language users were frequently referred to by the participants when describing their experiences. The following section sheds some light on the importance of the numerical data results, as BSL users' experiences, and potential causes of conflict in the workplace are discussed.

5.3 Critical hermeneutics: the experiences of conflict in the workplace

The numerical overview in the previous section highlighted the nomothetic themes that were assigned to each of the sub-themes. The following qualitative discussions focus on the implications of the thematic analysis results, and highlights BSL users' experiences of working together, and causes of conflict among Deaf and hearing BSL users in the workplace.

5.3.1 Theme 1 - Audism

One of the key concepts raised during the review of previous literature, audism, is the first prominent theme that was identified from the data analysis. The following sections focus on the three sub-themes that arise under the theme of audism (assimilation, oppression and isolation) and considers them in relation to the workplace.

Assimilation: The events of a conference in Milan in 1880 (where the communication methods used in the education of deaf children decided sign language should be banned) have had a negative impact in all areas of Deaf life. Although it is known that Deaf people were respected in some circles and were using sign language as a communication method during the years before the Milan conference (Lee, 2004), during the post-Milan years, Deaf people came to be considered only in relation to disability and from a medical perspective. This led to the expectation in society that Deaf people would attempt to be as much like hearing people as possible.

Oppression: This led also to many centuries of phonocentrism: "the historical assumption that speech is the most fully human form of language" (Bauman, 2004: 243). Bauman (2004) explores the consequences of this oppression of Deaf people, known as audism (see section 2.2.5), seeing it as an attempt to make Deaf people more like hearing people. The conflict issues that this philosophical approach raises, namely exploitation, inequality and oppression are comparative with the oppressive infrastructure that exists over Deaf communities. Such philosophies have the benefit of illustrating negative meanings and the misrepresentation of power relations, all of which apply to unequal and disempowering Deaf and hearing interrelationships.

Isolation: Communication frustrations lead to difficult working relationships, and to conflict. This conflict is seen in the experiences that Deaf people have and the treatment they experience from hearing people. Research carried out by Young, Ackerman and Kyle (2000) provides some tacit examples of this isolation, an experience that many Deaf people face on a daily basis; the study examined working environments and found that Deaf members of staff reported constantly missing out on crucial information due to regularly being excluded from conversations held in speech by hearing members of staff. This had very negative consequences for Deaf people, resulting from "personal

experiences of oppressive attitudes, the breakdown of mutual respect, and negative impacts on professional identities" (Young, Ackerman and Kyle 2000: 188).

5.3.1.1 Assimilation

Table 5-8 Results: Assimilation

Theme No.	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of extracts
1	Audism	65	Ex: 32	IST 1	6
		22	Ex: 38	D/HBSLU-1	
		13	Ex: 30	D/HBSLU7	
		73	Ex: 42	IST 4	
		67	Ex: 33	IST 2	
		83	Ex: 45	IST 7	

There are many times when participants express experiences of being expected (in the case of Deaf BSL users) to behave like hearing people or (in the case of hearing BSL users), expecting Deaf people to assimilate to hearing ways of working, and this is illustrated in the following extract. In the extract, participant IST1 is discussing her experience of how some hearing people expect Deaf people's behaviour to change when working in a mixed environment:

> *It should not be a one-way street by where hearing people always have to change for Deaf people. Sometimes Deaf people need to be trained and learn to change for hearing people. In my organisation we have a Deaf Apprentice officer who helps people who may be finding it hard to get a job because they have low qualifications, or they are applying for jobs that there not suitably qualified for, or they apply for a job but the interview goes terribly wrong. So they fail in getting a job. We invite them to our organisation we were teaching them how to behave in the workplace. For example, they may have thought it was ok to...for example, talking about sexual issues and teasing people inappropriately. They need to learn about the work ethics and that they can't behave like that in work. Having a Deaf teacher is important as it's someone who understands their culture and understands why they do something then better able to explain to them why they can't do it and how they need to change. Also we can act as a role-model showing them someone who already operates within a hearing world. So I think a lot of*

Deaf people who are in the workplace really don't know how to get on with hearing colleagues and that may cause a lot of frustrations. Also having the right attitude is really important. Hearing people who have the right attitude can be great and Deaf people can work well together. But if Deaf people have a bad attitude towards hearing people then they can't expect hearing people to work well with them. It's a two-way thing and it's about working together.

Extract: 32: IST1

Analysis of the data reveals that assimilation is a factor that has led some of the participants to experience a high level of frustration and dissatisfaction. In the analysis of IST1's discussion of her experience in the workplace, the pressure to behave like a hearing person leads to feelings of assimilation (Kyle, 2005). This means that Deaf culture, in this environment, is not acknowledged and the extract shows evidence that IST1 feels that Deaf people are not valued for the different cultural insights that they bring to the workforce. This leads to frustration felt by Deaf people who are expected to assimilate to hearing ways, which Durr (1999) informs us "seeks to restore the Deaf person to hearing society by making them as hearing-like as possible, has long deprived Deaf people of their own voice and self-determination" (p. 47). This is recognised in the extract as a result of assimilation, a common experience for BSL users that leads conflict.

5.3.1.2 Oppression

Table 5-9: Results Oppression

Theme No.	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of extracts
1	Attitude	32	Ex: 17	DBSLU4 & 7	1

The data for this sub-theme show that oppression leads to conflict at work due to its negative effects on interaction. In the following extract, participants DBSLU4 and DBSLU7 are discussing a concern for the lack of exposure to sign language for deaf children, and the oppression that results:

DBSLU4 – Imagine, if it wasn't for you that poor boy would have grown up without acquiring language and he would have been stuffed!

DBSLU7 – You're right. But that same boy…one day I turned up at the school, I always arrived by greeting everyone with 'good morning' and he usually signed it back to me. But this day I said good morning to him and I just had a nervous silence; he just looked very reticent to say anything. I asked the teaching assistant what was wrong. She told me to come outside and she would explain. So we went out of the room and she said that new rules had been imposed upon the boy meaning people must speak to him and if he doesn't respond they speak it again and again and only after 3 attempts, if he doesn't understand, then sign language may be permitted, but not before. I went ballistic. I absolutely lost it!

Extract 17: DBSLU4 and DBSLU7

Participant DBSLU7 in the above extract discusses his experience of working in a mainstream environment within the education sector. The experience of seeing instinctive (sign) language being denied to a deaf child is expressed as a particularly disturbing one. The participant expresses his anger and frustration felt because of witnessing this oppression; from the educationalist perspective, they will not be aware of this impact. For them, it is a matter of the child fitting in with the ways of the mainstream school, rather than allowing him/her sign language and having to accommodate this. This illustrates the persistence of the medical model in mainstream settings (Nash, 2008). For Deaf BSL users working in the education sector, experiencing deaf children being forced to use oral communication, and denied sign language, is a distressing experience. Having experienced the negative effects of oralism themselves, Deaf BSL users can empathise with this situation and not being in a position to challenge this leads to conflict at work. The implications here are that again, it is Deaf BSL users that are expected to fit-in to hearing ways of behaving at work, and are subject to the principles of normalisation (raised in sections 1.3.1.1 in chapter one, and 2.2.4 in chapter two).

5.3.1.3 Isolation

Table 5-10 Results: Isolation

Theme No.	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of extracts
1	**Audism**	2 28 5 27	Ex: 24 Ex: 14 Ex: 25 Ex: 13	D/HBSLU 7 DBSLU 2 D/HBSLU 4 DBSLU 2	4

The experiences of Deaf BSL users in the workplace are often noted in the data as ones of isolation and exclusion, and this is therefore the third sub-theme under the theme of audism. This leads to a work environment where hearing BSL users expect Deaf BSL users to adhere to the same norms and values that they do. It is relevant to note here that the data reveal that hearing people who have learnt BSL and are relevantly fluent users often revert to speech, and even refuse to use sign language, in the workplace at times. The following extract highlights the effects of isolation, which are felt when a Deaf person is deliberately left out of a conversation because of the language difference, and this results in the natural cultural behaviours of Deaf BSL users again being suppressed. Even where the hearing people are BSL users, this change in social perspective has led to increasingly unequal interrelations among BSL users. In previous years, when sign language was accepted as a natural method of communication for Deaf people, there was an acceptance of the need for Deaf schools and Deaf clubs. Changes in perspective towards inclusion for Deaf people have led to Deaf people being expected to integrate and make use of mainstream services and this change in social and political perspective has led to experiences of isolation across all ages and in many sectors of mainstream society. As the results of this study indicate, isolating Deaf BSL users in the workplace can lead to conflict. The following extract relays participant D/HBSLU7's experiences of being isolated in the workplace due to the lack of foresight of the staff team, a common cause of isolation in the workplace:

I work alone. That's why I was always in conflict with the management, as it was me against all of them, constantly battling. I don't have any allies to lean on and have to fight the battles myself; it's exhausting. Just like all my life having people not understand me when signing; it's exhausting. It's not just about being one Deaf person; it's also about the attitude of the management. Last Christmas the entire management and team went out for Christmas dinner and they didn't invite me. I would have been too much like 'hard-work' for them at the dinner table so instead they chose to leave me out. They want to sit and speak to each other and that's what they enjoy. Really it was good I wasn't there because I would have been sat there like a lemon and nobody would have been talking to me. It would have been very tedious.

Extract 24: D/HBSLU7

Community groups, such as Deaf Ex-Mainstreamers (2015), suggest that this is also the case for many Deaf children in mainstream schools. Socially excluding experiences listed by this group include Deaf children feeling "isolated" or "rejected" and this is felt during classroom time and breaks. Nunes, Pretzlik and Olsson (2001), after interviewing nine pupils on how they adapt to daily life in the school, conclude that their education "suffers" due to experiences of isolation (p. 123). The capacity to behave in a way that is instinctive to Deaf culture is clearly limited in such situations. The sudden change to a policy of mainstream education (explained in section 2.4.4 above) has led to a social perspective that inclusion is the most appropriate method of education for all children but, as research has shown, this situation often leads to deaf children growing up disempowered in mixed Deaf/hearing environments (Woll and MacSweeney, 2016).

5.3.2   Causes of Audism

5.3.2.1   Communication

As this study explained in section 2.4.5, audism may be based, psychologically, at an unconscious level, and may result in many forms of oppression, from the negativity that discrimination brings about to the severe suppression that exclusion leads to. This, as the thematic analysis results related to audism revealed in the previous section, has many effects on working relationships among BSL users. Communication, or lack of it, has a huge influence on a person's ability to interact at work and in other areas of

everyday life. Without access to the majority language in a workplace, a person is not able to fully understand and adapt their communication and behaviour to 'fit in' with the expected norms of that workplace. As hearing employees in general, and systems in the workplace, communicate via spoken language, speech is perceived as universal, and as the language of 'power' (Turner, 2006). Systems within mainstream organisations, and other workplaces, all rely on this language to communicate. If a Deaf person was working within a mainstream, or hearing-led organisation, then the pressure to assimilate is intense. Analysis of the data reveals that Deaf people often find themselves having to adjust their mode of communication to meet the needs of others within the organisation, yet they may never have had or will have access to the majority language. According to Mayer, communication is among the factors that are relevant to workplace conflict:

> "People may derive power from a broad set of personal characteristics that they bring to bear in conflict. Their intelligence, communication skills, physical stamina and strength, concentration, wit, perceptiveness, determination, empathy, and courage are key factors in determining how well their needs will be met in any conflict. Another factor is endurance. How long individuals can tolerate being in a conflict and how well they are able to withstand others' power is a key aspect of their own power."

(Mayer, 2000: 57-58)

Analysis of the data reveals that communication is a primary cause of assimilation. In the following extract (Extract 14) DBSLU2 shares experiences, during the Deaf qualitative group discussion, of conflict caused by communication. The conflict occurs in a mainstream workplace. As the definition in section 2.4.4 above notes, the usual mainstream organisation is led by hearing people and, in this case, conflict results from expectations related to the language used in the workplace. The effects of isolation in the workplace are noted as caused by ineffective communication and lead to conflict among BSL users. The experience of isolation for Deaf BSL users and is evident in the following extract, taken from a discussion of the negative treatment of information

related to the option of sign language use for deaf children, and highlights the conflict that results from this exclusion:

When I'd go the office, which was not often, but once a fortnight perhaps, there was no one who could sign. They hadn't even bothered learning the very basics. Not one of them. So I accepted that they only wanted to speak and I could speak a little bit, but it didn't make me feel a part of the team at all. Also when we'd have a team meeting everyone would chat among themselves and none of them would bother to talk to me or tell me what they were laughing at, even in the meeting. I'd sit there feeling very uncomfortable and completely left out of all the conversations.

Extract 14: DBSLU2

5.3.2.2 Emotion

A further element of Mayer's wheel of conflict focusses on the emotion that is invoked during conflicts, which can be caused by particular circumstances and by previous experience. Emotions, as Mayer (2000) notes, may fuel conflict but they are also "a key to de-escalating it…Part of everyone's emotional makeup is the desire to seek connection, affirmation and acceptance" (p. 11). The data analysis reveals that emotion is also a cause of assimilation at work. The first of the following extracts is expressed during a discussion about Deaf people needing training in mixing with hearing colleagues in one organisation, as norms, humour and values were so different that they would often cause offence and alienation. D/HBSLU1 suggests in an emotive way that Deaf people need to change their behaviour, in order to behave more like hearing people:

In the past at xxxx we had a Deaf (officer) whose job it was to train Deaf people. It was very interesting as we were finding lots of Deaf people were being turned down for jobs that they were applying for. They were failing because they didn't know how to behave in the workplace. They had been at Deaf school, then Deaf college and had exclusively a Deaf way of behaving…So a lot of the problems of a Deaf and Hearing work place is that the Deaf people just don't know how to behave with hearing people which causes a lot of incidents of Deaf and hearing culture clashes. They just don't know so part of the course was teaching them how to behave, what to do and what the etiquette was in the workplace.

Extract 38: D/HBSLU-1

185

In the following extract, taken from one of the qualitative group discussions, DBSLU2 discusses the affect that isolation has on working relations when a skilled sign language user chooses not to sign in the presence of Deaf people and indicates naivety towards what to expect in the workplace:

My experience has been horrendous when working alongside hearing people. At first I was very optimistic and looking forward to the challenge. I felt like I could change the world. You warned me not to go into education and what an awful experience it could be but I felt I would be alright. But how wrong I was. The attitude of the TOD Teacher of the Deaf was outrageous…Some of the TODs were good signers, others not. Their skills varied immensely…They were very eager and were getting a positive message regarding BSL and the rich visuality of the language. But then about 5 years ago when the course finished their sign language skills declined. They were not using the language and were not mixing with the Deaf community. Their attitudes were awful.

Extract 13: DBSLU2

Isolation in the workplace, then, is expressed as a common experience for the Deaf BSL user participants, and the extracts provided in this section indicate that emotional responses to the lack of communication cause the participants to become isolated. Oluremi and Konrad (2012) report that emotional responses need to be managed at work in order to avoid conflict situations. In this case, the participant clearly had expectations of being able to function in a fully mainstream environment that were not met and this resulted in emotional conflict at work. It is perhaps the case that hearing BSL users may not be aware of the feeling of isolation that the Deaf BSL user is experiencing, hence this may be attributed to ignorance, rather than any deliberate attempt at audism in the institution, or it may be the case that they are aware and understand their frustration. Deaf BSL users may be viewed as being so 'different' that they have their own community and do not expect to socialise and be included in the workplace on a social level; the data reveal that integration into workplace activities is considered important to Deaf BSL users, and that some hearing BSL users are unable to empathise with this isolating experience.

5.3.2.3 Values

In a further element of the wheel of conflict, Mayer emphasises the important role that values play in the conflict situation. This type of conflict has a significant effect on the interlocutors, as Mayer notes:

> "Values are the beliefs we have about what is important, what distinguishes right from wrong and good from evil, and what principles should govern how we lead our lives. When a conflict is defined or experienced as an issue of values, it becomes more charged and intractable. Because people define themselves in part by their core beliefs, when they believe these values are under attack, they feel they are being attacked."

> (Mayer 2000: 11-12)

The data analysis for this study identifies workplace experience that are the result of the values that some of the participants hold. This is also indicated in the Deaf BSL users' experiences of feeling that they must change or adjust themselves in order to be accepted, devaluing their heritage and their language, according to the findings. As well as being caused by communication and emotion, therefore, assimilation is also seen in the data as being caused by conflicting values among BSL users. This notion highlights the fact that Deaf sign language users have been denied status as a linguistic minority with shared values. Discussion of audism-based behaviours towards Deaf people in the data clearly shows that the Deaf participants often feel that they are being treated unequally to hearing people. In relation to the sub-theme of assimilation, the data illustrate a form of prejudice that may be *conscious, unconscious*, or a person may be aware that they are oppressive in behaviour but feel that this is acceptable, such as in Gertz's (2008) definition of dysconscious audism:

> "With the term "dysconscious audism", I describe a phenomenon that is defined as a form of audism that tacitly accepts dominant hearing norms and privileges. It is not the absence of consciousness but an impaired consciousness or distorted way of thinking about Deaf consciousness. "Dysconscious audism"

adheres to the ideology that hearing society, because it is dominant, is more appropriate than the Deaf society. Such Deaf people can be characterized as not having fully developed Deaf consciousness connected to the Deaf identity, and they may still feel the need to assimilate into the mainstream culture."

(Gertz, 2008: 129)

Being constantly told to behave in a more 'hearing' way can have a brainwashing effect on behaviour (Lane, 1999: 72-73). Findings from the data reveal that many aspects of experience relate to this concept - the notion that hearing people feel often that deaf people should assimilate and integrate more, and this leads to oppressive behaviour towards Deaf people. This is a key cause of the conflict and is a global phenomenon in Deaf communities (Humphries, 1977; Ladd, 2003; Emery, 2008), and has its counterpart, disablism, in disabled communities (Barnes, 1998; Ramos, 2004; Mead, 1967). It is interesting to note that IST4 raised objection to such audist behaviour during their individual self-testimony. The participant refrained from challenging a comment that was made in one of the qualitative group discussions, and waited until the self-testimony to express a view on it:

> *When we went into the larger group with the hearing people things were very different. I don't know why they were different...I was upset by one specific comment, when someone said that Deaf people don't know how to behave in the workplace...I think there are some Deaf people who have been through a deaf school and deaf college environment so are totally immersed in a Deaf cultural way of behaving and then find the workplace a completely alien culture. Does that mean we can say they don't know how to behave? I don't think so...I've worked in 2 different places...I did feel that in the school there was oppression against Deaf people, for example if we saw people persistently speaking and asked them "please could you sign?", it would be met with indignation and exasperation ...The other place I worked again if people were just speaking when I said to them "please can you sign?", they would look indignantly and say it was private.*

Extract: 42 IST4

5.3.3 Theme 2 – Attitude

As the review of literature for this study highlighted, attitude is a key factor and has an effect on Deaf people's lived experiences. A typical example of this in the field of education is the perceived attitudes of many teachers of the deaf, who were regularly discussed during the qualitative group discussions. In the following sections, four sub-themes are explored in relation to the nomothetic theme of attitude. This begins with looking at attitudes towards Deaf people and then towards sign language in particular. The section next looks at attitudes towards hearing people in order to understand the implications of attitude both ways. Finally, the issue of attitude and reaction is raised and the section considers the extent to which BSL users are united or divided in terms of attitudes held.

Attitudes towards Deaf people: In order to establish the extent to which conflicts between Deaf and hearing users of BSL exist, attitudes towards Deaf people are crucial focal points, and highlight interrelationship issues related to the wider area of disability, such as the 'mockery', 'fear' and 'submissiveness' that many disabled people experience (O'Brien 2005).

Attitudes towards sign language: Deaf BSL users often approach interaction feeling that they should be on an equal footing and that they should have full and complete access to all discourse at all times, i.e. through establishing and maintaining a signing environment; hearing BSL users often approach the interaction with the attitude that they are there to help the Deaf BSL user, and that they only need to use sign language when they feel it is necessary (Scheetz, 2004). Attitudes may be considered negative or positive and the use of BSL as a first language compared to the use of BSL as a subsequent language may be an underlying factor in the conflict that results from attitudinal variance, as Young, Ackerman and Kyle (1998) note:

> "Both deaf and hearing people tend to characterise features of a 'good attitude'
> in each other. Such characterisations can form the basis of very powerful
> judgements about whether or not one individual feels inclined to cooperate with
> another…For deaf staff, the characteristics of a 'good deaf' (as explained by

hearing people) can all too easily feel like a means of suppressing free expression of opinion and reducing their ability to influence the working environment. For hearing staff, the characteristics of a 'good hearing' (as explained by deaf people) can all too easily feel like a total loss of hearing identity and of deaf people getting everything their own way".

(Young, Ackerman & Kyle, 1998: 32)

Attitudes towards hearing people: Deaf BSL users are culturally different to hearing BSL users, and come together as a collective community with shared values, norms and cultural behaviours. Within the Deaf world, hearing people are sometimes referred to as a 'hearing signer', to place them in contrast to hearing people who have no knowledge of the language and culture and function according to what I would coin here as 'Hearism' principles (i.e. the belief that Deaf people are not equal and less capable of achievement). Hence, attitudes towards hearing people are relevant to this study.

Attitude and reaction: This research explores the reactions that occur when faced with cultural difference in the workplace. This includes the level of awareness that people have regarding the issues that are prevalent in a mixed Deaf/hearing working environment. In addition, it also explores whether people discuss their cultural differences and to illustrate steps that can be taken towards resolution of conflict.

5.3.3.1 Attitude towards Deaf People

Table 5-11 Results: Attitude towards Deaf People

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extracts	Participant code	Number of Extracts
2	**Attitude**	71	Ex: 39	IST 3	10
		81	Ex: 44	IST 7	
		80	Ex: 43	IST 4	
		76	Ex: 41	IST 4	
		69	Ex: 35	IST 2	
		15	Ex: 31	D/HBSL 4	
		55	Ex: 62	HBSLU 3,5,6	
		35	Ex: 63	D/BSLU 2	
		23	Ex: 64	D/HBSLU 5,7	
		8	Ex: 67	D/HBSLU 2,5,1	

As we have seen already in the previous theme presented in this chapter, it is often the case that hearing people proceed to interact with Deaf BSL users with a set of assumptions that the way hearing people behave is the norm, and Deaf culture is incapacitated in this process. In order to understand why hearing BSL users expect Deaf BSL users to adjust to hearing norms in the workplace, this section considers attitudes towards Deaf people. Attitudes towards Deaf BSL users experienced by the participants in this study are reported as a factor that affects Deaf and hearing BSL users' experiences of working together. The following extract reveals that the Deaf BSL user regards some behaviours as resulting from a particular attitude towards Deaf people: one that is negative and biased. Here, participant IST3 discusses the low expectations of Deaf people in the workplace and the negative values towards the language competencies of BSL users:

> *One manager decided that this deaf man's English was not good enough. We also have agency staff who come in and even though they've only worked one time on that shift they're allowed to fill in the log book. Well how does the boss know that their English is good enough if they've not worked there before? Another time…I was working in the kitchen, helping the clients make their food, when one of the permanent deaf female members of staff and a hearing permanent female who worked there came into the kitchen. The hearing person asked me to tell the deaf woman something so I said to her, "but you can sign yourself, right?" She said "yes, but I can't be bothered and your skills are better than mine" …I didn't mind signing it and communicating but I'd have thought the deaf staff member would have found that rude. It was really ignoring her and not involving her.*

Extract 39: IST3

In some signing environments, then, the social rules of hearing people become normative expectations, and this induces relationship conflict, during which deafness is constructed as problematic whilst 'hearingness' is normalised. Deaf people are expected to follow a principle of 'follow *hearing* rules' and are expected to behave like hearing people. This is a reoccurring issue, raised in section 5.3.1.1 in relation to assimilation and in 5.3.2.1 with regards to communication. Frogner (2012) refers to this expectation that deaf children are expected to attend mainstream schools, and later into mainstream employment, through the use of hearing aids and oral communication, as "the process of normalization" (p. 42); the implication being that the deaf person is not seen as a

unique individual, but as an impaired version of a hearing person. The hearing person may be unconscious of the fact that they hold low expectations of the Deaf members of staff, and this may be the result of lack of awareness and lack of cultural understanding. In the next example, the discussion is about the way that Deaf adults are expected to change the way they behave in order to 'fit in' with a 'hearing' way of behaving:

> *Another example is emails and the language that has been used towards me. It's been awful, like "that nice lady has kindly offered to make phone calls for you". What? Am I thick? Am I stupid? Does Deaf mean dumb too? I know how to make a phone call. I can speak for myself. I just need the use of an interpreter. But there's always problems when I want to book an interpreter. I'm asked why and what for? It shouldn't matter to them what for. If I feel I need an interpreter to do things then that should be sufficient enough. I could go on with countless examples of discrimination but in the end I just don't feel like I've been included in the team at all.*

<div align="right">Extract 35: IST2</div>

It is common for people from the same group to come together to discuss their shared experiences (Aramburo, 1989), especially where the group language is different to that of the mainstream. This is seen as some form of defence by some hearing people (Bahan, 2008). In the next extract, D/HBSLU5 is clearly aware of the workplace conflict, but perceives it as more of a wider society concern than of an issue that the management and staff members of the organisation need to take responsibility for:

> ***H/DBSLU 2*** *– Can I ask the hearing people whether they believe equality for both is right? And do you believe that Deaf equality is something we have now?*

> ***H/DBSLU 5*** *– Well, no we haven't got it yet. On a general level, we don't have equality between the sexes; women are still treated less equally than men; black people are also still treated unequally. I think things are better but they're certainly not treated equally.*

<div align="right">Extract 67: D/HBSLU 2, 5</div>

The sub-theme of attitudes towards Deaf people appears frequently during the research activities, and comes from a rather idealistic view of an environment where Deaf and hearing people interact effectively, and an assumption is made that if everybody can use sign language, then there will be no conflict. The intention here is clearly genuine, and some organisations are eager to equip the staff team with skills that are deemed

appropriate, but are complacent once the minimum is achieved. Attitudes towards Deaf people have begun to be challenged in academic literature. De Clerck (2007), for example, challenges the fact that Deaf people are not yet working among the mainstream culture on an equal footing, and proposes the need for reflecting on appropriate methodologies in order to achieve a "nonexclusive, noncolonial perspective". In challenging concepts of traditional and non-traditional ways of conducting research, de Clerck suggests a higher level of 'community engagement' is necessary and that trust and healthy attitudes towards Deaf people are a key component in achieving this in deaf studies research. Without such healthy attitudes towards Deaf people, a workplace may lack the level of acknowledgement of, and true acceptance of, cultural differences (Lindsey, Roberts & Campbell Jones, 2005; also Umoja, 2014).

5.3.3.2 Attitude towards Sign Language

Table 5-12 Results: Attitude towards Sign Language

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
2	**Attitude**	59	Ex: 11	HBSLU 3,6	16
		50	Ex: 4	HBSLU 3	
		38	Ex: 20	DBSL 4	
		7	Ex: 26	D/HBSLU 2,4,5	
		20	Ex: 37	D/HBSLU 2,4	
		61	Ex: 12	HBSLU 6, 5	
		37	Ex: 19	DBSLU 4	
		68	Ex: 34	IST2	
		9	Ex: 27	D/HBSLU 3	
		10	Ex: 68	D/HBSLU 3, 7	
		63	Ex:72	IST 1	
		64	Ex:73	IST 1	
		45	Ex: 75	HBSLU 5,6	
		3	Ex: 78	D/HBSLU 6, 1	
		18	Ex: 83	D/HBSLU 5,1,4,3	
		60	Ex:77	HBSLU 5	

Attitudes towards sign language expressed by the participants indicate varying levels of negative experience. Deaf BSL users reported that some hearing people treat sign language use as an option: something that they may choose to do or not. Attitudes towards sign language in the data are expressed frequently, with seven examples in this section. Many of the participants discuss the fact that hearing BSL users often refuse to sign, even in environments where there are Deaf BSL users present, such as in the following extract, where HBSLU3 explains that she works in an organisation for Deaf people and was shocked that the majority of the hearing BSL users in the organisation refused to sign. While this indicates that HBSLU3 is aware of this and has a positive attitude towards sign language use, it shows that it is often the case that hearing BSL users do not use the language when it is appropriate, hence the sub-theme of attitudes towards sign language is analysed as a factor in relation to conflict theory:

> *With the name xxxx I thought it meant everyone was Deaf but when I started in my team there was only 1 Deaf member of staff and 5 hearing people. Now there are 2 Deaf staff but a lot of Deaf people leave because they say they are not happy there. They feel discriminated against. Now people are talking about Deaf and hearing people being at war. There are other teams and I'm in a good team but in the other team there's a lot of animosity and a lot of arguing. The hearing staff constantly refuse to sign and walk around speaking to each other.*

<div align="right">**Extract 4: HBSLU3**</div>

The refusal to use BSL is considered as leading to language suppression for the Deaf BSL user. Even where organisations have a policy of discipline for non-signing, the problem still exists, as the following extract also shows. The example is taken from a discussion of whether staff members should be allowed to choose to speak or sign in the mixed Deaf/hearing workplace. D/HBSLU2 is focussing the discussion on the oppressive effects that this has for Deaf BSL users with additional disabilities:

> **D/HBSLU 2** – *I used to see the residents relaxing in the lounge of a day and the hearing staff would stand in front of them speaking. They wouldn't even raise their hands to sign. I mean if I was there with Deaf residents, I would be signing. My signing back then was pretty rubbish but I would be signing none the less. To not sign I would have felt was completely wrong. But for hearing staff to stand there in front of residents and speak to each other is outrageous.*

<div align="right">**Extract 26: D/HBSLU2**</div>

The next extract also highlights the conflict effects of some attitudes towards sign language use. The debate about using sign language in a mixed Deaf/hearing environment raises issues of language ownership; the comment indicates that hearing people are not always fully accepting of the ownership of the language by native BSL users and are even prepared to argue with which signs are correct or incorrect:

I have 3 things to say about when hearing and Deaf people mix in the workplace. The first thing that really annoys me is when hearing people tell Deaf members of staff that they are using a wrong sign. That's outrageous. Excuse me! BSL is my language. For example, I have used a sign for EARLY and a hearing person has said to me "that's not the sign for EARLY, you should use this or this". I say to them just stop there. This is my sign for EARLY and that's the end of it. Same story when I worked at a school. They would just make up their own signs; I knew from meta-linguistics that what they were doing was wrong. When I would say to them that's not the sign for AFTERNOON as your location and movement is wrong, they would say it was fine as it was their sign at the school. I'd have to challenge them and say it's not your signs; it's not your language, it's mine. That's the first thing I dislike from a hearing/Deaf mixed team.

Extract 19: DBSLU4

The extract above shows that DBSLU4 is frustrated with hearing people taking the vocabulary of BSL and using it in an English order deliberately. To remove the vocabulary from its natural grammatical structure is considered as reducing the communication that a Deaf child receives so that s/he is not receiving complete and natural language. There has been much debate around the use of signing in an English word order, as opposed to signing in the conventional BSL order, and this participant feels that it leads to confusion, especially when used with Deaf children. In a discussion of the simultaneous use of speech and signing, often referred to as 'total communication', Lou (1996) reports that "most deaf children in Total Communication programs are instructed in a form of English in which the spoken portion is distorted by simultaneous signing, which is incomplete and inconsistent at best" (p. 93). Furthermore, this raises implications for the ownership of sign languages. Ladd, Gulliver and Batterbury (2003) refer to implications for European policy, which they propose has a part to play in bringing an end to "damaging mainstreaming practice" and empowering Deaf

communities towards "gaining ownership of their own organizations, of sign languages, and the rebuilding their cultural patrimony" (p. 8).

Attitudes towards sign language have been noted as leading to a conflict situation and can also, as the above extract shows, lead to conflict regarding language use. This is particularly interesting when BSL users repeatedly fail to sign in the presence of Deaf people and it is particularly frustrating for Deaf people to have to ask the same people repeatedly to make the conversation accessible for all. The reason for persistently speaking lies with a lack of respect for the cultural group, and the use of speech to maintain a sense of linguistic superiority in the dominant group (Pollard, 1994), an issue that was highlighted in section 2.2.5 above. Young, Ackerman & Kyle (1998) and Temple & Young (2004; 2014) consider this as a demonstration of unfair approach in practice (Temple & Young, 2014). This participant has experienced being made to feel that Deaf people should not express their experiences of feeling oppressed and discusses this in her individual self-testimony:

> *The only issues I've had have been with Deaf people not with hearing people, to do with rights in work. Yes, people have rights in work but there's a place...for example, some people go on and on about their rights but we're in work and all signing. The rights campaign is something that should be conducted outside of work. I think Deaf people banging on about their rights too much can have a detrimental effect in work and can actually put hearing people off. When in work communication seems to be good and most people sign very well. But if hearing people were to sign then personally it really doesn't bother me at all. But if other Deaf people were present then I'd expect them to sign so all could be involved in the conversation and if it was something private then I'd expect them to go and find somewhere private to talk, like outside. I'd also expect the same to be done with Deaf people. I have the same problem with some Deaf people when you walk into a room and they immediately stop signing. So really, I see no difference between the two. So personally, I like signing all day in work but when I go home I like to switch off as Deaf culture all the time can be hard work.*

Extract 72: IST 1

5.3.3.3 Attitude towards Hearing People

Table 5-13 Results: Attitudes towards Hearing People

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
2	**Attitude**	416 21 70 82 26 6 4	Ex: 46 Ex: 47 Ex: 48 Ex: 69 Ex: 80 Ex: 81 Ex: 82	D/HBSLU 7 D/HBSLU 7 IST 2 IST 7 D/HBSLU7, 1 D/HBSLU 1, 4 D/HBSLU 5,1	7

Alongside attitudes towards Deaf people and towards sign language use, discussed in the previous two sub-sections, the data analysis also shows that Deaf people have opinions and reactions towards hearing people. The analysis indicates that attitudes towards hearing people may also lead to conflict in the workplace. The following comment was made during one of the individual self-testimonies that forms the second research activity for this study. IST7 presumably felt able to express this view privately but not in the qualitative group discussions. In the extract here, IST7 discusses conflict caused when hearing members of staff make statements about Deaf people that are taken as patronising and indicate negative attitudes. While this extract does not directly illustrate conflict that happened in the workplace, the discussion of workplace experiences left this participant feeling frustrated about a hearing participant's attitude. IST7 chose to ask a subtle question in the qualitative group discussion, and waited until the self-testimony to express his view, in order to avoid conflict in the group discussion between himself and the other participant.

> ***IST 7*** *– It's interesting that when we were in the large group, I feel awful to say this, but xxxx was talking about how they interpreted for one woman for 2 years non-stop and xxxx was telling us how they would tell her which hearing people were bad. xxxx informed her all about hearing culture and then she was able to be successful, to which I said, "was it her achievement or your achievement"? …and xxxx said "because of me I saved that deaf person". So xxxx still has a typical 'hearing' attitude. Maybe the deaf woman saved herself, I don't know; it's debatable, I'd like to look more into that.*

Extract 69: IST7

Where Deaf people have passive, or even subservient, attitudes towards hearing people, then, a conflict situation may result in the workplace. There is vulnerability in Deaf people being content to leave hearing people to take control, an issue that returns us to the notion of 'cultural hegemony' that was highlighted in section 2.2.2. This is revealed in many Deaf people's acceptance of hearing people as somehow 'always right' and resistance to make any kind of demands for equal access to information or to contribute in the workplace (personal observations). This passive attitude towards hearing people enables the infrastructure of oppression to continue and enables hearing people to maintain control over Deaf people's lives. In such an environment, Deaf BSL users are disempowered and it is of no surprise that there is very little academic literature that has raised this point. Deaf BSL users, in a mixed Deaf/hearing environment, in sum, have become used to this situation and automatically accept it. Gramsci's (1992) model of hegemony helps to illustrate the notion that submissive Deaf people may subconsciously enable the dominant culture to maintain its power. In line with Spivak's notions of power and control, this leads to the power dynamic imbalance that many Deaf people seek to change. In line with Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital' (1977; 1991), the language and power held within the hearing habitus clearly leave Deaf BSL users disadvantaged.

Conversely, there are other occasions during the qualitative group discussions when positive attitudes towards hearing BSL users are expressed by Deaf participants. There is an implication here that a good level of awareness of the potential for effective interaction can lead to more effective working relations. Signstation (2011) report that "it can be argued that if attitudes improve then engagement and interaction is a much more positive affair". Interviews conducted for the Signstation web-site also identified that socialisation and a balance of power between Deaf and hearing BSL users is necessary, and this includes attitudes towards hearing people. In Dickinson's study of Deaf and hearing relationships (2002; 2010), BSL users are considered a 'community of practice' and this model helps to illustrate the need for engagement discourse among BSL users, i.e. more discussion about how BSL users can interact effectively. While the study does not consider aspects of cultural complexity, it does provide understanding of the need for positive attitudes towards hearing people. Positive attitudes towards

hearing people, as the extract shows, also appear to relate to the hearing person's attitude and acceptance of sign language. The following BSL user demonstrates a high level of understanding of interrelationship conflict and of the potential for resolution while discussing lack of trust in the workplace:

D/HBSLU 7 – In one instance, my immediate line-manager was Deaf but the manager above that person was hearing. The hearing head manager was fantastic. They had a wonderful attitude and extremely fluent signing skills. When I met the head manager they had been very clear with me and told me that I would work flexibly, which I agreed to. But then one day the train was late and I arrived slightly late into the office. But then the manager came over to me questioning me as to the reason I had arrived a little late. I informed them that the train had been delayed and carried on with my work. But my manager went back to their computer and went on-line to verify if the train really was delayed. After that our relationship was finished. There was no trust, no valuing me as an individual...The reason for his mistrust is that he had known other Deaf people who had said to him in social situations that they would just turn up late for work the next day. He then believed that I was like the 'others' he had met and was just out socialising too much and that's why I was late...I think the upshot is...it's not what they are, it's seeing them as people. Seeing them for their qualities, for their skills irrespective of whether they are deaf or hearing, black, white or Asian it really doesn't matter. I think the problem is labelling people into these categories.

Extract 46: D/HBSLU 7

5.3.3.4 Attitude and Reaction

Table 5-14 Results: Attitudes and Reaction

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
2	**Attitude**	58 33 11	Ex: 10 Ex: 18 Ex: 28	HBSLU 3, 5 DBSLU 2, 4 ,7 D/HBSLU 2 ,5	3

As Deaf and hearing BSL users work together, the data analysis indicates that there is a tendency in this environment to react to other people's behaviours and attitudes. Reactions that BSL users have towards cultural differences result in a good level of understanding, but when the reactions lead to misunderstanding, they may lead to

workplace conflict. In the next extract, D/HBSLU2&5 discuss individual attitudes and interrelationship conflict stemming from the individual:

> **D/HBSLU5** – *It's interesting that when we were in our hearing group we actually identified that labelling something as a hearing problem or a deaf problem was wide of the mark. It was actually a problem belonging to an individual. But that individual can infect others around them and it becomes a wider problem but it starts from an attitude of an individual. Conversely, when one person is very positive and the rest of the group is very positive you don't find any problems between Deaf and hearing people and everyone get along just great.*

> **D/HBSLU2** – *My experience of a Deaf and hearing environment has been that when I have found one person to have an awful attitude and tackled them, then all the other hearing people quickly developed a similarly bad attitude towards me. It was as if the hearing people quickly coalesced around a fellow hearing person to close ranks and support each other. Which meant I was then having to challenge a number of people and there was a wall of negativity towards me.*

Extract 28: D/HBSLU 2, 5

A repeated statement across the data is that conflict is often seen as just one individual's negative attitude. Several of the participants tend to persistently understand the conflict as an individual's attitude, rather than as the result of workplace inequality. The potential reaction to audist oppression, however, may become one of the 'oppressed becoming the oppressor of others' and this results in both groups becoming disenfranchised. While awareness of the issues is positive, there is danger that the problems will not be resolved in this reactive climate. This is highlighted in section 2.5.2 as 'lobster theory', and the implication here is that a defensive reaction to the conflict that rises among Deaf and hearing BSL users may cause the conflict to escalate. According to Runde (2014), it is negative emotions that are evoked during defensive reactions to conflict, and Runde advises that, "The hot-button reactions do not go away completely, but rather they become more manageable" (p. 28).

The data analysis also reveals that when a staff member has a high level of awareness of differences, they also become acutely aware of relationship conflict and react to any unfair treatment of people from the minority language group. This reaction may be a response to audism in the workplace, or to the oppressive environment, and indicates that the BSL user is beginning to challenge the organisation's failure to achieve

an effective mixed working environment. Unfortunately, the BSL user's attitude and reaction may not lead to resolution if they are not in a high position within the organisation, but this reaction is a positive step towards recognition of the unequal situation and the resulting conflict that occurs in the workplace.

5.3.4 Causes of Attitude

5.3.4.1 Communication

The causes of attitude-based conflict are of particular importance to this study, as many of the participants raise the issue of attitude in relation to their experiences of working in a mixed Deaf/hearing environment. Attitudes towards Deaf people experienced in society at large are mostly negative, given the medical and social perceptions of Deaf people discussed is section 1.3. Such social attitudes are transferred into the workplace environment, and the participants in this study describe the effects of negative attitudes in detail. Analysis of the data in relation to causes of attitudinal issues reveals that communication is a primary cause of conflict related to the sub-themes of attitude. In the following extract, a participant relays their view that negative attitudes towards communicating with Deaf people are revealed in the mixed Deaf/hearing workplace, resulting in conflict situations. The BSL user is aware of the importance of a positive attitude in the workplace and this highlights the importance of an appropriate attitude in order to avoid conflict:

> *I feel it would be nice if it was an all-Deaf team for a change. If it's an all-Deaf team, you don't need an interpreter…we can talk directly, and when we need an interpreter we can bring one in but they don't have to be a full member of the team. You can just book an interpreter as and when required then they can go off somewhere else…If you have a hearing person who is a fluent signer and has a really good attitude then I don't mind that person being part of the team at all. That would be lovely. As they would completely mix in with the right skills and the correct attitude, fully culturally aware and have Deaf awareness then everyone would understand each other. But when you have a situation where people don't understand each other or each other's culture, that's when conflict happens.*

Extract 31: D/HBSLU4

In the following extracts, hearing BSL users again discuss negative attitudes towards sign language use and their experiences of it in the workplace:

> **HBSLU6** – *I think you're right; attitude is what it's ultimately about. Where I work we recently recruited some new staff, both deaf and hearing, and some of the hearing staff had no sign language skills at all. The Deaf staff tried their best to accommodate these people and make themselves understood as best as possible but some of the hearing staff just could not communicate at all, and it was a matter of their attitude. Some of the hearing staff didn't feel it was something they were obliged to do and just made no effort whatsoever.*
>
> **HBSLU3** – *Yes but do you think it was apathy or embarrassment?*
>
> **HBSLU6** – *I think they could have made an effort. They didn't even make an effort some of them and for some Deaf people that means they don't want to and they will no longer engage with them again.*

Extract 11: HBSLU 3, 6

This is also seen in the following extract, where a BSL user reports similar experiences during a discussion of the need for a consistent signing environment in the workplace in order to avoid the tension that is felt when hearing BSL users appear to not want to allow access to the discourse for Deaf BSL users:

> *The second thing I don't like is when hearing people all speak to each other when having a conversation and when a Deaf member of staff comes into the room they carry on speaking. Why?! In a Deaf environment why are they insistent on speaking?! They would even carry on speaking in front of the Deaf children. If it's private, go somewhere private and have your conversation. I work in a home for Deaf people xxxx now and what sometimes happens is the hearing staff speak to each other when chatting but if a Deaf person walks in the room they stop speaking and start signing. Well that's not right either. They should be signing all the time. Then clients watching can choose if and when they wish to participate.*

Extract 20: DBSLU4

The following extract shows that the organisation has a genuine aim to help but is also not fully aware of how to facilitate a healthy working environment, and ultimately power still lies with the hearing members of staff:

> **D/HBSLU 5** – *It's interesting because as interpreters we can inform the Deaf person of the boundaries and politics of mixing with hearing people. For example, for over 2 years I worked every single day with the same hearing and Deaf*

person…I was hearing so I knew the boundaries and etiquette and what to expect. But also when the Deaf person was giving a lecture, they wanted to talk about hearing organisations but I said that wouldn't make much sense to the audience who was hearing and it may be better to term it mainstream organisations. The Deaf person really liked my input and we worked together to make sure that what they wanted to say and what the hearing people heard in the voice over was the same, given the different boundaries and cultures…Part of my role was to interpret between the two languages and the two cultures and if there was a word they wanted to use that I thought would not be suitable, then I would offer them some appropriate alternatives. It's a shared enterprise working together to achieve the outcome wanted.

D/HBSLU 7 - divide it up and you'll succeed.

D/HBSLU 5 – Yes and then together you'll be stronger.

Extract 64: D/HBSLU 5, 7

The belief that signing in an English order (known as Sign Supported English – SSE) is better than signing in the heritage BSL order, has been widespread for many years and is persistently rejected by Deaf BSL users, especially for use by deaf children. The persistent refusal to use sign language by hearing BSL users is discussed in the next extract, where D/HBSLU3 expresses the opinion that it is not all hearing BSL users that do this:

D/HBSLU 3– Like you say, you also see a lot of people defiantly speaking to each other without signing; they really ought to be using sign language to communicate. I think it's not all hearing staff but there are a few that we both know who are persistent offenders.

D/HBSLU 7– You're not mentioning any names but you both know who!!

Extract 68: D/HBSLU 3,7

Mayer's (2000) discussion of communication as a cause of conflict refers directly to attitude, suggesting that, "When disputants engage in conflict, they do so with an attitude or approach to meeting their needs that is based on both their general assumptions about conflict and the particular circumstances they are facing" (p. 34). The overall concern expressed by the Deaf participants in relation to attitude is the perceived lack of respect for their language and their heritage, and they express a basic

need for all BSL users to recognise and understand this concern in order to reduce the conflict that if the result of ineffective communication.

5.3.4.2 Emotion

This study finds that emotion also causes conflict among BSL users in relation to attitudinal issues. Emotion is a factor of conflict that is a response to the immediate context in which behaviours take place, and the meaning intended by the behaviour. According to Mayer, emotion comes from within and expresses intuitive feelings and awareness of an individual's circumstances, moods or feelings about the workplace relationships:

> "It may be that some personal value or deep emotion has been touched, but for many this change is largely a result of the different styles thy exhibit when they are avoiding a conflict and when they are engaging in one."
>
> (Mayer 2000: 29)

In the following extract, a participant reveals that she often feels frustrated working in an educational system where she feels undermined by hearing teachers of Deaf children who are insistent on using signs in an English word order in classrooms, rather than the visual ordering of BSL, an issue noted in relation to the previous extract. As most schools for deaf children across the UK have a policy of all staff and students signing and speaking at the same time, SSE is the result and the Deaf BSL users who took part in this study expressed a lot of emotion around being powerless to change this forced linguistic behaviour, and witnessing the persistent conflict it creates. This use of SSE is considered as causing conflict at work and demonstrates a relationship between attitudes towards sign language and the emotions they evoke:

> *Deaf children need a language, not a gesture system. Once they have a language they can learn everything through it. Also why are they pushing SSE? What's the purpose of that? Yes, it's much easier for them to function in SSE because they're hearing people with English, but for a baby that's Deaf..? A baby doesn't need SSE; it needs a full language, BSL...I recently recommended a friend to support a Deaf boy in a nursery setting. The boy was going to nursery where there was no BSL being used at all...The staff were lovely and they had gone and learnt Level 1*

but this was not nearly enough for this little boy. He was aged 3 and needed full language exposure. So I persuaded a friend of mine to apply for a post in the nursery as a support worker part-time, going into the nursery from 9:30-11:30 every morning to supporting the children's language development. I then passed this information on to the TOD and informed them how I had persuaded a friend to apply for the post to help this little boy. But the reaction of the TOD was one of discouragement, asking how my friend was going to communicate in the nursery? I answered they'd be great, as she was a Deaf BSL user and the boy and her will sign fluently with each other…but she answered that her worry was how my friend was going to communicate with other people in the nursery.

Extract 34: IST 2

There are other occasions during the qualitative group discussions when emotion is shown through positive attitudes towards hearing BSL users by Deaf participants. The following extract arose in one of the qualitative group discussions and indicates that the participant feels that hearing people can be of value to Deaf people. It was stated during a discussion of sign language recognition, where IST2 relays their experience of emotional conflict but also shows that they are aware of the potential for successful workplace interaction:

IST 2 –There's me and another person who both work as Deaf role-models but besides her there's no one who signs to us in the office at all. I feel totally isolated and detached from the team. I don't feel included at all. It makes me very angry and this shouldn't be still happening in today's age. For that reason I'm very happy to see this research being undertaken and I hope it identifies lots of places were the situation is not right. Definitely the education authority is one of those weak areas where discrimination is happening every day. It really concerns me that if they're not able to give me equality in the workplace then how will they give equality to the children we support. Or is it just a pretence that isn't genuine? If the TODs truly wanted to learn BSL to talk with Deaf children that would be great but it doesn't happen. Why? Why are they not interested in learning to sign fluently? Which would then be treating Deaf people with equality…but they don't and I just can't understand it…The formal training of TODs is fundamentally wrong as it's based on an oral education and anything BSL is seen negatively. They view Deaf people negatively.

Extract 48: IST 2

This above comment, where the participant repeatedly questions why teachers of deaf children do not use heritage sign language in the classroom is interesting, as it clearly the school policy not to do so, and this has led the participant to experience negative emotions, which in turn cause negative attitudes in the workplace. It is the teacher's responsibility to enforce policy, yet the strength of feeling of the non-use of sign language with deaf children is very clear from some of the participants, and comes across many times during the research activities. Fernie and Metcalf (2015) refer to the extent that this conflict can be managed positively or negatively within the organisation:

"The positive benefits of conflict include the airing of problems that the employer needs to address and the resulting beneficial changes in such areas as policies, procedures and productivity. The negative consequences can include reduced productivity, emotional distress and the escalation of minor differences into major hostilities."

(Fernie and Metcalf, 2015: 97-98)

Members of staff are clearly against the oral basis of the workplace policy because it lacks acceptance of sign language, revealing emotive attitudes towards sign language.

5.3.4.3 Values

Alongside the elements of communication and emotion discussed in the previous two sub-sections, analysis of the data also reveals a link between attitude and values. Mayer proposes that, "Recognizing when values are in play in conflict is critical to moving the conflict in a constructive direction…" (p. 12), and the participants in this study express recognition of the need for acceptance of other people's beliefs, hence attitudes have an important effect on a person's values. The extracts selected from the data illustrate conflict caused by value differences in relation to sign language interpreters and sign language access for deaf children. The following extracts arose in one of the qualitative group discussions and indicates that hearing people are of value to Deaf people, especially in the role of a sign language interpreter. Interpreters are clearly vital to

effective workplace interaction, and it is clearly important to the participants that they understand the content values that Deaf BSL users hold. In the subsequent extract, stated during a discussion of sign language exposure for deaf children, D/HBSLU7 relays their experience of workplace conflict when the staff member feels that a certain language or culture is being devalued. This occurred during a discussion of deliberately refusing to allow deaf children exposure to sign language:

> *D/HBSLU 7– At home I have a book and if I work with an interpreter I go home and put them in my book and what they were like. I'm not being just negative about some interpreters but some of them I put down as not good enough so I know not to book them again. I'm talking about the quality of their skills. After all I'm paying for the quality; well the government and I are paying for the quality. But why should I pay for poor quality…I think the role of an interpreter is to be my link in the work place. The work place is hearing and I'm Deaf therefore the interpreter is the link between the two. I know they are meant to stay in role but some interpreters I know well I can vent my frustrations out and then ask them what their view was of what just happened which will corroborate my feelings, then I go and act upon them. But other interpreter would be very reticent to give opinions and take sides. I think having an interpreter at work, especially a hearing environment then I really do value their presence…I value them as that link and the bridge to communication with hearing people.*

> **Extract 47: D/HBSLU 7**

Where hearing BSL users express a desire to become friends with Deaf BSL users only to practise their signing, rather than any genuine interest in friendship, the hearing person is placing a very different value on sign language to Deaf people. In this situation, there remains a risk of those value differences leading to conflict, such as in the following extract, where HBSLU5 is discussing learning sign language:

> *I would say I've been signing now for over 25 years… It's interesting how when I started I was just interested in learning the language; I had no interests in interpreting then. I was just fascinated by the language. As a hearing person I wrongly assumed that learning sign language was like any other language. But actually to really learn the language you need to be friends with Deaf people first of all…The course basically was just signing all the time, going to Deaf clubs and events at weekends, and becoming friends with lots and lots of Deaf people. So I didn't plan to get so involved with Deaf people, it just happened.*

> **Extract 75: HBSLU 5**

In the following examples, again the participants may have a genuine interest in working in a signing environment but are still treating language learning, and working with deaf people, differently. Taking a job just for exposure to sign language practice highlights value differences that could lead to conflict.

> *H/BSLU 6 – Is your experience different? Seeing that you work with a lot of Deaf people and Deaf people are very much involved, how do you feel? Oppressed too?*
>
> *D/HBSLU 1 - In work we do have a signing environment so I can talk to everyone in work but at the end of the day I'm still glad to get out of there. I'm still glad to go home. To go home and relax and get away from Deaf people is also a relief! Not always is it 'hard-work' but it can be 'really-hard-work' and when it is then it's a relief to be able to get away from it.*

Extract 78: D/HBSLU 6, 1

The same discussion is taking place when the next example is stated, and some of the participants consider the value of people who choose to work in a linguistic and cultural field but have no wish to learn the language and no desire to work with other cultures:

> *D/HBSLU 5 – I've seen hearing people like that too in the past, people with a very negative attitude but I always question why are they working with Deaf people if they feel so hard done by because they have to sign.*
>
> *D/HBSLU 4 – …they have a bad attitude and their job is to support Deaf children. They say they are sick of supporting Deaf children…well that's the job.*
>
> *D/HBSLU 3– I love signing. Sometimes I sign at home…I just forget I'm doing it…But I think some people just want a job. The person who left recently…they were not interested in using sign language or in developing a relationship with the clients. When another staff member who was hearing entered the room one day this man, who didn't know that the guy had a Deaf girlfriend, started spouting off about Deaf people and really complaining about how fed-up he was with the job and how Deaf people had a bad attitude and how he really wasn't bothered about Deaf people…after going on a tirade for some time when he finished the other hearing staff member calmly informed him, " You do know that my girlfriend is Deaf". Well he was really shocked by that and embarrassed.*

Extract 83: D/HBSLU 5, 4, 3

With regards to a mixed Deaf and hearing environment, it is important that the language users know that Deaf BSL users form a minority group, and live according to the norms of a 'Deaf world' under the notion of Deafhood (Ladd, 2003). Deaf BSL users must negotiate living between the Deaf world and the wider hearing society at work. This includes dealing with the conflicts and tensions caused by value differences. Conflicts related to values are experienced not only in the workplace, but also in the family, in education and in health settings, etc. BSL users need to be aware of the issues surrounding cultural difference on a societal level, and also at the level of the individual (Belk, 1984). An important aspect of conflict resolution is the ability of the individual not to judge the worth of another individual's values and beliefs. For example, judging others based on our own vantage point often leads people living in developed countries to view under-developed countries as deprived and inferior, failing to see that the cultural norms and expectations of lifestyle are very different in those parts of the world. Reconstruction of Deaf communities across the world during the last few decades has attempted to achieve acceptance of the values and beliefs of sign language users in order to reduce the infrastructure of oppression that has persisted in societies and continues to disempower Deaf BSL users.

5.3.4.4 Structure

Attitude-based conflicts are also analysed in this study as being caused by the structures that operate between Deaf and hearing people in the workplace. As a further component of Mayer's wheel of conflict, structural elements include "proximity of the disputants, distribution of resources, and access to information, legal parameters, organizational structure, and political pressure" (p. 13). Research considered during the review of previous literature, in section 2.2.4, refers to a hierarchical structure that is said to exist between hearing and Deaf communities, known as a 'them and us' situation (Kannapell, 1993). Such hierarchies highlight the inequalities that exist across intersections of society (Narayan, 1997). For example, lack of experience, knowledge and understanding may lead to oppressive presuppositions about women, or of certain racial groups. There is a need for all individuals to be seen from a perspective that takes

the various aspects of an individual's identity into account simultaneously (Crenshaw, 1989) and failure to do so contributes to injustice, social inequality, and oppression. Analysis of the data for this study, then, indicates that structural issues can be the cause of inappropriate attitudes. A person's attitude is affected by the structural arrangements between groups of people, and this is mirrored in hierarchies that are at play in the workplace. In the following extract, IST7 expresses experiences of suspicion from hearing people and another participant describes feeling treated unequally in the second extract:

…there are hearing people who feel threatened by me and I can see them looking suspiciously and asking me questions about who I am and what I've come in for. I feel that it is like being at war sometimes and I would constantly say I've come here to work with you, not against you.

Extract 43: IST7

Another example is the clients always like to approach the Deaf staff. They know that we share the language and the culture and feel that we'll have a better understanding. Hearing people will interrupt the client and try to intervene because they feel threatened…I have challenged one member of staff when a Deaf client became very frustrated and I had engaged with him and sat him down. But a hearing staff member came over and intervened…I think the underlying problem is that hearing staff see that Deaf staff have this bond with the Deaf clients and they're then unsure of where their place is within the dynamic. Also, there are some areas of work that Deaf people are not allowed to do…and often just because it's easier for 2 hearing staff to do it by speaking to each other. I don't feel that's right and that hearing and Deaf staff should be able to meet and work together by using sign language…I think that's the most fundamental problem in xxxx, speaking openly in front of the Deaf clients. But I do feel that if these people really wish to speak and really don't want to sign then what are they doing working there? I suspect they see at as a job and nothing else, therefore feel okay about oppressing the clients. Also when I see Deaf clients who are residential clients being oppressed by hearing staff it makes my blood boil. I want to fight for them because I know what it's like to be oppressed. It's very difficult so that's why I often feel rather unequal to hearing people. They are in the majority and we Deaf people are in the tiny minority.

Extract 41: IST4

This notion of suspicion towards Deaf BSL users is also raised in the following extract and again illustrates how inequality in terms of structure cause conflicting attitudes towards Deaf people. Here, a hearing participant refers to an experience when the workplace boss decided that the Deaf members of staff could have a meeting together (without the hearing colleagues) to discuss issues related to being Deaf in the workplace. The participants discuss the suspicion that is raised when Deaf BSL users request to have a meeting where they can discuss pertinent issues. It is interesting that this is seen as a 'divide' in the statement made by the following participant in one of the qualitative group discussions, who is discussing the issue of separation and stigmatising of Deaf people in the workplace:

> **HBSLU 3** – Do you know I even asked, "If I were to ask for a separate meeting based on gender would you allow it?! OR on being black or white?" They would never allow it.
>
> **HBSLU 5** – Or small and tall people; or under 40s and over 40s (laughing)!!
>
> **HBSLU 6** – Now are ALL the meetings held separately?
>
> **HBSLU 3** – No. It was just the one meeting, that's it. But they're now trying to sort out the problems. I'm not sure it's going to work...
>
> **HBSLU 5** – Well, It may create more problems!
>
> **HBSLU 3** – I think it was wrong to separate the two groups of people…If one person had a problem, that person should have been able to meet and address the issues as an individual, not segregate the entire team. That just encouraged the divide.
>
> **HBSLU 5** – It just encourages people to be suspicious of what the other group is up to and vice versa.

Extract 62: HBSLU 3, 5 & 6

A similar issue was discussed in one of the qualitative group discussion activities, and here a participant is again describing her experience of frustration at work with the fact that the option of sign language for deaf children is not provided:

> I think all of the staff needed proper, meaningful, in-depth deaf awareness training. Not some superficial one-day course. Looking at the issues in depth so that they would have been able to fully understand what it was like for me. Teachers of the deaf (TOD) should understand but actually they're extremely ignorant of the issues. They know nothing at all. What really surprises me is that

the TODs have huge influence over the families and families go on to make decisions on whether to sign or not based on the influence of the TOD. From when the child is a little baby it will affect their whole life. That really worries me…but where are the referrals? It really worries me. Are they lost in the system? Maybe with so much restructuring taking place recently the hospitals and staff are not aware of how to refer. There could be lots of families out there completely isolated and lost without any support for them or their Deaf baby.

Extract 63: DBSLU 2

D/HBSLU 1 – *May be you should make a case to management that there should be a policy of having a minimum of 2 Deaf staff on every shift?*

D/HBSLU 4 – *They would ask for the reason and wouldn't do it just because I wanted it.*

D/HBSLU 1 – *I used to work in a nursery with Deaf staff and we noticed that when it was a team of 2 hearing people with 1 Deaf person, it was too hard, communication was fraught. So we requested that it should be 2 Deaf people on together so you had an equal 2 hearing to 2 Deaf people split and that worked much easier. So until you ask you never know.*

Extract 81: D/HBSL 1, 4

5.3.4.5 History

A final cause of attitudinal-based conflict in this study is the history of relationship problems between Deaf and hearing people. The participants reflect on the impact of historical attitudes towards Deaf people in society, and in the workplace specifically. Mayer's conflict theory discussion expresses the important role that history plays in conflict situations:

"Conflict cannot be understood independently of its historical context."

(Mayer 2000: 13)

DBSLU7 –*We had a furious row before I left and I told the manager straight that I thought her service was a joke. But it really was a joke because it achieved nothing really, nothing.*

DBSLU4 - *It's a shame actually because the school needed people like you in there but actually you lost your job. You could have been fighting for that boy's right.*

DBSLU2 – You have to challenge the system all the time; challenge it again and again.

DBSLU7 – But the risk of that is that you may lose your job. If you become the one always challenging then the head will try to find a way of making you redundant. It recently happened when there was a round of redundancies; I was one of them and the head just said sorry but the budget had been cut.

Extract 18: DBSLU 2, 4 & 7

It is also relevant to consider attitudes towards sign language use that are positive and the following example indicates that hearing BSL users can have a good level of understanding of the importance of sign language and can pass this understanding to other people. Here the discussion is about the influence that people can have over each other in relation to how an individual's attitude develops in groups at work:

HBSLU5 –So if one person has a negative attitude towards using sign language and decides to speak then that can quickly spread to others encouraging them to speak to and that has a big effect on the language used in the group.

HBSL6 – My grandparents were the same. Before I started working in the Deaf field their notion of Deaf people was one of people who were stupid, disabled. Now their opinions have changed completely to a positive perception of Deaf people; from meeting my friends they can see how wonderful the language is and how well the Deaf people are able to do. Really they have been saddled with some very old-fashioned views of deafness and they need to be shown that their old views were just not reflective of Deaf people today. From seeing Deaf people my grandparents realise now that their opinions were wrong.

HBSLU5 – Hey but your grandfather and grandmother seem to have a much better attitude than some of your work colleagues!!...For the life of me I don't understand why some people continue working in a working environment that they feel so negative towards.

Extract 12: HBSLU5 & 6

Bauman (ibid: 42) brings our attention to Foucault's criticism of institutional attempts to control and suppress people, and makes it possible to consider attitudes towards Deaf communities in the light of this domination (Tremain, 2005). Research into the situation for Deaf people carried out by Kannapell (1993), considered the situation for Deaf and

hearing people and found that a "hierarchy of power" exists in societies, based on the "types of people who are most powerful", with hearing people at the top and Deaf people clearly at the bottom. The participants report similar experiences in the workplace. Kannapell suggests that, "from the point of view of Deaf people, the most salient feature is hearing status. All hearing people, regardless of gender and minority groups, are placed above all Deaf people" (p. 164). This is analysed as a dominant paradigm that has a pathological focus, and Kannapell offers an alternative paradigm that views Deaf people from a cultural perspective (p. 167). Kannapell clearly illustrates the view of Deaf people that existed during the years of structuralism, which took its hold around the early 1900s when structuralist sociologists, such as Durkheim, ([1892] 2012) influenced thinking.

5.3.5 Theme 3 - Paternalism

Paternalism is the behaviour that results from a person acting in a helping manner towards another person because the help is deemed necessary but it is actually not required (Dworkin, 2002). Such incorrect presuppositions about Deaf people are traced back as far as Aristotelian times, where philosophers such as Pliny and Plato believed that deaf people could not think because they did not speak. In the following section, the issue of authority is first considered, followed by the further three sub-themes that occur under the theme of paternalism: paternalism is considered in relation to passivity among BSL users, and to the levels of cultural awareness that BSL users bring to the interaction. The section lastly looks at benevolence and explores how this relates to working in a mixed Deaf/hearing environment.

Authority: When interaction takes place between Deaf people who hold the sociocultural perspective and hearing people who interact from the disability perspective, Deaf BSL users feel in a position of unequal status in the workplace. This results in Deaf BSL users losing control and feeling disempowered, and hearing BSL users exercising inappropriate levels of authority over Deaf BSL users. Actions that result from inappropriate authority are often well-intentioned but may serve the purpose of appearing positive, rather than of a desire to employ an effective and diverse workforce.

Passivity: Passivity in the Deaf community has resulted from overwhelming control taken by religious missionaries, and later by social workers for Deaf people (Ladd, 2003: 334), and is also seen in educational settings. Dye, Hauser & Bavelier (2008) note that deaf children often do not interact on a two-way basis in classrooms, and spend many years passively accepting that the teacher should be the one to speak and the resulting passivity is also noted by Gertz (2008). Ladd's (2003) notion of a 'traditional vs. modern deaf culture' suggests that, albeit with genuine intentions, the paternalism of missioners and their predecessors in Deaf education has resulted in a rigid power imbalance.

Cultural awareness: This sub-theme reiterates the point that using BSL is not sufficient and that hearing BSL users must understand the culture, as well as the language, in order to interact successfully with Deaf BSL users. Lack of cultural awareness among BSL users leads to a significant level of workplace conflict. This may not be intentional but results

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when language skill is achieved without appropriate cultural use. Lack of awareness of Deaf culture is also seen in education (Rodda and Grove, 1987) and in the family home (Eleweke & Rodda, 2000).

Benevolence: A further sub-theme related to the theme of paternalism is benevolence, the disposition to do good towards others that can result in overprotectiveness towards individuals who are perceived as inferior. The intention of benevolent behaviour may be the expression of goodwill, revealing a caring nature, but benevolence is discussed by the participants as an aspect of the control that hearing people place over Deaf people's lives. Benevolence expressed when Deaf and hearing BSL users interact in the workplace also leads to conflict situations.

5.3.5.1 Authority

Table 5-15 Results: Authority

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
3	Paternalism	34 62	Ex: 50 Ex: 71	DBSLU 2 IST 1	2

Analysis of the data in this study reveals that Authority in the workplace, then, is one of the effects of paternalism, and is an experience that is highlighted in the data. One of the participant raises this authoritarian behaviour. DBSLU2, who made the following statement during an individual self-testimony, continued to take part in everyday working activities despite knowing that conflicts were prevalent due to insufficient authority being given. The extract is taken from a discussion of paternalistic behaviours in the workplace:

> **DBSLU 2** – Where I worked before in education, xxxx, my boss discriminated against me. I'm preparing a case; I will make it formal, I will. They talked to me only verbally and often I didn't understand them. Or they would write something down in a letter and I wouldn't understand it. I repeatedly told them the way they were treating me was wrong and this was discrimination. For example, when they changed my line manager, the 2 hearing bosses would say "your new line manager is lovely and has kindly said she will make phone calls FOR you". They were just so

patronising and I said to them "just hang on a minute. I'm not thick you know". I know how to make phone calls myself using my interpreter. I was so angry that they were using such patronising language. It was unacceptable. There were lots of small things that piled up together became a really big issue for me.

Extract 50: DBSLU 2

While the intention of the colleague is presumably good, the participant experiences a lack of understanding of their ability to take control herself, and the colleague's assumption that she will need the phone calls made 'for' her results in the colleague assuming authority over the participant, hence paternalism. This may be at the level of unconsciousness described in section 2.6.2 but leaves the receiver in a difficult position with regards to how they adapt and the level of conflict that results. From a hermeneutic perspective, this indicates that the participant's workplace experiences have included lack of authority, and powerlessness. This is not an uncommon experience for Deaf people. In a study of Deaf and hearing cross-cultural conflict in the workplace in the US, Gournaris and Aubrecht (2013) report that, "The implications of hearing privileges and oppressive behaviours often create power imbalances between deaf and hearing individuals, which in turn may foster conflicts" (p. 70); such experiences, in the case of this study, are understood as resulting from unequal distribution of authority.

There are examples in the wider society that reflect attempts to attain equal authority, such as women becoming parliamentary MPs, and the steps towards gender equality that this was originally intended to signal. After the long battle to secure a vote under the 'equal franchise Action of 1928', and the campaigns that continued in the light of Pankhurst's Suffragette Movement, it is of course to be acknowledged that there has been progress made since the establishment of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, led by Millicent Fawcett. In comparison to gender equality movements, there have been attempts within the Deaf community to lobby and campaign for change in the form of improved access and equality. The National Union of Deaf people (NUD) which set up in 1976, for example, was a political group that aimed to make Deaf people aware of their rights and to challenge oralist dominance in education. A similar campaigning group was established and ran during the late 1990s – the Federation of Deaf People (FDP). This group organised lobbying marches in London but dissipated due

to a small number of members and subsequent groups have tended to be based on-line, such as the Spit the Dummy campaign, a "genuinely grassroots campaign" (Emery, 2013). Due to the small number of members of the FDP group, its minority of leaders became overburdened with the amount of work and lack of support from others. The Deaf Liberation Front grew out of people from the Federation of Deaf People around the early 2000s. They also directly confronted established Deaf organisations that had hearing directors and represented a new, radical Deaf Movement (Ladd, 1988; 2003).

5.3.5.2 Passivity

Table 5-16 Results: Passivity

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
3	Paternalism	40	Ex: 23	DBSLU7	1

Passivity in workplace interaction is a further sub-theme under the theme of paternalism, and one example of this was found in the data. In the qualitative group discussions, from which the following extract is taken, the participants have been discussing the way Deaf BSL users often become dependent on the hearing members of staff due to ineffective working arrangements:

That may be a psychological reason, going back to the days of the missioners and welfare officers who were hearing. It's interesting, as part of my work I was involved in a project involving 2 centres. At the first centre all the Deaf people signed and everyone said they were unable to do a lot as they couldn't read. I looked at the Deaf people and they were passively sitting there not challenging this notion. The hearing person just kept saying Deaf people needed them to move forward. I looked at the Deaf people and it seems there is a historic influence from the missioners time that the grassroots Deaf people felt that they actually did need the hearing people to help them. xxxx's attitude is the same. She's an old woman now, obviously! But when xxxx sees an interpreter she immediately asks them to do everything for her because they can speak and use the phone. I realised that it's how society was when she was younger and how they used hearing people that has shaped her attitude now - that hearing were always right and Deaf people were always wrong.

Extract 23: DBSLU7

Analysis of the data reveals that Deaf BSL users may become withdrawn in the workplace as a result of the paternalism that they experience. DBSLU7 has grown up in a family with several generations of Deafness and has become astutely aware of the fact that many other Deaf people have not developed the ability to challenge negative experiences at work that he has. Here, he explains that, in the workplace, he has seen a situation of passivity, where Deaf people tend to remain excluded from the general communication and socialisation that takes place. In the above extract, DBSLU7 notes that the Deaf members of staff in their workplace do not challenge hearing people's behaviours or comments. This participant also considers the history of control taken over Deaf people's lives and how this has led to Deaf people being used to not having any independence. The implications of this are that passive Deaf people may become emotionally and linguistically dependent on their hearing peers, a dependency that is born out of ignorance of the capabilities of Deaf people. Deaf people often leave school unable to contribute to debates and remain passive adults in society (Dye, Hauser and Bavelier, 2008) and this passivity is also seen in the workplace. This situation is interpreted in this study to indicate that Deaf employees need to develop what Punch (2016) refers to as "self-advocacy skills" (p. 393). Punch found that Deaf people in the workplace often do not ask for the accommodations (such as sign language interpreters) that could improve their workplace experiences, and that this leads to Deaf employees experiencing paternalism at work, and an on-going lack of social justice in employment.

5.3.5.3 Cultural Awareness

Table 5-17 Results: Cultural Awareness

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
3	**Paternalism**	29 12 74	Ex: 15 Ex: 29 Ex: 40	DBSLU 7 DBSLU 7 IST4	3

The issue of culture is often raised in the data and participants frequently refer to the lack of cultural knowledge about Deaf people on the part of some BSL users. In the

following extract, a participant describes her experience that hearing BSL users who work in a mixed Deaf/hearing environment often like to socialise among themselves, in an environment where they don't have to use sign language, but do not feel it is appropriate for Deaf BSL users to socialise together:

> *IST 4 – In the xxxx there have been times when the hearing people have wanted to go out and socialise by themselves so they can all speak to each other. We understand that if you've been at work all day signing then in the night you want to relax without having to sign. Likewise Deaf people who've been in a hearing environment all day like it when they can relax and sign with other native signers. So we thought it a good idea for the Deaf staff to go out together. But a number of the hearing staff were upset by this. They said they were not invited and felt left out. Another time when they were going out they invited some Deaf colleagues to go to but two of us couldn't make it and just 1 Deaf person went out with 3 hearing colleagues. The hearing staff spoke to each other all night and ignored the Deaf person, just as had happened within the workplace...I also feel that in both work environments there was not an adequate amount of cultural awareness. For example I waved to gain the attention of a hearing colleague, a colleague next to her saw me waving but didn't feel it appropriate to tap and tell the person next to them. So I had to walk over and tap them on the shoulder myself...they don't seem to appreciate that Deaf people have grown up all their lives watching hearing people speak between themselves but not able to access what they're talking about. They don't appreciate the impact of that upon the Deaf client...So I have felt a lot of oppression in the workplace.*

Extract 40: IST4

In the extract above, the participant clearly feels that Deaf and hearing BSL users should attempt to find some resolution to some people being left out of the conversation. Cultural awareness, then, is seen as a necessary accompaniment to using sign language. Young, Ackerman and Kyle (1998: 3) consider social involvement as a matter of well-being and display in their findings a similar pattern of effect of Deaf BSL users not feeling "respected or valued" and experiencing "anxiety and insecurity" because of not being able to access the conversations all around them. The need for a consistent signing environment, then, is clearly a priority in any attempt to reduce workplace conflict in this environment. The variation in working environments, and the individuality of people, means that resolution may not be so easy to come by. Hearing BSL users may want to speak to non-BSL users in the workplace but also don't want to exclude Deaf

BSL users. And conversely, they may want to sign to a Deaf BSL user but not want to exclude non-BSL users. Finding a strategy that enables all people to feel included is no easy task when such intercultural operations are at play. Parents of Deaf children, as Eleweke and Rodda (2000) note, may not be provided with equal amounts of information related to the language choices available for their child. To suppress or deliberately deny a language and culture is very destructive, and studies have indicated that the full range of information should be provided to parents in order for them to make an informed decision about the method of communication, and development of culture, for their child (e.g., Joint Committee on Infant Hearing, 2007). The child's well-being is not prioritised in this situation.

5.3.5.4 Benevolence

Table 5-18 Results: Benevolence

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
3	**Paternalism**	17 77	Ex: 65 Ex 66:	D/HBSLU 1, 7& 4 IST 5	2

Benevolence is a further aspect of workplace conflict among Deaf and hearing BSL users, as one example from the data indicates. In the extract, IST5 reports experiences of feeling frustrated by the fact that sign language was being used in the workplace purely because a policy dictated it, and because hearing BSL users feel that it is kinder to do so, rather than being the response of a culturally aware staff group:

> *IST 5 – I think what is most important is the attitude that an individual has, irrespective of whether they are Deaf or hearing; if people want to work together and share the same aim then that's what's important. There are instances of hearing people who have an awful attitude, refuse to use sign language and this can be incredibly frustrating; at the same time there are Deaf people who want to talk between themselves. Therefore, I think it's important to see people as individuals. If an individual does not want to communicate with others, then it begs the question why are they working with Deaf people? So it's all about an individual's attitude to what they do. What's interesting is when I have experienced the really best of attitudes from people working within a Deaf/sign*

language organisation there have not been any policies about sign language and people have just instinctively worked together, communicating to achieve their common goals, ultimately, to improve the lives of Deaf people. So, for me there's nothing vastly different between hearing and Deaf people, it's more to do with individuals and the attitude of that individual. It's important that people are able to analyse their own feelings and attitudes and recognise why they feel a certain way or have an attitude towards certain people.

Extract 66: IST5

The potential conflict that can occur in organisations due to benevolence is that individual staff members may lay blame for any issues with other individuals, rather than acknowledging the conflict as an organisational responsibility. Where an organisation and/or its staff members are functioning as equals, the environment may move towards a positive one, as the organisation moves more towards cultural understanding and staff members begin to feel some acknowledgement from the management of the intention to improve the workplace ethos and behaviour. This, however, can lead to a state of benevolence, where the disposition to do well becomes obligatory, rather than based on understanding of the need for equality. Interpretation of the participants' experiences of benevolence indicate that this paternalistic attitude and behaviour is based on a deficit model, that is, an attitude that Deaf people are in some way lacking, and can't function in a parallel manner to their hearing counterparts, which is in all actuality, not the case. O'Brien and Placier (2015) note that this deficit model begins most often in the schooling of a deaf child, where they are persistently told that their deafness precludes them from many activities and life choices. Analysis of the participant's experiences of benevolence here indicates that this deficit model may follow Deaf people into their employment, where they are again viewed against the belief that they are unable to function equally to their hearing counterparts, and are therefore in need of help. This is a timely reminder of the notion that the employment struggles that Deaf people experience are closely related to the educational disadvantages discussed in section 2.5 above.

5.3.6 Causes of Paternalism

5.3.6.1 Communication

The use of Mayer's wheel of conflict enables this study to identify communication as a cause of paternalism. In the workplace, paternalism includes any situation, whether unconscious or conscious, where the will to help, or to show compassion, is underpinned with hidden meaning in relation to the people or the policies at play. According to Shiffrin (2000), paternalism also refers to the level of control that is exercise over another:

> "Paternalistic behaviour is special because it represents a positive (although often sometimes unconscious or sometimes caring) effort by another to insert her will and have it exert control merely because of its (perhaps only alleged) superiority. As such, it directly expresses insufficient respect for the underlying valuable capacities, powers, and entitlements of the autonomous agent. Those who value equality and autonomy have special reason to resist paternalism toward a competent adult."

<div align="right">(Shiffrin, 2000: 220)</div>

Benevolence expressed when Deaf and hearing BSL users interact in the workplace also leads to conflict situations, as one example from the data indicate. In the extracts, the participants are clearly frustrated by the fact that sign language was being used in the workplace purely because a policy dictated it, and because hearing BSL users feel that it is kinder to do so, rather than being the response of a culturally aware staff group:

> *D/HBSLU 1 – A long time ago at xxxx we used to have a policy that dictated that everyone must sign. It became extremely prescriptive and people were enslaved to the policy…everyone was doggedly following the policy and signing more because the rules said you had to.*

> *D/HBSLU 7– Are you implying that the policy became more important than what it was trying to achieve right?*

> *D/HBSLU 1– Everyone would just cite the policy and tell people to sign. It made a difficult situation and I felt it would have been better if it wasn't there.*

D/HBSLU 7– *Do you mean that forcing the policy on people…made people clam up and say nothing?*

D/HBSLU 4– *I think in my experience that where there isn't a policy people still keep on speaking instead of signing. If the policy is there, at least people will feel that they are compelled to sign.*

D/HBSLU 1- *Yes, they have to...but it shouldn't be compelled it should be that they are signing anyway irrespective of if there is a policy or not.*

Extract 65: D/HBSLU 1, 7, 4

Scholars in most academic fields focus their research on the majority 'hearing' people and this has led to a hearing construction of how societies are made up, placing Deaf people in a decidedly mainstream framework, where their linguistic and cultural differences are not recognised. It is of interest to this study to look at the historical foundations on which this framework lies and the areas where impact has been felt, including the paternalism felt by Deaf people due to the persistent pathological view of what being Deaf means that is held by many people in the mainstream society. Many minority groups have made attempts to reclaim an accepted position in society, a notion that is referred to as 'cultural space', such as the Black movement (Asante, 2009), and this has led to the call for 'Deaf space' (Gulliver, 2009; Bauman, Lewis, Luker & Sirvage, 2012). A minority group's attempts to position itself in society, however, leads to sociocultural conflicts. This is the case for the tension that results from misunderstanding and differing positions of experiences between Deaf and hearing BSL users as they mix increasingly in society, and is echoed in the mixed Deaf/hearing workplace environment.

5.3.6.2 Emotion:

Analysing the data for causes of paternalism indicates that emotion is a factor that results in this experience. Emotion leads to feelings and reactions to interactive situations that are experienced during conflicts at work. Feelings of vulnerability and weariness are some of the emotions that may be felt during a conflict situation, and, in the case of working with people who are perceived as disabled, sympathy and a desire

to help may also be invoked. Mayer notes that this leads to harmful judgements among employees:

"Different cultures exhibit variations in acceptable and effective ways of acknowledging and validating feelings. Many conflict resolvers seem to think that articulating a non-judgmental understanding of another person's expressed emotion is the best way to validate that emotion."

(Mayer 2000: 77)

The following extract reveals the affect that emotions have on working relations. Participant DBSLU7 is discussing the feeling that there is additional stress for a Deaf BSL user in the workplace in comparison to a hearing member of staff:

So in effect, instead of you having to concentrate on achieving the goals of your job you also had to think about your image and be careful about what you said so not to offend anyone. Adding more than just the work stress as you constantly checking yourself to see what you were saying was not going to cause offence, trying to make sure you fitted in with hearing culture. Me personally, and I'm not having a go at people here, but I think some people are just far too sensitive. They take things the wrong way. I've got a good example. Firstly, let me say that I come from a Deaf family, so I've grown up within a Deaf house. I shared a house with someone else when I was at university, he was hearing. It quickly came to light that I was banging doors and walking very loudly on the floor, which I was completely unaware of. He didn't mention it but was becoming increasingly annoyed by it. Then one day he told me to stop banging and making so much noise. I said, "No. You can't tell me what to do".

Extract 29: DBSLU 7

In the mixed Deaf/hearing workplace environment, paternalism resulting from ineffective authority is based on hearing people feeling a sense of superiority over Deaf people and leads to conflict. The colonisation of Deaf people by hearing people, discussed in section 2.2.2, is central to the feelings of inferiority and comes from "a relation between two or more groups of unequal power in which one not only controls and rules over the other, but also endeavours to impose its cultural order onto the subordinate group(s)" (Merry 1991: 894). Aycan (2006: 455-6) illustrates this paternalistic framework, where behavioural traits of 'benevolence' and 'exploitation'

become widespread in an organisation and the general approach to the minority group becomes one of 'control and care'. The central box indicates four management styles and is explained in detail in the following quotation:
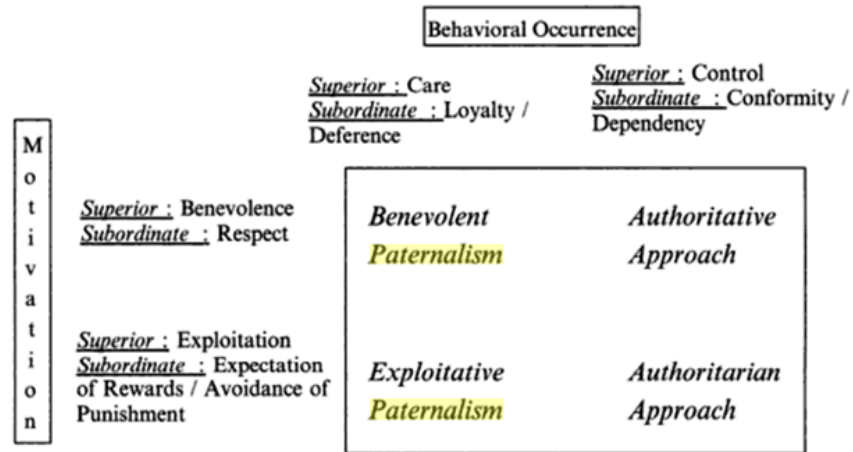
Figure 5-4 Aycan's Paternalism Framework

"Figure 1 depicts the proposed conceptual framework where the two types of paternalism are contrasted with authoritarian and authoritative management styles. Accordingly, benevolent paternalism occurs when the main emphasis is on the employee's welfare by the employer. In return, the employee shows loyalty and deference out of respect and appreciation for employer's benevolence. In exploitative paternalism, the overt behavior is also care and nurturance, but for a different reason, which is to elicit employee compliance to achieve organizational objectives. Authoritarian management relies on control and exploitation on the part of the superior, where the subordinate shows conformity and dependence in order to receive rewards or avoid punishment. Authoritative management also exercises control, but the underlying reason is to promote a subordinate's welfare. The subordinate, in return, respects the superior's decisions and complies with the rules, knowing that this is for his/her own benefit."

(Aycan, 2006: 455-6)

5.3.6.3 Values

A further cause of paternalism identified during the data analysis is values. As the literature review in chapter two of this thesis clearly illustrates, the values that are shared by members of the Deaf community are those beliefs and foundations that are at the root of their culture, language, heritage, and sense of Deaf space, as Bauman (2014) and Leigh, Morere & Pezzarossi (2014) emphasise. The values aspects of the conflict component of Mayer's wheel of conflict are made clear:

> "All of us have values about the behaviour that is acceptable in conflict. Sometimes disputants have one set of beliefs about how they should behave and another set of beliefs about how others should act. These values bear on how direct one can be about concerns, feelings, hopes, and ideas and on whether it is all right to be deceptive, to lie, or to mislead."

> (Mayer, 2000: 27)

Lack of understanding of the values related to the way of life of Deaf colleagues is noted by the participants as leading to paternalistic behaviours. This level of control and sympathetic behaviour, in the wider society, is discussed in Gannon's (2012) text on Deaf leadership, where he notes that increases in Deaf people taking control and self-organising leads to decreases in levels of paternalism. In this study, IST4, for example, states that they "waved to gain the attention of a hearing colleague, and a colleague next to her saw me waving but didn't feel it appropriate to tap and tell the person next to them. So, I had to walk over and tap them on the shoulder myself" (from Extract 40). The ability to function in the workplace according to their own values and beliefs, such as the value of touch and of visuality, is clearly important to IST4. There is a need for workplace colleagues to be aware of the values that underlie Deaf people's behaviours in order to respect the values and reduce the level of paternalism at work.

5.3.6.4 Structure

Section 2.2.4 of the literature review carried out prior to the data analysis for this study introduces the structural hierarchy that is noted as existing between Deaf and hearing communities in the wider society. The analysis indicates that this structural hierarchy is replicated in the workplace, and causes paternalistic conflicts at work. Mayer considers the power issues that are invoked under the structural component of the conflict wheel:

"Because power-based approaches are often disruptive, costly, and hard on relationships, social structures usually try to implement alternative mechanisms for dealing with conflict. This is particularly the case once it becomes clear that power is sufficiently distributed among the contending parties to make the process costly and the outcome doubtful."

(Mayer 2000:35)

One example of paternalism based on the workplace structure is seen in the following extract from participant IST1, who made the following statement during an individual self-testimony, and continues to take part in everyday working activities despite knowing that conflicts were prevalent due to structural issues. The manager of the organisation may be treating one Deaf member of staff in a certain way despite the conflicts in the workplace, resulting in unconscious paternalism towards that person:

I couldn't say I've had any bad experiences with the Deaf organisations. At xxxx, all of the management team is Deaf. I have also worked for another organisation where the head of the organisation was hearing but my immediate line-manager was Deaf. I could see that there were problems between my line-manager and the head of the organisation, which were due to hearing and Deaf issues but it didn't directly affect me so I wasn't that interested in it. I got on with my manager and was able to get on with my clients well so I just got on with my job without any problems. Then when I moved to xxxx, my job was as a manager, managing the community team who were all Deaf and my line manager was also Deaf. Also there were two other managers who were hearing but I didn't have any issues with them.

Extract 71: IST 1

In relation to structure, paternalism is again brought about by feelings of pity and shame for Deaf BSL users, which may be subconscious, but lead to disempowering behaviours, such as the 'helper' position that is often taken by hearing people who feel that Deaf people are incompetent, and unable to function in everyday life without their kindness. Alker (1992; 2000) raises this point repeatedly, suggesting that this influence comes from the inequality experienced by Deaf people within the social structures of society. One of the most common assumptions held by some hearing people in society is that deaf people are disabled (Higgins, 1990; Lane, 1997 and Butler, Skelton & Valentine, 2001). As disabled people are often seen as people who are unable to cope with everyday activities, and need help or support, Deaf people are often treated with paternalism.

5.3.6.5 History

In his descriptions of the components of the wheel of conflict, Mayer notes emphatically that, "Conflict cannot be understood independently of its historical context" (p. 13). Critical analysis of the data for this study reveals that historical issues are at the core of some of the experiences of paternalism. Paternalistic attitudes and behaviours towards Deaf people are historical, and Mayer notes that historical influences are of a powerful nature in a conflict setting:

> "The history of the people who are participants in a conflict, of the systems in which the conflict is occurring, and of the issues themselves has a powerful influence on the course of the conflict. History provides the momentum for the development of conflict. Too often we try to understand a conflict in isolation from its historical roots and as a result are baffled by the stubbornness of the players."

> (Mayer, 2000: 13)

Ladd (2003) provides an interesting discussion of Deaf history. It has been noted in this thesis at several points that hearing scholars have always held a powerful position in the academic field of deaf studies. It is relevant to note in this section, however, that Deaf

academics readily accept that many hearing scholars function as allies (as the literature review revealed in section 2.2.3). Within both the deaf studies and the disability fields, allied scholars can work effectively alongside both academics and professionals within the communities. This is achieved through an understanding and acceptance of the sociocultural model of disability and through positive and empowering attitudes (Lane, 1992; Trowler and Turner, 2002; Batterbury, Ladd & Gulliver, 2007; Napier, 2002a; Barnes, Harrington, Williams and Atherton, 2007 and Young and Temple, 2014; Napier & Leeson, 2016). Allied scholars have worked for many years, producing articles and texts that provide specialist insights into the position of Deaf people in many aspects of society. This has demonstrated positive moral attitudes, understanding of the reverse psychological issues of being hearing in the field of deaf studies, and of exploring the impact of relationships in this specialist field. Many scholars have demonstrated a value for diversity in the workplace and respect for cultural difference. Interaction is most effective when the allied scholars/professionals work to empower minority group members to progress and to achieve in their own right, rather than simply taking control and doing things for them. Taylor (1999) described this as a practice that gives maximum control to the minority group member, set "within a framework of self-help" (p. 373). This is important for Deaf people in the workplace, given that, as DBSLU7 notes, "it seems there is a historic influence from the missioners time, when the grassroots Deaf people felt that they actually did need the hearing people to help them" (from Extract 23).

5.3.7 Theme 4 - Transition

A further theme identified in the data is referred to as 'Transition', and includes the factors that enable an individual to move from a position of adding to conflicts at work, to a position of encouraging understanding of difference among colleagues, and therefore reducing conflicts. In a mixed Deaf/hearing workplace environment, being a sign language user may not automatically bring with it a positive and accepting level of interrelationship competency. In fact, the participants in this study express experiences that fluent sign language users can still exhibit negative perspectives and controlling behaviours in the workplace. BSL users who bring knowledge and experience to the interaction but still fail to identify their unequal position and the oppression it can bring, may function in the workplace without realising that their behaviour may lead to conflict. Recognition of the inequalities in the workplace are an important aspect of the transition from workplace conflict to effecting working relations. Transition is discussed in this section in order to examine the way BSL users adjust during interaction. The issue that are discussed under this theme are identity, policy and incongruence.

Identity: The Deaf participants in this study report experiences of individual and of group identity (Najarian, 2006; Obassi, 2010). The analysis reveals that Deaf BSL users become more conscious of being Deaf when working in mixed Deaf/hearing environments. The Deaf identity characteristic becomes fore-grounded and they naturally gravitate towards other Deaf people. It is interesting to note that Deaf BSL users often feel that they have to justify why they gravitate towards other Deaf people, which is referred to as "perfectly natural" by DBSLU4.

Policy: The audism that Deaf participants talk about experiencing in the workplace in the data is often discussed in terms of policies and procedures, which may disempower Deaf people to a large extent, hence policy is also a variable in the conflict reported by BSL users. Inappropriate policies and procedures in mixed Deaf and hearing workplaces lead to a significant level of workplace conflict. This is often expressed in relation to the deliberate suppression of policy information related to Deaf culture, and the use of sign language.

Incongruence: At the centre of the conflict in a mixed Deaf/hearing workplace environment is the fact that a Deaf way of being, and the cultural norms by which Deaf people live, are seen as less important and less valid than norms based on being hearing, and this is a recurring issue throughout the data. There is incongruence between how a Deaf person expects to behave in the workplace, and what is expected of them from their hearing colleagues; incongruence, therefore, is identified as a factor in the conflict setting.

5.3.7.1 Identity

Table 5-19 Results: Identity

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
4	**Transition**	39	Ex: 21	DBSLU4	1

The participants in this study report experiences of identity that indicate its importance in the transition to acceptance of diversity in the workplace. At a deeper level, it is evident that this can have an effect on the person's identity, and on the identity of the group. The following participant, DBSLU4, expresses the experience of feeling a natural gravitation towards other Deaf people, and explains that hearing work colleagues are often annoyed by this. At this point in the Deaf BSL Users' qualitative group discussion, the participants were discussing the way that hearing people appear to feel a level of sensitivity when Deaf BSL users want to gather together to express their shared identity:

> *Oh yes, what's ideal for me? Ideally a Deaf led team where everyone is Deaf. That's it. If you have a team either in school or in xxxx where you have a Deaf and hearing person both doing the same job, the Deaf child/adult is going to gravitate towards the Deaf person. That's perfectly natural! You find that hearing people then feel their noses are being put out of joint. But I have to explain to them not to be offended, as it's perfectly natural...But the hearing staff feel threatened by deaf people and actually it makes them become more oppressive towards Deaf people. It's just so difficult.*

> **Extract 21: DBSLU4**

Interpreting the data reveals that hearing employees may not understand that this natural lean towards people who are similar, in the case of Deaf people, is due to the shared identity of Deaf BSL users. Identity is fluid and switches according to the specific interaction and conversational partners. Deaf BSL users have often struggled with maintaining a Deaf identity and this influences how they feel in any interaction (Corker, 1996; Breivik, 2005). Deaf identities are being continually reconstructed as Deaf people move between the family, work, home, sport and personal leisure environments. At work, Deaf BSL users may feel that hearing BSL users, despite being fluent in sign language, interrelate on such a different level that they struggle to recognise the different identities in the dialogue, and the workplace interaction may be difficult to negotiate. In Welch's (2016) study of the methodological implications of being a deaf researcher, the intensity of the researcher's connection to deaf participants in her study is a good example of how this transition towards understanding identities can improve working relations. Deaf BSL users are able to feel that their sense of being Deaf is brought to the fore and is accepted when they interact with other Deaf colleagues, and within Deaf spaces, such as Gallaudet University in the US. Nakamura (2002) notes that identity involves cross-cutting, and moving between ethnicity, gender and other minority identities, issues that must be taken into account in order to transition to effective working relations.

5.3.7.2 Policy

Table 5-20 Results: Policy

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
4	**Transition**	44 30 51 57 41 24	Ex: 1 Ex: 16 Ex: 5 Ex: 9 Ex: 22 Ex: 36	HBSLU 3 DBSLU 7 HBSLU 6 HBSLU 5 DBSLU 7 D/HBSLU 4,1	6

There are many times in the data when participants express experiences related to policies in the workplace. In this following extract, DBSLU7 reports the frustrating experience that parents of deaf children were only allowed to receive information related to the use of spoken and written English and were not provided with information related to the option of sign language for their child, and this was demanded within policies. The participant found this regular occurrence so difficult to deal with that he gave up his job:

> *In the end she called a full staff meeting and handed out a new set of rules for everyone. When I looked down the list rule number 9 or something like that stated, "Do not promote any Deaf related material to parents." But we were allowed to give out xxxxxxx material...because it was an Oral school of course, but we were not allowed to give any cultural literature...I went ballistic! It ended up in brouhaha with HR being involved and, well...in the end I quit.*

Extract 16: DBSLU 7

The following extract also reveals the experience that ineffective institutional policy can lead to Deaf people being treated unequally and as 'less able' by the management. As the following participant notes, one group feeling more empowered leaves the less dominant group in an incapacitated position. This is mentioned during a discussion of how policies may not result in the desired effect of people accepting differences and accommodating their behaviour and language:

> *Again, it's actually problems to do with the individual rather than a 'hearing' problem. What about pausing and looking at your own attitude instead of blaming 'hearing' problems. It's interesting how different hearing people cope within this environment. Some people are indifferent to the change and get on with it whilst others take exception to the rules and start to exert their notion of their right to use their own language. It's interesting, one person said to me, "Well I have the right to use MY language" and I though yeah you do...but unfortunately it's such that the work place does not permit this to happen. Unfortunately that's what following rules is all about. I think that unfortunately when one group becomes dominant in an environment, then there's always another group that feels disempowered and will try to rebalance the equation.*

Extract 9: HBSLU 5

The implications of this are that providing a respectful environment by producing effective communication policies can enhance the "validity of studies conducted in a cross-cultural, cross-language environment" (Young and Temple, 2014: 45). It is also noted that ineffective policy in this regard can lead to an imbalance of power between deaf and hearing people, and this is well documented in other areas of research (Aramburo, 1989; Sacks, 1990; Kannapell, 1993; Jankowski, 1997; Lane, 1999 and Ladd, 2003).

5.3.7.3 Incongruence

Table 5-21 Results: Incongruence

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
4	**Transition**	72 78 25	Ex: 56 Ex: 54 Ex: 55	IST 3 IST 6 D/HBSLU 1,4,5	3

Views and experiences expressed in some of the data reveal that there is some agreement, and good working relationships between Deaf and hearing BSL users experienced by hearing participants. In the following extract, a hearing participant reports very positive experiences of working with Deaf BSL users. This may be a naïve viewpoint and can be the result of ignorance of the conflict situation. It may be the case that some individuals do not fully understand the conflict that can result from unequal working statuses, or perhaps they are so accustomed to it that it has become the norm:

> *IST 6 – My experience has been great because I personally work with deaf and hearing people every single day. I'm learning deaf language from deaf people every day. Two years ago I worked in xxxx and it was the same there. I was learning all the time from the staff and the students. I was learning new words all of the time so both my experiences have been good. I don't feel any oppression at all at work. Most of the time now I work with Deaf people. I very infrequently work with hearing people but I don't feel any oppression from Deaf people; we have very good connections and we get on well…I do feel if people want to become interpreters then it's up to them to become really involved, to learn the*

language properly, to learn deaf culture because if they're just signing without any understanding of culture then it's not very good. You need to do a lot of voluntary work or have lots of deaf friends on a social level to be able to really pick up the language, so I think deaf and hearing people mix very well…

Extract 54: IST 6

The participants in this study generally feel that Deaf and hearing work colleagues' attitudes and behaviours, and ways of working in general, are incongruent. This is expressed clearly in relation to the wider society by Gournaris and Aubrecht:

"Deaf and hearing people frequently do not see eye to eye. Their communication problems go well beyond that of using different languages. Influenced by their own cultural upbringing and worldview, persons from each group may unintentionally act in ways that reinforce the prejudices and stereotypes of the other. If such behaviours go unexplored, resulting consequences may range from staff burn out to ineffective treatment strategies".

(Gournaris and Aubrecht, 2013: 70)

This workplace incongruence is exacerbated by the present social situation for Deaf BSL users, which is one where many Deaf clubs and specialist schools for Deaf children have closed down due to an increase in the practise of sending deaf children into local, mainstream schools. Despite the impact of Deafhood (Ladd, 2003) and the attempts by Deaf communities worldwide to reclaim their culture and save their potentially endangered languages, and despite claims for understanding of Deaf epistemologies (de Clerck, 2010) and Deaf pedagogies (Ladd, 2014), the medical model of Deafhood persists. Audist working practices and a continuing level of phonocentrism in the workplace, mean that Deaf people have still not achieved equal citizenship (Emery, 2008; 2011; Conama, 2005), which has long been the aim of many organisations for Deaf people and Deaf communities worldwide. Recognising the conflict that is caused by incongruence among working groups helps by providing knowledge and a mechanism for organisations to self-reflect and consider ways to move towards more effective

working practises. The benefits of exposing the issues and working towards resolution is noted in other studies, such as Smith and Reid's (2000) intercultural study that makes use of the principles of acceptance of Kaupapa Māori research (2000). The label as a cultural minority and the move away from association as a disabled group can also aid such a transition, along with calls for appropriate national policy in terms of language planning and sponsored research (Batterbury, Ladd & Gulliver 2007; Young and Temple, 2014).

5.3.8 Causes of Transition

5.3.8.1 Values

The values that underpin workplace behaviours are seen as causing problems in achieving the transition to better working relationships in this study. The impact of conflicting values in conflict settings is made clear in Mayer's discussion of the causes of conflict, and it is noted that conflicting values need to be clearly understood in order for conflict to be dealt with effectively:

> "When individuals address values directly and express their beliefs affirmatively that is, in terms of what they believe in rather than what they are, again they can address conflict more constructively."

> (Mayer 2000:12)

The goals of the wider society and the Deaf community can be said to be incongruent, as society's general aim is for all deaf people to be cured but the Deaf community take a more sociocultural view (as discussed in section 2.6.1 of the literature review above). This dissonance was revealed in the data. Transition among BSL users results in conflict in the workplace, as three examples from the data indicate. In the following extract, a participant, in their individual self-testimony, discusses the conflict that can result from this lack of congruence across the two groups:

IST 3 – Other problems we have is that hearing staff will speak constantly and not sign. We do have a policy at work that everybody must always sign but a few staff will continue to ignore that policy and constantly speak in work. Deaf staff are fed up repeatedly reminding them of the policy and constantly asking them to sign. Eventually deaf people came up with a way of solving the problem themselves. They all went to learn sign Language between themselves. Then the hearing staff started making complaints saying it was unfair that the deaf staff were using xxxx and that maybe they were talking about them and that they wanted to know what they were saying. But it made the hearing staff know how it felt for the deaf staff when they would speak and not sign but it actually created more problems and it became like a war. Eventually the boss decided to have a staff meeting but I think it was a bad decision when he decided to separate the hearing people and the deaf people. If you talk about a problem in a group, then it should be all of the people together. It is not fair, like it would not be fair to ask for there to be a male group or a female group or a black group or a white group; that isn't allowed so I asked what the difference was in this case. But the boss thought this would sort out the problems.

Extract 56: IST 3

Part of the transition to better working relation in a mixed Deaf/hearing environment, then, involves acceptance and allowance of diverse cultural values and norms. Rosengreen, Saladin and Hansmann (2009) discuss the implications of mainstream organisations that do not take into account the cultural value differences amongst employees:

Findings related to organizational culture suggest employers play an integral role in establishing an organizational culture based on their own expectations and values related to hearing culture. Hearing culture is the basis for the vast majority of workplaces, although it presents a complex and demanding environment for people who are Deaf and communicate using sign language.

(Rosengreen, Saladin and Hansmann, 2009: 139)

5.3.8.2 Structure

Structural issues in the workplace are also identified as affecting a BSL user's ability to transition towards equality. The transition to a more accommodating workforce involves effective use of the environmental workspaces, and effective workplace hierarchies, as Mayer notes:

> "Sometimes these structural realities can be changed through a conflict resolution process. Often, however, part of what that process must accomplish is an acceptance of the structural elements that are unlikely to be altered."

> (Mayer 2000: 13)

Lichtig, Woll, Cárnio, Akiyama and Gomes (2004) raise similar concerns - that conflicts may occur due to lack of "mutual knowledge" of structural and environmental needs within working practices (p. 929). Analysis of the data reveals that cultural awareness is an important factor in a mixed Deaf/hearing workplace environment. It is the high level of acculturation that is required for a BSL user to exhibit a high level of cultural awareness, and this acculturation results in positive attitudes in the workplace. The following extract suggests that effective institutional policy and structure may lead to Deaf people being treated more equally by the management:

> *Also if a client goes out to lunch, it's always a hearing member of staff who escorts them, never a Deaf person. It's always the same clique of hearing staff and they leave the Deaf members of staff out of things…About one or two months ago we had a staff meeting. The manager decided to split the groups into one hearing group and one Deaf group. But I didn't agree with it. It seemed to be encouraging separation. But they said the reason was that Deaf staff had a problem with a few members of the hearing staff. I appreciated what they meant but if there is a problem between two people the manager should be bringing them together to resolve their problems, not splitting them up into two opposing groups.*
>
> **Extract 5: HBSLU6**

Similar issues are highlighted in Atkinson, Morten and Sue's (1998) 'acculturation paradigm':

Stages of Minority Development Model	Attitude toward Self	Attitude toward Others of the Same Minority	Attitude toward Others of a Different Minority	Attitude toward Dominant Group
Stage 1: Conformity	Self-depreciating or neutral due to low race salience	Group-depreciating or neutral due to low race salience	Discriminatory or neutral	Group-appreciating
Stage 2: Dissonance and appreciating	Conflict between self-depreciating and group-appreciating	Conflict between group depreciating views of minority hierarchy and feelings of shared experience	Conflict between dominant-held and group depreciating	Conflict between group-appreciating
Stage 3: Resistance and immersion	Self-appreciating	Group-appreciating experiences and feelings of culturocentrism	Conflict between feelings of empathy for other minority	Group-depreciating
Stage 4: Introspection	Concern with basis of self-appreciation	Concern with nature of unequivocal appreciation	Concern with ethnocentric basis for judging others	Concern with the basis of group-deprecation
Stage5: Integrative awareness	Self-appreciating	Group-appreciating	Group-appreciating	Selective appreciation

Source: From *Counseling American Minorities: A Cross Cultural Perspective,* 5th ed, by D.R. Atkinson, G. Morten, & D.W. Sue, 1998, Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown Publishers.

Figure 5-5 The Racial/Cultural Identity Development Model
(Atkinson, Morten and Sue, 1998)

Studies such as Leigh's recognise recent developments in our understanding of identity transformation. Models attempting to measure acculturation point to various levels of relationship competence, and what Leigh refers to as 'psychological identification': the shifting of identity according to the sociocultural context. Identity has a bearing on the level of self-esteem a person develops and, in the case of Deaf BSL users, this must be developed to a high level to deal with the oppression that conflict in the workplace brings about. Glickman (1996a) refers to the "internal dimension of identity that

facilitates progression towards self-actualization and positive sense of self", qualities that affect a Deaf BSL user's ability to challenge paternalism that is brought about by a lack of cultural awareness. The data indicate, then, that changes in attitudes towards Deaf sign language users may influence acculturation patterns in the workplace; hearing BSL users are more likely to reach a proficient level of acculturation when sign language is regarded as positive and essential for Deaf people in society. Maxwell-McCaw's (2001) account of the Deaf Acculturation Scale (DAS) establishes five elements: cultural identification, cultural involvement, cultural preferences, language competence and cultural knowledge, all of which are assessed in relation to 'psychological well-being', and clearly essential for effective working relationships among Deaf and hearing BSL users.

The majority of acculturation studies come mainly from an oral perspective and consider intercultural relationships between users of two or more spoken languages; acculturation for hearing people as they are learning a sign language is a very different experience, as it demands that they become accustomed to the visual way of life that is described in detail in section 1.2.1. The background of the hearing BSL user, including their level of exposure to BSL and pre-existing knowledge and understanding of Deaf culture, will affect the level of acculturation that can be achieved. Borum (2012) reports a limited amount of research in the area of acculturation into ethnic minority groups, and further research may shed more light on the acculturation process for sign language learners. The reverse is also true for Deaf BSL users, who may benefit from further understanding of hearing culture and why conflict occurs. Changing attitudes through acculturation may lead to what Maxwell-McCaw, Leigh and Marcus (2012) refer to as 'positive social identities in Deaf culture'.

5.3.8.3 History

Studying transitional experiences expressed by the participants in this study indicates that history is a cause of problems in this area. The chronological aspects of Deaf and hearing colleagues' workplace experiences show that little has changed, despite Deaf BSL users being increasingly employed over the years. As an element of the conflict

wheel, history is an important aspect that requires consideration in order for any transition to acceptance to take place:

> "Too often we try to understand a conflict in isolation from its historical roots and as a result are baffled by the stubbornness of the players. Conversely, history is not a determinant of conflict, although sometimes it can seem that way…such conflicts cannot be solved without an understanding of the complicated systems of interaction that have developed over time and the degree to which the conflict itself has become part of the disputants' identity."

> (Mayer 2000: 13)

The following participant expresses frustration with constantly having to fight against a history of oppression and suggests that policy and procedure related to Deaf people at work should be led by Deaf BSL users. The discussion is centred around the constant campaigning for language rights that Deaf BSL users have had to partake in for many years in order to gain equality not only in the workplace, but in society in general:

> **D/HBSLU4** – *I think it's incredibly difficult for Deaf people who, from the very earliest age at school, have had to fight and fight for their rights. Then campaign and campaign. Then going into the workplace, they have to go through it all over again. This is wrong to be like this in 2012.*

> **D/HBSLU1** – *Anything that is about delivering a service to Deaf people should be Deaf-led. Where I work all our managers and senior managers are Deaf.*

> **Extract 36: D/HBSLU 4 & 1**

The following extract highlights another example of the conflict situation that is caused by historical attitudes towards the use of language in the workplace, and the policies that are put in place to ensure that all colleagues have satisfactory communication at work. Workplace conflict, in this example, is perceived as an individual responsibility, and a negative attitude is also considered as an individual, personal problem:

HBSLU 6 – At lunchtime and break time do the Deaf and hearing get together and chat or do they keep themselves apart?

HBSLU 3 – The real problem is not about whether someone is Deaf or hearing. It's actually about some people like this person and not another and vice versa. It's the Individuals! Yeah, that's the issue...it's individual problems.

HBSLU 5 – I've spent many years mixing within a Deaf/hearing environment. When I've seen a problems occur, they've been labelled as a 'cultural problem'. People dismiss it as a "Deaf/hearing thing", which just isn't the case. Often the issue is down to one solitary person and their own attitude.

HBSLU 3 – It's more a hearing v Deaf excuse for what is happening.

HBSLU 5 – I remember one time in work there was a woman who had written a book, she was hard of hearing, her signing was not that good. When she was talking to Deaf people she would ask them to wait until an interpreter arrived saying that she would speak rather than sign. Her attitude was one of defiant indifference; that she had a right to a language but she missed the point that we had rules and policies in the workplace.

Extract 60: HBSLU 3, 5, 6

Increased understanding of the experiences of deaf people paved the way for researchers in the newly emerging academic field of Deaf Studies at the time to propose a sociocultural model of deafness. Baynton's (1996) research found that Deaf communities are better understood as a cultural group but informs us clearly that "deafness as a cultural phenomenon was an area still unfamiliar to most scholars" (p. 2). Monaghan (2003) builds on this theory further, stating that Deaf communities should be understood as sharing a language and a culture, and recommending the same shift to a socio-cultural perspective as Baynton. This association is even closer now that social media and reality television has brought powerful images, and advanced technologies have brought films that force the viewer to consider reality against the imagined, such as The Matrix. Baudrillard (cited in Genosko & Bryx, 2004) claims that our current society has replaced all reality and meaning with symbols and signs, and that human experience is of a simulation of reality. The simulacra are the symbolisms of culture and media that lead to this perceived reality. In relation to relationships among Deaf and hearing BSL

users, the simulacra are revealed in Ladd's (2003) description of Deafhood, presented across the seven chapters of his text that draw on concepts of shared experience of deafness, of the cultural and linguistic aspects of deafness, of colonialism of indigenous cultures, of Deaf epistemologies, and of the relation between the subaltern and the academic.

5.3.9 Theme 5 - Resolution

(Columbiancentre, 2012)

(picture for illustrative/visual purposes only)

The data for this study were analysed for Deaf and hearing BSL users' experiences of working together in order to highlight any power imbalance that exists in the workplace and how the conflict related to this may be resolved. The past conflict in Northern Ireland illustrates this central concern: conflict raged unresolved among religious groups for four hundred years until the Good Friday Agreement was put in place, and many deliberations were held before the two sides reached any form of agreement. Hetherington considers why the two sides could not come together and resolve the conflict themselves, why there was a conflict in the first place, and why it needed a third-party mediator (Hetherington, 2008). Although this was a long, violent conflict and inherently different in nature, the issue remains that mediation was required to resolve the conflict. The conflict situation in a university exclusively for deaf people in the USA in the 1980s also illustrates the need for deliberate resolution: the 'Deaf President Now!' campaign at Gallaudet University began when a new university president was appointed who was not culturally Deaf, and Deaf people clearly expressed their contempt with this and demanded a Deaf president be appointed instead (Jankowski, 1997). Here the struggle was against hearing people being in positions of central control and decision making within the Deaf community and the conflict was only resolved when a Deaf president was appointed (Gannon, 2012). Resolution is considered under the notion of acceptance firstly in this section and then in relation to respect. After this, the role that allies play in interrelationships among BSL users and the issue of the signing environment is discussed at the end of the section.

Acceptance: The willingness to interact, and the motivation to communicate on equal terms, illustrates a drive that some BSL users may have when working in a mixed environment. The drive and positive determination to develop an increasing understanding of sign language and Deaf culture, through an undulating learning curve, leads to acceptance of difference in the workplace, hence acceptance is analysed as a sub-theme in relation to the theme of resolution.

Respect: With regards to the sub-theme of respect, data analysis reveals that this is a significant issue when working towards resolution, which is more likely to be achieved if there is a good level of respect for the different languages and cultures at play. BSL users' experiences of working together indicate that respect is an important concept and an important quality in order for successful Deaf/hearing interaction to take place.

Allies: The role of hearing BSL users is valued from the perspective of cooperation and working together as allies, a further sub-theme identified under the theme of resolution. When Deaf and hearing BSL users work effectively in the workplace, hearing BSL users are considered as allies. The participants report positive experiences when working within a healthy Deaf/hearing environment. This shows that people who have experience of allied interactions become more aware of the conflicts, and of how they can be resolved when people can be more reflexive.

Signing environment: A signing environment is a space where sign language is used consistently, and where attention is paid to the cultural needs of Deaf sign language users. Where a sole sign language user is working in a mainstream organisation, the signing environment is least achieved, and the maximum 'Deaf-friendly' environment is found in a Deaf-led institution, where the space, and the use of the space, is sometimes functionally adapted to as close a Deaf space as possible. This includes a maximally visually arrangement, where spatial awareness and spatial orientation are maximised, and decoration is suited to a visual way of communicating. In reality, of course, this may not be a practicable solution but any move towards this would improve working relations. This potentially leads to increased access to information for Deaf BSL users, who may otherwise struggle to understand during interaction.

5.3.9.1 Acceptance

Table 5-22 Results: Acceptance

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
5	**Resolution**	47 56 42 46 19	Ex:59: Ex: 60 Ex: 61 Ex: 76 Ex: 79	HBSLU 3, 6 HBSLU 3, 5, 6 DBSLU 4, 1 HBSLU 6 D/HBSLU 4, 1	5

The participants in this study demonstrate their confidence at times, and some of the BSL users express the benefits of using sign language within the working environment and respecting the principles of cultural awareness. There are times when the participants report positive experiences of working together, particularly when there is a high level of acceptance of the differences between the groups and of the natural signing environment. The following extract from the data indicates that BSL users may have the intention to resolve communication issues by learning sign language and by accepting the signing environment. However, the use of the workplace for the purposes of learning sign language is seen as exploitative and can lead to conflict:

> *HBSLU 3 – When I finished my year long course at college I had completed level 1 BSL. I wasn't really that interested in anything but I was looking at the adverts in the newspaper to see what to do and there were lots of courses. That's where I saw BSL so I thought I would try it. The teacher said that every year the hospital was always looking for bank staff especially those who can sign. So I applied for the hospital job but when I started work my confidence was really low. I wanted to learn sign language and tried my best to pick up the signs every day, slowly building up my vocabulary. So I think it's better to learn within the job really.*

> *HBSL 6 – A person needs to work in a Deaf club or where they can go every day.*
> **Extract 59: HBSLU 3, 6**

While HBSLU3 is accepting of the individual right to information, resolution may be hindered if a BSL user is motivated towards their own goals only, and not towards the benefit of both Deaf and hearing BSL users as an interactive group. Analysis related to

the sub-theme of acceptance also reveals the importance of acceptance of the signing environment, which can lead to increased levels of socialisation in the workplace for Deaf BSL users, as socialisation is an important part of the working day. The following extract indicates that acceptance of the richness of sign language, and the need to mix within the community to become fluent, leads to a good resolution in a culturally mixed workplace:

> **HBSLU 6** – *For me I feel that learning sign language is like learning to drive. At university, you learn the mechanics, how to do it but it's really not until break time and lunchtime that you actually start to see the real language in use, and that's where you learn. It's very much like driving a car, that being in university they can teach you about it but it's not until you get out there and do it yourself within the community that you really become fluent. Altogether I work with about 10 – 12 Deaf people whom I'm talking to everyday and I love it.*
>
> **Extract 76: HBSLU 6**

While discussion so far in this chapter have been veered towards the need for hearing BSL users to sign at all times, there are occasions when, within the workplace, a Deaf BSL user may feel it is more appropriate for the spoken language to be used. For example, a participant in the mixed group (H/DBSLU 1: Extract 79) states that, "All the hearing people working with me can sign but sometimes I just find it easier speaking to them". If they are competent and accepting of this, then the bilingual/bicultural environment can be effective. It is crucial, in this situation, that all staff members are accepting of the discourse choices and there is no judgement made on the level of spoken language proficiency with which the Deaf BSL user communicates. Regardless of language choice, resolution of effective working relations involves acceptance of Deaf culture, of Deaf ways of being, and of the benefits that Deaf employees can bring to the workplace. Moving towards resolution by acceptance of Deaf employees has theoretical as well as practical implications. This notion has recently been captured as part of the "Deaf Gain" ideology – the phenomenon that, in education, in employment, and in the wider society, as Morton (2014) notes: "the current theory of Deaf Gain discusses how being deaf can be reframed as a gain rather than a loss" (p. 318). This is discussed in detail in section 7.3.3 below.

5.3.9.2 Respect

Table 5-23 Results: Respect

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
5	**Resolution**	31 36 43 1	Ex: 49 Ex: 51 Ex: 52 Ex: 53	DBSLU 2 DBSLU 1 DBSLU 4, 1 D/HBSLU 4	4

The issue of respect is raised several times by the participants in this study, and is reported as an important aspect of resolution of Deaf/hearing conflict at work. In the following example, the participant expresses her experience at work when there is constant conflict between herself and the teacher where she works. The participant shows awareness of the importance of BSL for Deaf people and how it should be prioritised, respected and made available. The data, in this extract, also shows that teachers of deaf children may develop views that appear to disrespect sign language, though this may come from the training received or the educational philosophy that the teacher is bound by:

> *DBSLU 2 - I know that when a TOD has an initial meeting with a new family after diagnosis of deafness, however old the baby/child is, they have a list of subjects to inform the parents of. The list is provided by xxxx and is a proforma list. But when you look at how the list is structured the check list covers all the oralist organisations first and then towards the end mentions the subject of SSE and then at the very bottom, the last subject to mention is BSL. I've said to the teacher that putting it right at the end seems wrong and how it can be very confusing for parents. I told them that it should be at the top of the list and I don't really see what's so confusing for them. She has Makaton in the list!...It's the child's right to learn their own language, completely.*

Extract 49: DBSLU 2

Interpretation of the participants' reports of their experiences reveals that respect for sign language use is seen as an important factor in changing workplace perspectives of Deaf people and in eliminating the traditional medical view of sign language users (see

section 1.3.1). Improved perspectives and improved levels of communication between Deaf and hearing people is the key to achieving a higher level of status and equality for sign language users in the workplace. The data reveal that a high level of respect leads to resolution of conflict, as a good level of understanding of language and culture is a tool to socialisation for sign language users in a hearing world, not only in the workplace, but in all sectors of society: in the public domain, in education, and in the media. Respect for difference and diversity in the workplace is paramount. Munoz-Baell and Ruiz (2000) propose a model of empowerment in which respect is a central component, and this proficient level of respect may prevent the negative social perspectives of sign language users from being repeated.

5.3.9.3 Allies

Table 5-24 Results: Allies

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
5	Resolution	66	Ex: 74	IST 1	1

The role of hearing BSL users as allies to members of the Deaf community, and in relation to the workplace particularly, is discussed in one of the self-testimonies. In the following extract, IST1 expresses positive experiences of working in a mixed Deaf/hearing environment, but states that this must be based on a good level of understanding and of the ability to work together well.

> *IST 1 – When we came together as the hearing and deaf group, it's not that I felt people changed but more that the information we talked about was different. People talked about their experiences; one Deaf person had said they had had positive experiences of working with hearing people. Some of the hearing people had noted that other hearing people they work with could behave a lot better. So in conclusion my overall experience of working with Deaf and hearing people is that they work well together and I haven't had any problems. But it has to be built on a firm foundation of understanding each other.*

Extract 74: IST 1

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Interpretation of this participant's comment reveals that hearing BSL users need to be seen as allies in order for effective working relations to be achieved. The primary piece of research in this area is Young, Ackerman and Kyle's study (1998), which examined several statutory organisations. The aim of the study was to consider models of good practice in a specialised psychiatric unit, and the findings raised issues and concerns in relation to the research aim. They conclude that where good practice is not being achieved in mixed Deaf/hearing environments, strategies can be put into place to move the organisation towards a good working practice model. This includes the hearing BSL users acting as 'allies' to the Deaf members of staff. Ladd (2003) recognises the importance of hearing allies in the Deaf resurgence. He cites Bienvenu and Columnos (1989), listing four groups who make up the 'Third Culture' of Deaf Resurgence allies:

1) increased numbers of professional[s]… who have moved to the fringes of the Deaf community… [including] linguists, teachers, interpreters;

2) hearing parents of Deaf children who… embrace the values of the Deaf community;

3) the large numbers of hearing people who have taken sign language classes;

4) hearing children of Deaf parents – CODAs, HMFDs

According to Ladd, these four groups "help widen the potential size of Deaf/signing communities and are strongly led by Deaf culture" (pp. 156-157). The cliché of 'working with deaf people, not for deaf people' is a typical example of the attempts to change attitudes towards this allied and cooperative working ethos. Workshops such as the annual Bridging the Gap symposiums held in 2014 (twice), 2015, 2016 and 2017 at the University of Central Lancashire, York University, Manchester University, Brighton University and Heriot Watt University, respectively, which bring Deaf and hearing people together to discuss issues related to Deaf and hearing relationships, are examples of recent attempts to bring scholars, professionals and community members together to openly discuss issues of intercultural conflict and the potential for future resolution. At the second symposium, for example, Walker proposed that insider research and the community practice model aid the development of allied working. This

ethos, according to Wenger (2003: 60) is more down to earth and is referred to as "communities of workers". While allies are an important factor in a successful Deaf and hearing mixed workforce, there remains the issue that most power and control lies with hearing people. It is only when hearing BSL users enable Deaf people to take equal control and have the full capacity to function according to the norms and behaviours of Deaf culture that resolution is achieved.

5.3.9.4 Signing Environment

Table 5-25 Results: Signing Environment

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
5	**Resolution**	48 49 52 7 54	Ex: 2 Ex: 3 Ex: 6 Ex: 7 Ex: 8	HBSLU 5 HBSLU 6 & 5 HBSLU 6 HBSLU 3, 5 & 6 HBSLU 5	5

It is relevant to end this section of the findings with details of where moves towards resolution are revealed in the data in relation to the signing environment, as this issue is raised several times by the participants. The following extract is taken from a discussion of positive effects that arise when a good signing environment is achieved. HBSLU5 reports experiences of a positive signing environment in the workplace, with no animosity or conflict related to language or culture:

> *Absolutely. I was fortunate because I worked within a Deaf team in the xxxx for over 3 years. It had a Deaf manager, Deaf staff at all levels, actually there was only me and…well there were 15 staff in all only 4 of us were hearing and two of those were interpreters. We were a completely signing team and everything was set-up visually so it worked from a Deaf perspective. The seating was such so that everyone could see each other. We would cook together, eat together and talk together. On every level it was a Deaf team but there wasn't a feeling of exasperation that I had to sign. It was just the natural form of communication within the team.*

Extract 2: HBSLU 5

The BSL users above may be aware of the need to sustain sign language use in the signing environment and that this can lead to effective interaction. The final extract from the data in relation to this sub-theme reinforces the importance of a consistent signing environment at work. In the extract below, HBSLU6 shows a high level of awareness of the need for an appropriate signing space during a discussion of the use of two languages in the workplace:

> *When I'm having a chat with the manager and we're the only two people there then we're speaking but as soon as a Deaf person enters the room we immediately begin signing. If we are talking about something private then we stop talking about it, start signing and involve the Deaf person in our conversation. We would never deliberately leave them out and continue speaking. Never.*
>
> **Extract 6: HBSLU 6**

From a hermeneutic approach, the experiences of positive signing environments are related to the workers' willingness to sign, as opposed to feeling obliged to use sign language, or using it merely because policy dictated them to. This willingness, then, is an important aspect of a positive signing environment, one that can help an organisation move towards resolution of conflict. Foster and MacLeod (2003) report that Deaf employees struggle with social aspects of the working environment, stressing the importance of this issue. An effective signing environment can lead to resolution of conflicts among BSL users, as the adapted building influences the way of thinking towards a visual orientation and improves socialisation for Deaf people at work. Positive acceptance of a signing environment in a mixed Deaf and hearing workplace leads to positive experiences of working together for Deaf and hearing BSL users, and the signing environment is therefore considered as a sub-theme in the conflict situation.

5.3.10 Causes of Resolution

5.3.10.1 Communication

The central source of resolution evolves from the 'root of conflict' - communication – according to Mayer (2000). Effective communication results in less conflict, and relieves

the underlying cause of much frustration among Deaf BSL users: lack of circulated information and unequal opportunity for decision making and opportunity to be involved. Communication can, when effective, help to avoid the conflicts that escalate from unequal sharing of resources and from tensions between management and employees. The relationship between communication and resolution is seen clearly in the influences that positive interaction brings to the workplace, including improved morale, value sharing, and adaptability and flexibility at work. Mayer explores the resolution-based nature of communication in the following quotation:

> "Sometimes communication takes more energy and focus than someone is able or willing to give at a critical point, and it is easy to become discouraged or hopeless about communicating effectively in serious conflicts. Despite all these problems, people can and do muddle through when they communicate, and they can work on improving communication, even in very intense conflicts. Communication is one of the greatest sources of both difficulty and hope in dealing with serious conflicts."

> (Mayer 2000: 10)

The following extract, stated during a discussion of language choice in the work place, illustrates the participant's experience of resolution that hearing people using sign language brings to the communicative event, as people try to adapt to the environment. A Deaf member of staff may choose to speak in some environments but they (Deaf people) are less likely to reply in speech if a hearing person uses speech first, as this signals to the hearing person that the conversation can continue in speech – and this is then inaccessible to the Deaf person; a Deaf person may only be comfortable using speech if the hearing person uses sign language in reply. This is largely due to the difficulties and challenges that lipreading creates. Barnett (1999) regards the central difficulty as involving "watching lip shapes and nonverbal clues to determine what is being said. Speech reading is a difficult skill. Only 30%–40% of English is distinguishable on the lips...The remainder of the sounds are ambiguous, requiring guesswork" (p. 20). Despite the difficulty of lipreading, one of the participants states that speech can be used in the workplace at times:

D/HBSLU 4 – I'm the same. In the real world sometimes I sign with people and sometimes I speak to people.

D/HBSLU 1 – I tend to use speech when communicating with hearing people.

D/HBSLU 4 – Yes, I understand that as there are a lot of people who don't know sign language.

D/HBSLU 1 – No. All the hearing people working with me can sign but sometimes I just find it easier speaking to them.

Extract 79: D/HBSLU 4, 1

5.3.10.2 Values

The final factor that causes BSL users to work towards resolution in the workplace is values. When two culturally diverse groups come together, Mayer (2000) notes that learning about each other's pasts, and hence the values that they hold, can make positive steps towards resolution:

> "Even when individuals from different cultural groups have very little shared history, the process of learning about each other's' past and the ways this history has influenced each party's approach to communication and conflict resolution can be an important tool for building increased understanding among them."

(Mayer 2000: 86)

In the discussions, it is seen that some BSL users are working together with a good level of understanding of values and the need to compromise by accepting each other. The following extract is taken from a discussion of whether Deaf people prefer to work under Deaf managers or hearing managers who have a good attitude:

D/HBSLU 1 – Deaf organisations should be the ones working with Deaf people. Any service delivered to Deaf people or Deaf children should be Deaf-led. Then it's up to the individual if they want to go to a hearing organisation or not. That would be fine.

D/HBSLU 4 – What about Deaf and hearing managers working together?

D/HBSLU 5 – 2 Heads are better than one.

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D/HBSLU 1 – No they would clash all the time.

D/HBSLU 5 – That's to do with attitudes. If they see eye to eye and get on with each other then they can work well.

D/HBSLU 1 But what if they don't get on with each other. What if the Deaf person does not want to work with the hearing person and vice versa?

D/HBSLU 5 – that's a problem linked to their attitudes and has nothing to do with whether they or Deaf or hearing.

D/HBSLU 1– Also I think it depends on the person. How they approach things. Whether they're very aggressive and loud, demanding their rights.

Extract 55: D/HBSLU 1, 4, 5

In discussing the interaction of Deaf and hearing BSL users in the workplace under the relationship between values and resolution, it is apparent, however, that there are issues on which BSL users may disagree, and hearing BSL users' perspectives are different to those of Deaf BSL users. This can be severe and lead to Deaf BSL users supressing their views and being unable to function equally in the workplace, as the dominant group's view takes the main position. Deaf and hearing people, then, are not only working on an unequal footing but are also coming from an incongruent perspective. This lack of conflict resolution can lead to a damaging environment, where Deaf BSL users do not feel able to express their natural state and a great deal of negotiation and understanding is required to overcome this situation.

Regardless of the continuation of the medical model in most sections of society, it does however remain that there has been a call from within the field of Deaf Studies for a shift in perspective. There is a slow-moving shift from the medical to the social model of deafness, but attempts are made to view Deaf people in light of a shift from the social model to the sociocultural model. Mitchell (2005) proposes a model of conflict resolution based on attitude and learning, stating that resolution is:

"…based upon one universal factor that can lead to change, even in the most intractable of protracted conflicts – the fact that human beings learn and, through learning, change. The learning can take much time and often depends upon people being placed in circumstances that encourage and promote learning – of which being in protracted conflict is undoubtedly one of the least conducive".

(Mitchell, 2005: 22)

Moving from a general social theory to the concept of a Deaf social theory allows us to see the Deaf world as often dealing with conflict and tension for access to equal resources, academic and employment progression opportunities, and involvement in the maintenance of social order. Conflict theory, then, deals with social institutions that are created and develop by the human need for interaction in societies as people deal with relations, governments, employment, education, customs, values and practices. The migration of people to other countries during recent decades has resulted in writers increasingly attempting to explain conflict situations and the difficulty in finding resolutions.

5.3.10.3 Structure

Effective structures at work are also identified as causing a positive level of resolution in the data. Resolution may come from external organisational structures or from internal, individual places within hierarchies. Resolution is achieved in emerging, dynamic physical environments, where available resources are shared equally, and policies and procedures are circulated and maintained effectively. Mayer notes that adapting to a different structure can be daunting, stating that, "People accustomed to one structure may feel alienated or exploited when they are forced to use a very different one…" (p. 83). Whilst discussing a signing environment, some of the participants describe their experiences of feeling the need for workplace structures that accommodate both languages and cultures, and the following extract indicates that the participant feels that effective structures put in place can lead to resolution of conflicts among BSL users:

HBSLU 5 – In fact the only time I ever spoke in the office was when I was supervising the other interpreter, but we would close the door when that happened. But almost all of the time was spent using sign language. There was a rule that if your door was open then you had to sign. Regardless of whether you were Deaf or hearing. My boss grew up hearing. Basically, she went Deaf at the age of 15. When she started work which was about 10 years before I started working there when she arrived she believed that learning and using xxxx was the right way to act. So she went on a xxxx course and over time she went from giving lectures using speech to gradually moving to using xxxx with an interpreter. Some Deaf people teased her by saying that actually she wasn't really Deaf. She would respond stridently that she was Deaf and felt just the same as they did. But of course, it wasn't about having perfect sign language but about her passion and love for the language and Deaf culture, and empowering Deaf people to advance. The attitude was such…you know it's interesting your experiences seem to be one of actively encouraging splitting Deaf and hearing people.

Extract 8: HBSLU 5

Positive structures within the Deaf community are considered by Bienvenu (1987), who classes hearing people who have Deaf parents (introduced in section 2.4.4 as CODAs) as exhibiting a 'third culture', or third type of behaviour. Bienvenu (1987) and Napier (2002a) describe this situation, stating that CODAs have been so immersed into the Deaf community and Deaf culture that it is sometimes hard to differentiate them from Deaf people. Such people typically grow up with a sign language as their first language and, usually during late teenage years or early adulthood, may struggle with their identity as a hearing person who grew up a sign language user. Exhibiting traits of both hearingness and Deaf culture, Bienvenu's description of this identity as a third culture would explain why Deaf people often place a high value on CODAs and have positive attitudes towards them. The struggles that CODAs often have with their identity, however, leaves the question of whether they are in fact exhibiting multicultural aspects of identity open and in need of further research. Many CODAs involuntarily take on the role of an interpreter as they are growing up, to facilitate communication between their parents and hearing people, and choose to train as professional interpreters in their adult lives (Napier, 2002b; Dickinson, 2010; Napier & Leeson, 2016). The issue of attitudes towards interpreters, therefore, is of interest to this study. The relationships between the Deaf

and hearing people involved in interpreted interaction is illustrated in the following relationship triangle (Figure 5-6). The diagram illustrates the dynamics of the relationships among the Deaf person, the hearing person and the interpreter during interpreted discourse, showing that the behaviour of each person has an effect on the interaction and that an interpreter may become controlling in this environment:

Abbreviations: H: Hearing   D: Deaf   I: Interpreter
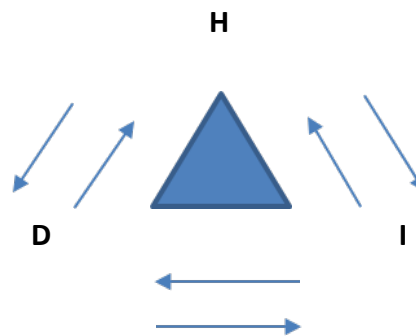
Figure 5-6 The Relationship Triangle

5.3.10.4 History

With regards to the theme of resolution, history is also identified as being a cause of this experience. As previous discussions have shown in this study, the dynamics of the historical backdrop cannot be underestimated. Effective working practises can be passed down to younger generations and can form positive role models, as Mayer reveals:

> "All cultures carry with them historical experiences about what works in conflict and what does not and what the likely outcomes to conflict might be…History also sometimes provide the bridge by which different cultures can begin to understand each other better."

> (Mayer 2000: 84-85)

Historically, lack of exposure to sign language as a first language has risen from the debate in education as to which language to use on the classroom to educate deaf children, known as the oralism vs. manualism debate (Winefield, 1987), as chapter two (section 2.4.4) reveals. Mayer (ibid.) notes that history, in relation to conflict, includes "the systems in which the conflict is occurring", and notes that "the issues themselves have a powerful influence on the course of the conflict". The results of mainstreaming policies across the country have seen the continuation of the suppression of sign language that has persisted for many years. The following participant demonstrates a good level of awareness of historical pressures, and understanding of the importance of sign language exposure for deaf children. The participant experiences conflict when working with people who perpetuate this historical situation, and explains her experience of how the system frustrates her in the workplace:

> **DBSLU 1**– *xxxxxx used to have a family support project but the funding dried up. We used to help about 100 families with children as young as nursery age but the funding just dried up. It's more important than ever that we campaign and lobby to get that funding back again. We need to get the connections back with families and sign language. I remember some time ago I was at a meeting in school about a girl who had an implant and was aged 10. At the age of 5 she had the Cochlear Implant (CI). The CI team had told the father do not sign with her…no signing must be allowed. When I met up with them again when the girl was 10 I saw the father and he said to me, "I wish I had never listed to the CI team". The CI hadn't worked for her and he wanted her to sign instead of using the implant.*
>
> **Extract 51: DBSLU 1**

Experiences such as this indicate that campaigning and lobbying for language rights, and acceptance of Deaf people as sign language users in society, can lead to resolution on an individual level. Deaf people are able to look at examples from previous times and move forward. Historically, as a community, sign language users have persisted in fighting for the right to use their instinctive language, despite often being denied it during childhood. After many years of suppression of sign languages, the last few decades have begun to see some resolution in this respect in the form of the Deaf collective becoming stronger. This is seen in recent transformative literature, such as Ladd's (2003) description of the 'Deaf resurgence' and O'Brien, Stead and Nourse's

(2017) exploration of 'lost Deaf spaces'. The latter scholarly work explores the historical and geographical nature of Deaf schools and Deaf clubs, reporting that the traditional Deaf spaces, i.e. Deaf clubs and Deaf schools, have been closed down (as section 1.2.1 notes). Despite this, sign language users have developed 'temporary spaces' (ibid.), and are meeting in ad hoc, spontaneous spaces, whilst in search of replacement spaces. Historically, we have seen Deaf communities fighting to reconnect in order to maintain the collective, and preserve their language and culture. Van Cleve (2016), in a study of American Deaf history, notes that documentation of this Deaf history, and the challenges and threats that Deaf communities have faced, is crucial, and that, "Today, more than ever, we need a historical approach that demonstrates the importance of Deaf Americans' past to a sophisticated, humanistic understanding of this country's history and future" (p. 12). This, in many ways, leads to resolution of Deaf and hearing relationships in the wider society, and, in turn, in the workplace.

5.3.11 Theme 6 – Empathy

Empathy is the main function by which a person responds to the situation and feelings of others. As Goleman (1996: xii) notes, "the root of altruism lies in empathy, the ability to read emotions in others; lacking a sense of another's need or despair, there is no caring". Through empathy, the emotions of others, both affective and cognitive, are considered. This includes the ability to sense other people's emotion, or ability to image what someone else might be feeling or thinking. The amount and type of empathy that a person feels can reflect in their attitude and behaviour towards that person and, conversely, a lack awareness and empathy can cause friction between workers or social relationships. Empathy is discussed in this section in relation to its two assigned sub-themes, Equality and Recognition.

Equality: Understanding and achieving equality in the workplace is an important aspect of empathy, and equality is analysed as a sub-theme under this theme. In relation to Deaf BSL users' lived experiences, equality is the fairness and parity that comes from an understanding that Deaf people are equally as capable as hearing people to function in everyday life, both in terms of physical achievement and mental disposition.

Recognition: When an employee is recognised, they feel appreciated and valued, and this drives employees to continue to contribute effectively. On analysing the data for this study, recognition is expressed as an important aspect of the mixed Deaf/hearing working environment, and recognition is classed as a sub-theme under the theme of empathy. The ability of the observer to recognise achievement and dedication goes hand in hand with the ability to empathise.

5.3.11.1 Equality

Table 5-26 Results: Equality

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
6	**Empathy**	14 75	Ex: 57 Ex: 58	D/HBSLU 2 IST 4	2

The ability to empathise with the cultural situation comes from the experience of being a BSL user and sharing, or at least understanding, the experiences of oppression and disempowerment that ensues. The next extract clearly demonstrates the empathy that a BSL user can show, and the high level of awareness and understanding of equality that can be achieved. D/HBSLU2 reports on experiences of empathy with a Deaf client in the workplace, and their experiences of discrimination:

> ***D/HBSLU 2*** *– I feel it's very important that they have that Deaf connection. My stresses are not with my work colleagues it's with the people I work for who aren't allowed full access, are not being treated equally. I feel for them. The administration part of my job is relatively easy and straightforward, but when I come face-to-face with the clients who aren't being treated fairly that's when my stress levels rise. I have with work I keep separate from the joy I have with the people I work with. I know what they're feeling as Deaf people. I know the discrimination they suffer. I understand the Deaf issues they have. I know how it feels. The TODS have no understanding of it at all. That where my stresses lie. Being in work is fine I can focus and get on with my work. I wish that all I had to do was go into the office and work there as I wouldn't have any problems. But when I go back to the Deaf people I work with I instantly have that connection with them and feel their frustrations. It really angers me.* **Extract 57: D/HBLSU 2**

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Interpreting this experience shows that, by virtue of being Deaf, and the sharing of similar experiences with other Deaf BSL users, a Deaf person is able to bring a level of empathy and understanding to the interaction, and, "like the members of many ethnic groups, culturally Deaf people prefer to socialize with and to marry other members of their cultural group" (Lane, 2005: 298). The reasoning behind this may be that Deaf people feel more equal to their friends and to their marital spouse in such circumstances. The family and educational experiences of Deaf BSL users, as this thesis discussed in section 2.4.4, are different to those of hearing BSL users. For the workplace, the participants' experiences indicate that greater equality at work leads to more effective understanding, and therefore empathy, among Deaf and hearing BSL users. This is also the conclusion of Abney, White, Shanahan and Locander's (2017) study of working relations among Deaf and hearing people.

5.3.11.2 Recognition

Table 5-27 Results: Recognition

	Theme	Transcription No.	Extract No.	Participant code	Number of Extracts
6	**Empathy**	79	Ex: 70	IST 7	1

In the following extract, a participant discusses previous working environments and highlights the positive effects of being recognised by colleagues as an equal contributor. The extract demonstrates a high level of understanding of how Deaf and hearing BSL users interact in the workplace and the issues that often arise. IST7 is clearly highly aware of the typical conflict situation, and is able to discuss issues related to the causes, the effects and to the resolution possibilities. Furthermore, the participant is aware of the linguistic and cultural divide among BSL users.

IST 7 The xxxx team was hearing led and the other job was deaf-led, yet I enjoyed the xxxx job more and found it a more positive experience. That was because in the xxxx although there were issues there, there was very healthy dialogue; the hearing people all had a very good attitude and they really made me feel part of the team...also everybody signed and I was always asked my opinion about things and my input so I felt like I made some really big contributions to the work of the team. Because although they were all hearing, they recognised my experience. So when we were in a meeting talking about how to support deaf people everyone would ask me how to do it which made me feel very good.

Extract 70: IST 7

Recognition of Deaf employees as valid and equal takes us beyond transition and resolution, and into the notion of empathy. The participant who expresses this experience felt appreciated and able to contribute in this empathetic environment. The implication here is that Deaf people value being able to contribute in the workplace, both in meetings and in social discussion, and value having those contributions recognised. Recognition of effective and improved performance is an important aspect of any organisation. Where employers recognise an employees' drive and commitment, positive feedback, at either the team or the individual level, has a motivating impact on the workforce (Fornes, Rocco & Wollard, 2008).

5.3.12 Causes of Empathy

5.3.12.1 Emotion

As a cognitive aspect of human feelings, emotions are used to "describe differences in the ways people make sense of conflict, how they present their ideas and needs, and how they approach the problem-solving process" (Mayer 2000: 42). In the workplace, the emotion that a participant feels for colleagues and management-level staff members can lead the employee or employer to empathise with the situation. The importance of empathy for conflict resolution is clearly stated by Mayer:

"In the struggle to communication and to overcome the obstacles that get in the way of our truly understanding each other in tense situations, genuine creativity can emerge. When individuals in conflict view the truth as existing not inside them but among all the people involved in the dispute, then they are more likely to achieve a higher level of understanding and empathy. This view is the foundation of all profound resolution processes."

(Mayer 2000: 139)

Analysis of the data related to empathy reveals that positive experiences related to this theme can be the result of appropriate emotions at work. Extract 57, discussed in section 5.3.11.1 (Equality) above, also shows that participant D/HBSLU2expresses emotion towards colleagues that results in empathy and understanding in the workplace. D/HBSLU2 shows a level of empathy, based on her own experiences of being Deaf, but avoids conflict at work by supressing her emotion towards the processes and procedures at work that would otherwise create explicit conflict. The participant's conflict is suppressed inside, and her anger and frustration are not expressed at work. The need for empathy in the form of hearing BSL users' understanding of Deaf BSL users' experiences has been the main aspect of the discussions under this theme. As Abney, White, Shanahan and Locander's (2017) note, "With mutual understanding as the goal, empathy allows the in group (hearing) to perspective take, developing an understanding of the out group (deaf)" (p. 321).

5.3.12.2 Structure

Structure is a further factor that is identified as being a prompt of empathy in this study. The dynamic function within the systems and structures of an organisation, particularly the hierarchal structure, influences the ability to understand another person's perspective and experience. Structure is an important element of the wheel of conflict:

"In conflict, it is often possible and necessary to work specifically on the emotional content of disputants' experience. This usually requires creating some opportunity to express and release emotions and to experience someone else's understand empathy."

(Mayer, 2000: 11)

Group dominance (Ladd, 2003) is at the core of this workplace conflict and returns us to the notions of hegemony and power imbalance raised in the discussion of Gramsci (1992) in section 2.2.2. The power remaining with hearing BSL users continues to incapacitate Deaf BSL users, who are unable to secure a signing environment in which to progress. In the following extract, a participant describes their experiences of working in a very successful team, and demonstrates a high level of understanding of the need for equality working relationships in order to move towards achieving empathy:

> *IST 4 In school there would be equal opportunity in terms of applying for jobs. There were Deaf teachers, Deaf heads of school, Deaf heads of department, so there was a whole mixture of Deaf people up and down the career ladder, in contrast to the mental health unit where the entire management structure was hearing people, not one Deaf manager. When I was promoted in the school it was the first time in my life that I had been given that opportunity.*

> *IST 4 So really it doesn't matter where a person works, whether it be hearing led or not…In a hearing led organisation it is worse than a Deaf led organisation because a hearing led organisation will listen to other hearing people much more and will be inclined to discipline Deaf people more. In a Deaf led organisation they will have a more balanced approach. I have been in both. The hearing led organisation was a government school but the head was Deaf, which meant that although not perfect there was definitely a greater sense of empathy.*

Extract 58: IST 4

Structural relationships between Deaf and hearing BSL users have been the subject of academic controversy, following from the publication of an academic article by Sutton-Spence and West (2011) titled, 'Negotiating the Legacy of Hearingness.' The authors question the position of hearing BSL users in the field of Deaf Studies, suggesting that Deaf BSL users are beginning to regain some power in this academic arena. This is strongly counteracted in O'Brien and Emery's (2014) response, which reports that BSL

users who have management level control and decision-making positions are, in the main, hearing people and Deaf BSL users still maintain a low level and incapacitated position in the field. Anxiety from hearing BSL users may be the result of increasing moves by Deaf BSL users to be more involved and to take due credit for contributions to academic research. Within the academic Deaf community in the UK, there is often reference to a signed phrase meaning 'the little people' (personal observation) and this term is used to refer to people who make significant contributions to academic studies, such as large data collection activities during field work, and many hours of taxing data analysis, and are not credited with the work except for a brief mention in the acknowledgements. This keeps Deaf academics clearly positioned at one step behind hearing academics in the field of Deaf Studies and is discussed in Kannapell's (1993) work. Issues of power imbalance in the workplace are central to views expressed by Dickinson & Turner (2008) and Trowler and Turner (2002), who discuss the importance of negotiating a 'workplace culture' and the 'behaviour norms' of both sides. Both academic texts refer to the negotiation that is needed but neither describe the current situation in detail. It is very often the case that Deaf people are expected to 'fit in' to the hearing way of working, as this research study has found. This involves the Deaf employee often juggling resources, such as Access to Work support, and constantly re-negotiating daily work programmes to accommodate the language environment.

5.4   Chapter Summary

This chapter has revealed that a thematic analysis provides an appropriate methodology for identifying experiences of conflict in the workplace, and that further analysis based on elements of conflict theory leads to fruitful considerable of why the conflict occurs. Using the additional data collection method – the individual self-testimonies – has also been revealed as an effective method for comparing and triangulating the data, as the same themes were able to be found across both data-sets and with remarkable similarity of occurrence. The thematic analysis of the data has shown that attitude is a most important contributing factor to successful, or unsuccessful, interaction at work

among Deaf and hearing BSL users. With regards to causes of conflict, analysis via the elements of the wheel of conflict reveal that structural issues in the workplace have the most prominent effect on Deaf/hearing interaction. While Deaf-led organisations may have better structural organisation, and increased levels of access to information and to social media websites in BSL, there remains a persistent requirement of command of written text and speech in all three workplace settings analysed for this study. The interpretation of the data shows that many Deaf BSL users feel oppressed in a system where oral and written language are dominant. Without full and equal access to language, and without the true expression of Deaf culture, the values and beliefs that underlie the experiences of being Deaf are suppressed and denied in the workplace, resulting in unequal distribution of power and control among Deaf and hearing BSL users. This thesis, then, argues that an effective and positive working environment is more likely to be achieved if BSL users understand and accept the 'Deaf way' of being, and a fundamental attitude shift is made. Where possible, this includes an acceptance of BSL and Deaf culture within the workplace through signed interaction.

6   Chapter Six - Key Findings and Discussion

6.1 Introduction

This second chapter of data findings considers the implications of the results in further depth. The experiences of conflict, and understanding of how that conflict is caused, are discussed in combination in order to provide a more joined-up picture of the lived experiences of Deaf and hearing people at work. The key findings are presented in order to highlight the central issues that have been exposed during this study. The core issues explored in the literature review are also reconsidered here, particularly in relation to language and cultural issues and how they are managed in the mixed Deaf/hearing workplace environment. Once the implications of the findings have been considered in full, this chapter returns to the question of whether or not Deaf and hearing BSL users remain divided at work and to the extent to which our understanding of workplace conflict experience is the first step towards acceptance and resolution.

6.2   The experiences and causes of conflict combined - findings overall

Bringing together the findings of the thematic analysis and the discussion of causes leads to a comprehensive understanding of the experiences of BSL users, and the nature of workplace conflict. Table 6-1 below illustrates the frequency with which each element of the wheel of conflict was analysed as being assignable to the sub-themes as a cause of the individual conflict effects (see section 4.5.2.4 for details of how the extracts were assigned to the wheel of conflict as causes).

Table 6-1 Combined Results of the Experiences and Causes of Workplace Conflict

	Experiences		Causes					
Themes No:	Themes (6)	Sub-themes (20)	Communication	Emotion	History	Structure	Values	No of extracts
1.	**Audism**	Assimilation	●●●	●●			●	6
		Oppression	●					1

#	Category	Subcategory						Total
		Isolation	•	•••				4
		Sub-Total	**5**	**5**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**11**
2.	**Attitude**	Attitude towards Deaf People	•		••	••• ••	••	10
		Attitude towards Sign Language	•••• •••		••	••	•••• •	16
		Attitude and Reaction	•				••	3
		Attitude towards Hearing People		•	•	•••	••	7
		Sub-Total	**9**	**1**	**5**	**10**	**11**	**36**
3.	**Paternalism**	Authority				•	•	2
		Passivity			•			1
		Cultural Awareness	•	•		•		3
		Benevolence				•	•	2
		Sub-Total	**1**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**8**
4.	**Transition**	Identity				•		1
		Policy			•	•••	••	6
		Incongruence				•••		3
		Sub-Total	**0**	**0**	**1**	**7**	**2**	**10**
5.	**Resolution**	Acceptance	•••		•	•		5
		Respect			•	•	••	4
		Allies	•					1
		Signing Environment	••••			•		5
		Sub-Total	**8**	**0**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**15**
6.	**Empathy**	Equality		•		•		2
		Recognition				•		1
		Sub-Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**3**
		Total	**23**	**8**	**9**	**25**	**18**	**83**

With regards to the first theme identified in this study, **audism**, the causes of conflict of this nature are equally attributed to communication (5 extracts) and emotion (5), and one further extract is based on conflicting values (1). In the case of the second and most frequently occurring theme, **attitude**, conflicts based around this theme in the data are mostly based on values (11); discord associated with structural issues and communication are also prevalent (with 10 and 9 extracts respectively). Further effects related to attitude are associated with historical causes (5) and emotion (1). Conflict effects related to the theme of **paternalism** tend to be equally distributed across the five causes of conflict, with a slight increase in the number related to structure (3) and values (2). Conversely, only three of the causes of conflict are associated to the theme of **transition** in the data, with 7 extracts assigned to structure, 2 extracts to values, and the final extract relating to history. None of the extracts analysed under this theme were associated with communication or emotion, indicating that the transition to more effective (and less conflicting) working relations is related more to the issues of hierarchy and structures at work, along with acceptance of other people's values. In order to achieve full **resolution** of conflicts in the workplace, however, communication is again a primary issue and 8 of the 15 extracts from this theme refer to the importance of effective communication in this area. The remaining extracts related to this theme are almost equally attributed to structure, values and history as the causes of conflict in this area. Analysis of the causes of **empathy**, the final theme, reveal that effective workplace structures (2 extracts) cause a good level of empathetic understanding, and appropriate emotions (1) at work also contribute to an empathetic working environment for Deaf and hearing BSL users.

Attention to the causes of conflict overall show that the primary cause of difficulty between Deaf and hearing BSL users is **structure**, with 25 out of 83 of the extracted data indicating problems with the structural and hierarchal aspects of the mixed working environment. The second most significant cause of workplace conflict is identified as **communication**, with 23 out of the 83 extracts being identified as resulting from issues related to poor, or even no communication at work. Understanding and acceptance of colleagues' **values** also figured highly in the analysis, with 20 out of the 83 extracts highlighting difference and lack of acceptance of values leading to conflict in

this group. The final elements of the conflict wheel, **history and emotion**, are also assignable to some of the extracts, with 9 of the 83 extracts identified as being related to historical aspects of sign language use, and 7 of the extracts showing that emotion is also a factor in the workplace when Deaf and hearing BSL users interact.

The experiences of workplace conflict reported by BSL users, and the causes of such discord, then, are varied and substantial. This study reveals that the experiences highlighted in each theme are the result of several conflict causes, rather than only one cause being a sole attribute of one theme. This finding has not been central to previous studies related to working relations among Deaf and hearing sign language users and was not identified during the review of previous literature. This finding provides a unique contribution to knowledge in this field, and this knowledge has the potential to provide employers, and employees, with the understanding of the complexity of working relations, and potential for resolution once causes are identified. Placed at the core of the wheel of conflict, a further principle of conflict causation is 'needs', and the five elements are clearly centred around this fundamental core in order to highlight its centrality and importance in the conflict theory arena. For effective working relations among Deaf and hearing BSL users to be achieved, the findings show that respect for cultural difference, along with acceptance of consistent sign language use, are the core needs of this group. It is only when the core needs of a mixed Deaf and hearing workplace environment are met, that the remaining causes of conflict can be reduced.

6.3   Key findings

6.3.1   Key finding related to the experiences of workplace conflict: attitude towards sign language

The most prevalent experiences of conflict in the workplace relate to attitude and this, then, is the first major research finding of this study. Analysis of the participants' experiences shows that in order for interaction among BSL users to be effective, a positive attitude towards Deaf people and an accepting attitude towards sign language use, are essential. As attitudes towards sign language use was the most frequently mentioned issue in the data (referred to sixteen times), this appears to be the most

significant factor in effective workplace interaction among this language group. In the workplace, policies and processes may be in place but the fact still remains that many hearing BSL users choose not to sign, or simply forget to sign. It is a strong factor in the data that Deaf people feel oppressed in an environment where hearing colleagues are speaking, and the participants reported the fact that the hearing colleagues are fluent BSL users but persist in speaking causes conflict between the two groups. Attitudes towards sign language also indicate that the Deaf participants feel that ownership of BSL is theirs, and that hearing BSL users should not correct the language use of Deaf BSL users. This frustration is exacerbated by the fact that some Deaf participants have experienced hearing BSL users treating their native language as a hobby, or an instrument that they can simply leave at work and pick up the next morning. As Bauman and Murray (2014) report, a "complex point of hearing– deaf contact is found within the workplace, where traditionally, deaf employees have been subject to discriminatory practices and negative attitudes" (p. xxxvi). The participants in this study express their experiences that negative attitudes persist in the workplace today.

6.3.2   Primary causes of relationship conflict at work: structure

The second finding resulting from this research study is that the commentary by the participants highlights structure as the primary cause of conflict in a mixed Deaf and hearing workplace environment. This finding reveals that structures of inequality and ineffective policies have led to some of the participants feeling disadvantaged in the workplace. The major effects in this area are revealed as being between structural issues and attitude, especially experiences of negative attitudes towards Deaf people. These structural problems in the mixed Deaf/hearing working environment are considered as a hierarchal by Kannapell (1993) and also discussed by Dickinson & Turner (2008), who state that the majority of control in the mixed Deaf/hearing environment still lies with hearing people (also Kyle and Pullen, 1988). The debates around control and conflict management, then, are complex and reflect what Mayer (2012: 41) refers to as a 'root of conflict'. Lack of effective structuring, and the negative resulting effects, leads to the collision between Deaf and hearing people. As LeBaron (2001: 7) suggests, there is

certainly a need for more culturally effective engagement and negotiation in the workplace, as "contemporary cultures are not a static medium, but are, in fact, influenced by change and efforts to create change at many levels". This is an experience that the literature review (in sections 2.4 snd 2.5) highlighted for Deaf people in many workplace environments. The surveys, conducted in 2006 and 2010, reveal persistent conflict effects in this area, and continuing structural dissatisfaction in the Deaf/hearing working environment is also revealed in a further, more recent survey (Action on Hearing Loss, 2016). The persistence of such conflict experiences intimates that transformative research is required as a next step in order that theoretical knowledge is transferred to action plans to improve the discriminatory experiences on the workplace.

The participant discussions reveal that negative attitudes in the workplace and an inability to transition towards equal working relations results in structural inequalities, and inevitable conflict. The second most prevalent cause of conflict is related to communication. The people who took part in this study are all sign language users, hence communication is less of an issue than structural equality. In a mainstream organisation, where a Deaf BSL user is the only person who can sign, communication may be the most prevalent factor in the conflict setting. The following table presents the causes of workplace conflict in relation to the themes of the study overall:

Table 6-2 The Correlation between the Causes of Conflict and the Themes

Experiences as factors of conflict effects	Elements of the wheel of conflict
Audism	Communication, Emotion, Values
Attitude	Communication, Emotion, Values, Structure, History
Paternalism	Communication, Emotion, Values, Structure, History
Transition	Values, Structure, History
Resolution	Communication, Values, Structure, History
Empathy	Structure, Emotion

6.3.3   The interplay of language and culture

From the observations of the data, it is evident that language use is a significant factor in the conflict setting. The choice made by hearing BSL users of whether to speak or sign in the mixed workplace environment leads to tensions that quickly escalate; this language conflict is exacerbated by low levels of literacy among some Deaf BSL users, as revealed in section 2.4.4 of the literature review, gaps in the career planning process, which are discussed in section 2.5.1, and problems with the transition from leaving education and moving into employment that are discussed in section 2.4.4. The analysis of the qualitative group discussions and the individual self-testimonies reveals that this results not only in high unemployment rates among Deaf people but also in underemployment, and a lack of opportunity of promotion along the career ladder. As the literature review of this study highlighted (in section 2.5.3), the provision of sign language interpreters leads to increased interaction in the workplace; a scarcity of sign language interpreters results in low levels of social interaction in the mainstream, and perhaps the hearing-led workplace. For a Deaf BSL user, working in a Deaf-led organisation may mean that the other staff members may have higher levels of Deaf awareness than in the hearing-led workplaces. This is also likely to come hand in hand with higher levels of awareness of how to book sign language interpreters. In the mainstream environment, mostly, Deaf people tend to remain as the 'little people' at the bottom of the structural hierarchy and it is for this reason that Deaf-led organisations provide a more positive environment for Deaf people.

The third major finding of this study, however, is that analysis of the participants' experiences shows that learning sign language is not enough to guarantee successful interaction with Deaf people in the workplace. The participants' concern is that learning the language, accepting the importance of a signing environment and respecting the language are of course important elements of effective interaction among BSL users. However, a high level of effective working relations can only be achieved when, alongside the language element, the BSL user acquires a high level of understanding of the cultural and behavioural differences between Deaf and hearing BSL users, and is accepting of that difference in the workplace. This lack of cultural awareness is also

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found in other areas, such as medical settings. Yates's (2017) recent study of access to healthcare found that "Deaf culture remains overlooked…Common language and experience draw deaf individuals together as a cultural group. Ignorance about Deaf culture perpetuates barriers to holistic care" (p. 3), and also reports that "the primary workforce issues relate back to audism" (p. 17). The importance of an effective signing environment for successful working relations is illustrated in theme 5, Resolution, and is also at the core of a lot of the other themes.

6.3.4 Auditory and visual value differences

The final major finding of this study is that the participants' experiences show that Deaf and hearing BSL users may function from a different set of beliefs and values. It is possible to interpret from the data that the visual orientation of Deaf BSL users results in inherent value of the eyes and of accessing information through a signed language, which is clearly important to the Deaf participants; the auditory orientation of hearing BSL users results in natural value of sound and auditory means of communication. These contrasting values are shown in the data, such as in IST4s discussion where the participant explains about a hearing colleague having a lack of cultural awareness and lack of appreciation of the visual way that Deaf people behave (see section 5.6.3.3). Values are embedded subconsciously in the mind, according to Cai and Wilson (2000: 34), who emphasise the fundamental aspects of values and the difference that effective communication can make. As the findings in section 6.3 above indicate, there is a strong relationship between values and the sub-theme of attitudes towards sign language. The data indicates that most Deaf BSL users value sign language as a crucial aspect of everyday life, whereas some hearing BSL users treat the language as a workplace instrument, or even as a hobby. Hence, the value placed on sign languages is different among BSL users, though the level of value may be different according to each individual person. For example, a hearing BSL user makes a statement that shows that they also value sign language, stating that, "*it's really not until break time and lunchtime that you actually start to see the real language in use, and that's where you learn*" (in section 5.3.9.1).

6.4   United or Divided? A return to the research questions

In order to consider the implications of the findings in relation to the nature of BSL users'
experiences of working together, and the causes of identified areas of conflict, it is
necessary to revisit the research questions and the literature review.

> *Research Question 1: What understanding can be gained from Deaf and hearing*
> *BSL users' experiences of working together?*

Examination of the first research question has led to an understanding that the Deaf
participants report continuously suffering oppression and disempowerment due to
conflict between Deaf and hearing people in the workplace. Analysis and interpretation
of the data reveals that hearing colleagues continue to exercise a large amount of
control over Deaf people's employees, and there remains an infrastructure of
oppression and disempowerment between the two groups. In the workplace, this
oppression is revealed in negative attitudes towards Deaf people and in lack of equal
opportunity to contribute and to progress. Some of the participants' experiences of lack
of access to sign language in the workplace reveal that this is a key factor in the
persistence of this oppressive state and BSL, in fact, is colonised under the umbrella of
disability. Interpretation of the data indicates that Deaf and hearing BSL users remain
divided. The findings of the thematic analysis show how Deaf participants report
experiencing inadequate treatment within the workplace in comparison to their hearing
counterparts and this is seen in various conflict effects related to audism, attitude and
paternalism, which substantiates the previous findings laid out in the literature review
in chapter two. However, the ability to discuss observed audist behaviour and
discriminatory practice, and the desire to improve access to equality and the right to
cultural difference, indicates that the participants are generally in agreement that it is
possible to achieve effective working relations with the appropriate working practices.
The most significant factor with regards to Deaf and hearing BSL users' experiences of
working together is attitude; this is revealed as a vital component of the
interrelationship divide.

Research Question 2: How can knowledge of workplace conflict empower BSL users to move towards conflict resolution?

Although the aim of this study was primarily to document and analyse the participants' experiences of working in a mixed Deaf/hearing environment, some attention to the causes of identified conflict has also been paid in order to explore resolution, the focus of the second research question. The extent to which BSL users can achieve effective workplace interaction depends on whether or not the management are aware of the oppression and unequal treatment of Deaf BSL users in the workplace. Analysis of the data collected for this study reveals that conflict at work is the result of inadequate communication, stirred emotions, historical consequences, unequal workplace structures, and value differences. The data reveal that Deaf BSL users continue to be disempowered by the level of control that hearing people exercise over their working lives, reflecting the workplace audism explored in section 2.4.1 of the literature review above. This situation persists despite the fact that communication technologies have advanced rapidly over the last few decades, making interaction between Deaf and hearing people easier. Lack of knowledge and understanding of Deaf culture, as well as inconsistent sign language use in a mixed Deaf/hearing environment, contribute to Deaf BSL users' reported experiences of oppression and disempowerment.

6.5   Chapter Summary

This chapter has revealed that the Deaf and hearing BSL users studied regularly experience conflict in the workplace, and this has a negative effect on the ability to perform with equal contribution at work. In this chapter, key findings have also been drawn in relation to language and cultural differences between Deaf and hearing BSL users, indicating that being a fluent sign language user does not guarantee successful interaction, nor does it guarantee resolution of conflict experiences. The sensory differences between Deaf and hearing people are also explored further in this chapter, as they are so vital to understanding of the conflict situation. The instinctive visuality of Deaf BSL users is clearly a contrast to the auditory way of life of hearing BSL users. The circumstance that Deaf people are often expected to assimilate to this hearing way is at

the centre of a lot of the conflicts expressed in the data and highlighted in this chapter. Following from a presentation of the key outcomes, this chapter has revealed that a divide between Deaf and hearing people still exists in the workplace, and that Deaf people continue to be oppressed due to this.

PART V: CONCLUSIONS &

POST FINDINGS DEVELOPMENT

7   Chapter Seven Conclusions and Implications

7.1   Sign-based conclusions

The previous chapter (chapter six) presented the experiences of BSL users potential causes of conflict that are central to this study. The thematic analysis framework enabled the effects of conflict in the workplace among BSL users to be examined and presented, and the wheel of conflict enabled the study to consider the causes of the conflicts. The conclusions drawn from the analysis are primarily centred on the differences between Deaf and hearing BSL users and the cultural spaces that they occupy in the workplace. The study has shown that the motion and vision of Deaf people has an influence on the physical dynamics of the space in which they interact. It also has an impact on the attitude, the language and the educational performance of Deaf people. An example of an everyday experience for Deaf and hearing people may help to illustrate this difference as part of this element of the conclusion:

1)   Sat in an office typing up a piece of work, a hearing person is alerted by the sound of footsteps along the corridor outside the room. The hearing person is aware that someone is about to approach the room and the sound of the door handle moving affirms the entry. As the visitor enters the room, the hearing person is already attentive and acknowledges the arrival.

2)   Sat in an office typing up a piece of work, a Deaf person is alerted to a presence in the room only by the sudden visual opening of the door. If the door is not in sight of the Deaf person, then they are alerted by a tap on the shoulder, a flash of the light, or some other cultural alerting behaviour by the visitor. The Deaf person does not hear the footsteps, or the alerting opening of the sound of the door handle being turned.

1) Hearing experience: sound of footsteps   click of door   voice of person

2) Deaf experience: -------   movement of door   movement of person

In line with the principles of Deafhood, when considering Deaf sign language users as a minority group with a shared language and culture, it is evident that the differences and how they materialise can lead to Deaf BSL users feeling colonised by hearing people in the workplace, and their language being overtaken and misused. Being a sign language user, as this study can conclude, does not necessarily mean that cultural understanding will be gained, and interaction will be conflict-free.

The following diagram (Figure 7-1 below) illustrates the differences between Deaf and hearing BSL users that lead to conflict: hearing BSL users maintain their aural association with the world and continue to function in a sound-based culture; Deaf BSL users relate to the world on a primarily visual basis and function in a sight-based culture. The diagram illustrates that the visual culture that is a central part of the lives of Deaf BSL users and the auditory culture that is instinctive to hearing BSL users move in opposing ways, leading to conflicts. These conflicts in the workplace are the results of one culture being imposed on the other, and of a lack of inequality among the group. When the two central analysis frameworks (the thematic analysis and the conflict theory analysis wheel) are combined in this study, the importance of the visual aspect of this research is highlighted, and the different perspectives from which Deaf and hearing BSL users interact is illustrated. The diagram brings the two frameworks together in line with the confirmed hypothesis that a divide exists among Deaf and hearing sign language users in the workplace due to conflicts based on experiential and cultural differences:

Audio conflict aspects: **(Audio-culture) Hearing way**				
Education	Audio-Language	Attitude	Emotion	Audio-Culture

Experience	**Cause**
Audism	Communication
Attitude	Emotion
Paternalism	Structure
Transition	History
Resolution	Values
Empathy	Needs

Visual conflict aspects: **(Visual spatial culture) Deaf way**				
Visual-Ability Cultural	Emotion	Attitude	Sign Language	Cultural Curriculum Education
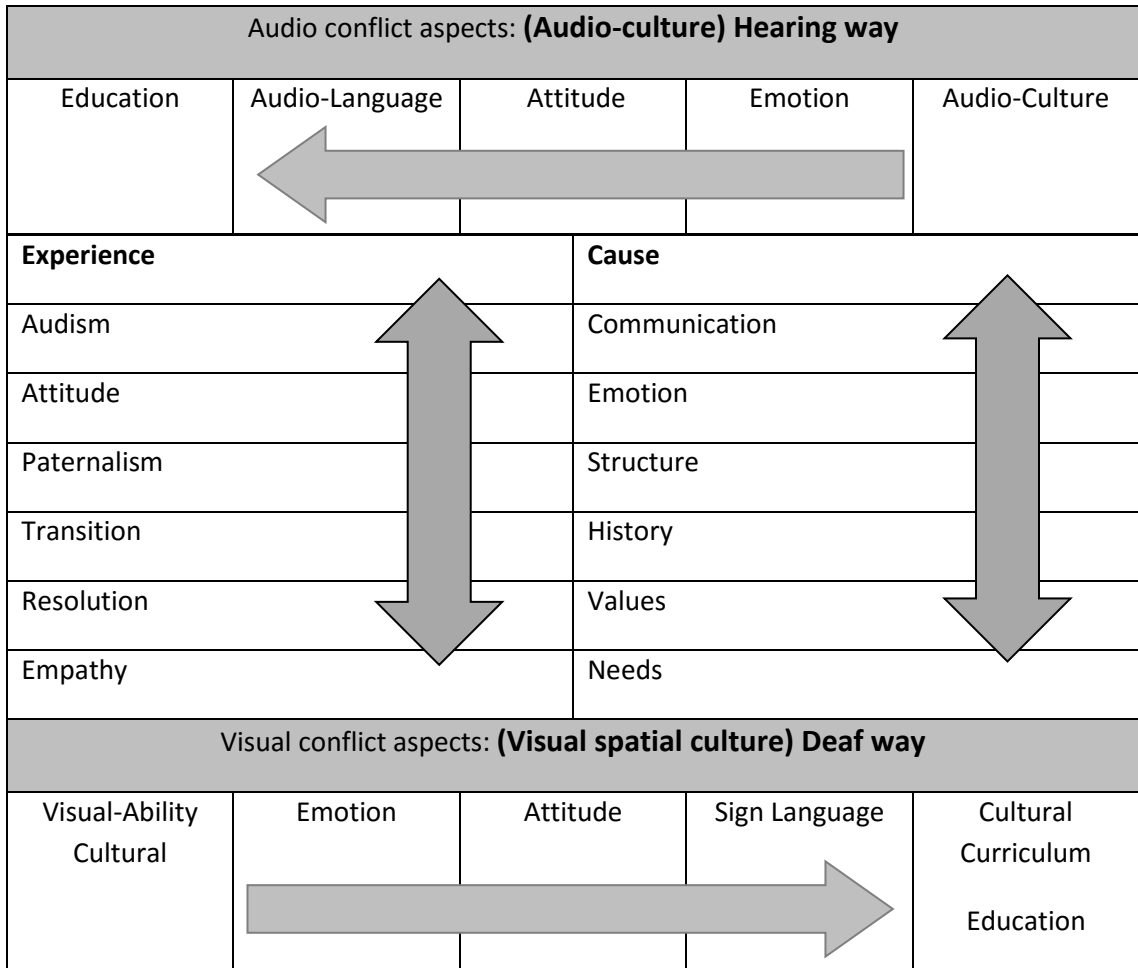
Figure 7-1 Sign-based Connection Model

The model first presents, along the top arrowed spectrum, a focus on auditory culture that is natural for hearing people, and is centred around the primary sense of hearing. The emotional sensitivities of hearing people are affected by functioning predominantly in a sound-based world and this is reflected in the methodologies used in mainstream research. This also has influence on a person's attitude, their use of language, and on the way that they receive and absorb education (i.e. through listening and writing). The auditory culture is contrasted with the visual-spatial focus, presented in the arrowed spectrum at the bottom of the model. This spectrum highlights the innate visuality (the eye) with which Deaf sign language users primarily function, which forms a crucial aspect of this study, and which struggles to exist in the auditory (the ear) infrastructure of the workplace. The effects of workplace conflict among BSL users can be the best understood in relation to the deeper and more subconscious causes of inequalities.

The approach employed in this study – analysis of the experiences of Deaf and hearing people in the workplace where both the Deaf and the hearing participants are sign language users – is a rare methodology and complies with the sign-based methodology that this study concludes is most appropriate for researching Deaf communities. The use of Individual Self-testimonies, as an addition to the qualitative group discussions that are a regular research activity in qualitative research, provides a unique method for collecting data in a way that enables participants who may have experienced difficulty in contributing in the group setting, to express their experiences individually and away from the workplace in a lab setting to avoid exposure in the workplace.

The study's unique contribution to knowledge includes the detailed identification of BSL users' experiences in the workplace through the thematic analysis, and the finding that several causal factors may contribute to each experience. The use of conflict theory for illuminating the inequalities faced by Deaf people is employed to a greater depth than previous studies have achieved, resulting in new knowledge of the impact that control and oppression have on Deaf people's lived experiences. This study concludes that effective workplace interaction among BSL users is achieved when understanding and acceptance of other cultures comes with the ability to enable equal interaction, i.e. a positive attitude towards sign language and Deaf culture. The central component of the sign-based connection model above illustrates the interwoven aspects of workplace interaction that are at play when Deaf and hearing BSL users interact.

7.2   Practical Implications

The use of qualitative group discussion was particularly effective in this study, as it resulted in the participants being able to discuss a various number of topics without researcher influence. Furthermore, the individual self-testimonies created an additional opportunity for the participants to express issues that they may not have wanted to disclose in the group setting. Some of the participants indicated that they did feel this during their individual testimony; perhaps this in itself highlights the divide among Deaf and hearing BSL users. The two research activities led to a rich set of data that would

possibly not have been discussed if other methods, such as interviews, had been chosen. This resulted in valuable insight into the workplace experiences of the participants.

The conflict theory framework, overall, has proven to be a valuable lens through which to view the workplace conflicts that occur, and to explore the causes of the conflict with a view to resolution. As the literature review above highlighted, this is very little research that focuses on the conflict that occurs in the workplace when both the Deaf and the hearing colleagues are all sign language users. This study has shown that even when hearing colleagues are able to use sign language, issues of inequality and audist practices continue to disempower Deaf BSL users at work. The results of this study, which are detailed in the previous two chapters, lead to several practical implications. The outcomes related to the effects of workplace conflict are presented in the following six tables, each relating to one of the themes of the study:

Table 7-1 Causes of Conflict and Audism

Causes of Conflict in relation to the theme of Audism	
Elements of the wheel of conflict	*Experiences as factors of conflict effects*
Communication	Assimilation 3 Oppression 1 Isolation 1
Emotion	Assimilation 2 Isolation 3
History	
Structure	
Values	Assimilation 1

A focussed look at the correlation between audism and the elements of the conflict wheel reveals that communication is the central cause of workplace conflict of an audist nature. The data reveal that communication is a fundamental need of Deaf BSL users at work and where this is not met, or is suppressed, the effects include assimilation, oppression and isolation in the workplace. The experiences expressed by the participants show that isolation in the workplace leads to emotional effects, effects that

leave Deaf BSL users feeling alone and isolated at work. Having to assimilate to behaving and communicating like hearing people is an effect that is also caused by conflicting values among BSL users.

Table 7-2 Causes of Conflict and Attitude

Causes of Conflict in relation to the theme of Attitude:	
Elements of the wheel of conflict	*Experiences as factors of conflict effects*
Communication	Attitude towards Deaf People 1 Attitude towards Sign Language 7 Attitude and Reaction 1
Emotion	Attitude towards Hearing People 1
History	Attitude towards Deaf People 2 Attitude towards Sign Language 2 Attitude towards Hearing People 1
Structure	Attitude towards Deaf People 5 Attitude towards Sign Language 2 Attitude towards Hearing People 3
Values	Attitude towards Deaf People 2 Attitude towards Sign Language 5 Attitude and Reaction 2 Attitude towards Hearing People 2

In relation to the theme of attitude and the causal elements, the findings indicate that conflicting attitudes in the workplace can be caused by all five elements of the conflict wheel (see section 5.3.4). The data reveal that attitudes towards Deaf people and towards sign language use are caused by problems related to communication, history, structure and workplace values. The participants' experiences of negative attitudes towards hearing people are also invoked by the latter three (history, structure and values) but are felt to be caused by emotional issues, rather than aspects of communication. The effects of attitude and reaction are analysed as being the result of conflict related to emotion and value differences at work.

Table 7-3 Causes of Conflict and Paternalism

Causes of Conflict in relation to the theme of Paternalism	
Elements of the wheel of conflict	*Experiences as factors of conflict effects*
Communication	Cultural Awareness 1
Emotion	Cultural Awareness 1
History	Passivity 1
Structure	Authority 1 Cultural Awareness 1 Benevolence 1
Values	Authority 1 Benevolence 1

With regards to paternalism, structural issues are analysed as the leading cause in this area, with the effects relating to experiences of authority, cultural awareness and benevolence in the workplace. Lack of cultural awareness is also analysed as an effect of conflict related to communication and emotion. The participants' experiences reveal that the effects of authority and benevolence are also value differences among Deaf and hearing BSL users. This reveals a direct relationship between passivity and history, an effect that is discussed in detail in sections 5.3.5.2 and 5.3.6.5 above.

Table 7-4 Causes of Conflict and Transition

Causes of Conflict in relation to the theme of Transition	
Elements of the wheel of conflict	*Experiences as factors of conflict effects*
Communication	
Emotion	
History	Policy 1
Structure	Identity 1 Policy 3 Incongruence 3
Values	Policy 2

The findings related to the elements of the conflict wheel and the theme of transition show that less conflict effects are found in the workplace once BSL users begin to transition to more effective working relatons. Analysis of the participants' experiences shows that successful transitioning leads to less conflict, and none of the discussions reveal conflict caused by communication or emotional factors where transition is successful in this data. This means that workplace interaction among Deaf and hearing BSL users can be more successful and less emotive once the transition to equality is in progress. Historical issues related to transition, however, are expressed as resulting from outdated policies leading to conflict, and ineffective policy (dicussed in section 5.3.7.2 above) is still seen as the effect of unequal structures (see section 5.3.8.2) and differences in values among the group. Analysis of the data highlights the fact that the participants feel that inadequate structural hierarchies also continue to result in identity conflict and incongruence in the workplace.

Table 7-5 Causes of Conflict and Resolution

Causes of Conflict in relation to the theme of Resolution	
Elements of the wheel of conflict	*Experiences as factors of conflict effects*
Communication	Acceptance 3 Allies 1 Signing Environment 4
Emotion	
History	Acceptance 1 Respect 1
Structure	Acceptance 1 Respect 1 Signing Environment 1
Values	Respect 2

The participants describe the effects of positive communication include acceptance of language and cultural differences between Deaf and hearing BSL users, and this effect is also the result of some positive experiences of working in a mixed Deaf/hearing environment over the years (history) and in relation to structural issues shown in the

data. The participants agree that in order to have effective communication, BSL users need to work together as allies, and they believe that this leads to a good and practical signing environment. Maintaining a positive signing environment is seen as improving structural hierarchies at work and this has led some of the participants to experience respect among BSL users. Respect is an effect that is experienced not only in relation to the workplace structures, but also to history where resolution has been achieved, and to acceptance of value differences.

Table 7-6 Causes of Conflict and Empathy

Causes of Conflict in relation to the theme of Empathy	
Elements of the wheel of conflict	*Experiences as factors of conflict effects*
Communication	
Emotion	Equality 1
History	
Structure	Equality 1 Recognition 1
Values	

Analysis of the participants' experiences in relation to empathy reveal that this is achieved through emotions and effective structures at work. The data reveal that equality has been experienced by some participants. This positive experience reduces the conflict resulting from unequal power structures discussed in section 2.2.3. This shows that the participants believe that structural hierarchies and conflicting management and worker issues need to be tackled to increase empathy at work.

7.3   Theoretical Implications

7.3.1   *The Sociocultural Backdrop*

Alongside the practical implications of the research activities and outcomes presented in the previous section, this conclusion now explores the theoretical implications of the study. Firstly, it is relevant to note that the theoretical backdrop to this study, the phenomenon of Deafhood (Ladd, 2003) has been effective in enabling the discussions to draw out the sociocultural aspects of Deaf and hearing BSL users at work. However, the Deafhood notion serves primarily to highlight the collective spectrum, with a primary focus on how individual Deaf BSL users are bound together by their culture. As Emery (2008) notes, more modern theories are moving to consider the lived experiences of sign language users, such as Kurz, Hauser and Listman's (2017) study of work-related resilience. In this study, the conflict theory lens was more suitable for exploring the workplace conflicts that persist in the mixed Deaf/hearing environment. The application of Mayer's wheel, preceded by the description of interpersonal and intergroup conflicts (in section 1.5.2) and Liddel's understanding of individual conflict-influencing factors (in section 2.3.1), was particularly suitable from a critical hermeneutic perspective. Such backdrops enabled the research to focus on interpreting the data and the researcher positioning effects.

7.3.2   *Dimensions*

On a further theoretical level, this study concludes that the perspectives on deafness that were considered in terms of the medical model, the social model, and the sociocultural models in chapter one are best understood in terms of dimensions. A dimensional perspective moves away from considering the one-dimensional aspect of Deaf people's lives that the models of disability provide; the dimensional perspective enables research to comprehend the holistic and comprehensive lived experience of sign language users, in this case within the workplace setting. To this end, conflict studies can learn more about Deaf/hearing relationships by exploring the ways in which sign language users inhabit the workplace. The additional benefit of this dimensional

perspective is it application on a broader level, to the wider society issues that have formed such an integral part of the discussions in this study. Emery (2006), for instance, suggests that, "The Deaf dimension perspective demonstrates Deaf citizens as engaged with civil, political and social society, even where access to these worlds might be unequal" (p. 192).

7.3.3 Deficit Thinking

The final theoretical implication of this research study concludes the overriding notion behind the participants' experiences and the causes of such workplace conflict – the "deficit thinking" paradigm (Ford, 2014), which is most often considered from the perspective of failing education. Ford's concise description of deficit thinking states that, "Deficit thinking is a type of blaming the victim that views the alleged and imagined deficiencies of culturally different students as the primary reason for their school problems and academic failures" (p. 146). This perspective, which aims to move consider struggles and conflicts from a deficit perspective to a focus on gain. Valencia and Solorzano (1997), in applying the deficit thinking paradigm to the employment field, advises that "…the underclass model fails to examine the structural inequalities in the workplace" (p. 186). With regards to sign language users, the deficit thinking paradigm is a central focus on what deaf people physically *can't do* (Ladd, 2003). Ladd proposes that deficit thinking is at the core of audist practices, and is seen in the pressure placed on Deaf people based on speech competence. Audism, according to Ladd, reiterates deficit thinking against Deaf people. It is also relevant to consider Bryan and Emery's (2014) study, which explores deficit thinking in terms of Deaf people and the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act:

> "In fairness, there were genuine attempts to oppose the deficit perception of Deaf people, yet the whole issue was summed up in the idea that although Deaf people should be afforded rights, opportunities, and equality, Section 14(4)(9) sends out the message that they "are better off not being born."

> (Bryan & Emery 2014: 46)

The participants in this study express experiences of such deficit thinking towards them in the workplace, in general and in relation to hearing BSL users (though there is also evidence that some hearing BSL users do not apply this deficit thinking paradigm to Deaf BSL users, and show awareness and concern that they witness its occurrence). The antithesis of deficit thinking, in modern theories of Deaf people's lived experiences, places emphasis on what Deaf people *can do.* The phenomenon of "Deaf Gain" was coined by Bauman and Murray (2014) to "counter the frame of hearing loss as it refers to the unique cognitive, creative, and cultural gains manifested through deaf ways of being in the world" (p. xv). An example of the counterpart to the deficit model is seen in the following description of Deaf gain:

> "Employers argued that deaf people were more skilled in certain ways, and they hired them. Deaf people were described as learning quickly, observing well, and having good eyes and hands. Arguments were made through the medium of the press that deaf people were competent workers. These arguments are valuable, because they confer positive attributes to deaf employees at a time when deaf people were perceived to have a deficit."

(Morton, 2014: 318)

7.4   Post Findings Development

7.4.1   Sign-based Framework for the Workplace

While some conflict will be inevitable, the cultural hegemony held by the dominant group (hearing BSL users), as section 2.2.2 discussed in relation to Gramsci's notions of control, must be understood as contributing to the divide. Whether conscious or not, Alker (1996) notes that the capitalist interactions between Deaf and hearing people in society continue to exist, and it is of no surprise that this is mirrored in the workplace and results in the multiple levels of oppression (O'Brien and Emery, 2014) and necessity for decolonisation of Deaf BSL users (Ladd, 2014). O'Brien's (2017) research framework of four principles of Deaf research, based on the six principles of Kaupapa Māori theory above, are an example of how a framework can stimulate change. These include: 1. The

Primacy of Sign Language; 2. Self-Determination; 3. Identity Preservation and 4. Community Development (p. 67). A sign language framework for the workplace is crucial, and differs from an organisation having a simple communication policy in place in that it includes a key element of cultural awareness, and equal treatment for all staff members. It is for this reason that this study recommends that a sign language framework for the workplace is put into place; this begins the process of educating people as to the visual communication needs of Deaf sign language users.

The beginnings of a proposed framework, based on the Kaupapa Māori principles and the scholarly theories (such as Kannapell 1993 and Padden-Duncan, 2007) that have been instrumental in this study, are incorporated into the following figure and table (Figure 7-2 and Table 7-1). The intention is to expand this into a full workplace framework as a post-doctoral project:
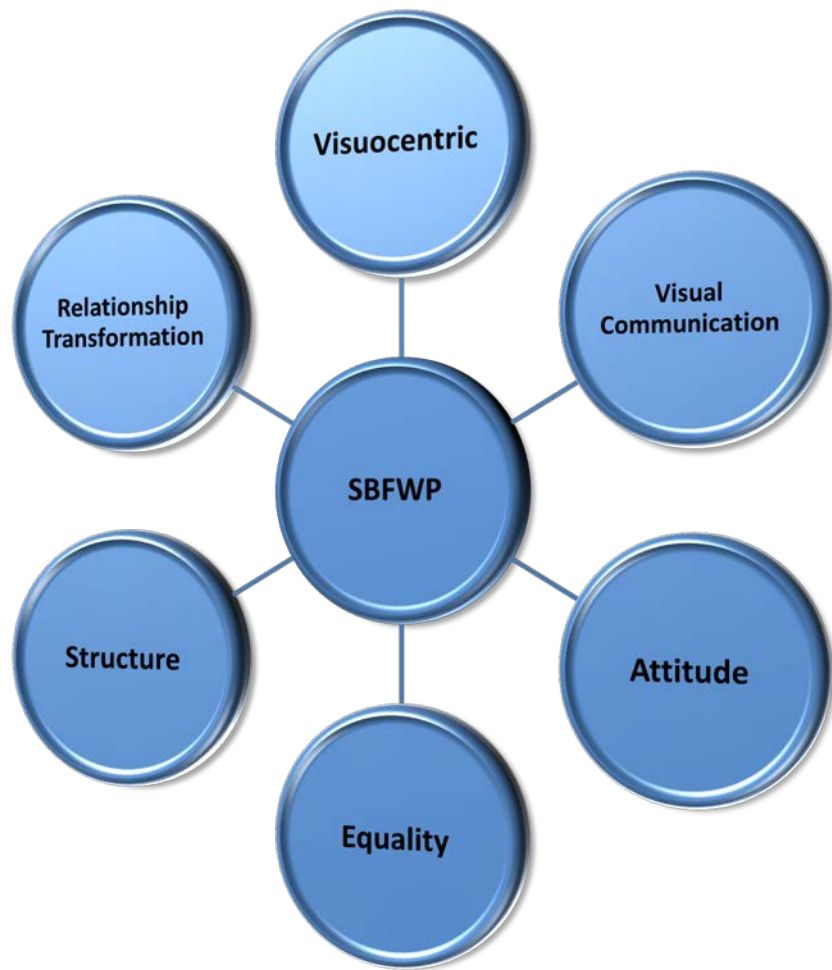
Figure 7-2 Sign-based Framework for the Workplace

Table 7-7 Sign-based Framework in the Workplace (SBFWP)

Principle of Visuocentricity	Understanding the five criteria of Hurley's multisensory Deafspace approach Understanding the visual centric concept of sign language users - visually optimal, design pertaining focus on visual access in Deafspace Understanding sound vs. visual based cultural language employment practices Awareness & understanding of a sign-based causality model for development	**Basis:** The first principle relates to the visual nature of Deaf sign language users. An organisation should make reasonable adjustments to provide a visually accessible space where Deaf employees who use sign language are based. **Logic:** This will enable Deaf employees who use sign language to see the everyday practises of the organisation as they take place and will make them aware of who is coming and going throughout the day. **Process:** This may include increasing the use of translucent materials, such as glass, or developing open-plan workspaces. This requires an organisation to consider the practicalities of making adjustments to existing spaces, or the possibilities of constructing new spaces that are designed and built according to the framework principles.
Principle of Visual Communication	Un/consciousness: appropriate activation of L1/L2 cultural awareness and cognitive knowledge of sign language production effort in the workplace zone Awareness of collaborative language and culture in the workplace Understanding and preservation of sign language culture & heritage stages of acculturation paradigm	**Basis:** The second principle relates to the visual language of Deaf sign language users. An organisation should encourage employees to attempt to use visual-gestural means when communicating with Deaf employees who use sign language. **Logic:** This will assist employees to overcome any fears or anxieties about using alternative communication methods, and enhance employee relations.

	Visual conflict aspects – visual ability	**Process:** This may include providing training or role-play activities to encourage employees to empathise with Deaf employees who use sign language and vice versa.
Principle of Attitude	Reveal & overcome androcentric of deaf/culture-centric bias Stages of ethics, cultural sensitivity and respect Awareness of Deaf and hearing levels of privileges Re-think the dynamic conflict of language attitude effect on behaviour Sociocultural psychological & behaviour assessments for interviewees	**Basis:** The third principle relates to attitudes of employees. An organisation should aim to enhance positive attitudes towards diversity and cultural difference amongst employees. **Logic:** This will create an environment of positive thinking about what Deaf employees can do as opposed to deficit thinking related to focussing on auditory deprivation. **Process:** This may include providing training or role-play activities to encourage employees to understand the equal capabilities of Deaf employees who use sign language and vice versa.
Principle of Equality	Human and talent-centric workplace (voices/power) Re-evaluating the role of positionality Re-evaluating inequality of glass or concrete ceiling Sign Language User Trainer/Lecturer: for on-going development and understanding of conflict resolution strategies Recognition of sign language for enforcing employment sector government legislation changes	**Basis:** The fourth principle relates to the historic disempowerment of Deaf sign language users. An organisation should evaluate the level of equal treatment and equal opportunities of employees. **Logic:** This will identify existing and potential areas of inequality in order to improve employee performance and motivation. **Process:** This may involve extending appraisal systems to enable open discussion of opportunity, and providing equality impact assessments in all areas of employment.

Principle of Structure	Re-evaluating sources of conflict in the work place Re-examine fitting-in and structural hierarchies Development of a HR specialist role: Sign Language User Integration Consultation in Recruitment and assessments Visual effective & structure environment workplace	**Basis:** The fifth principle relates to hierarchies within organisations that create social cohesion and high-achievement among all employers and employees. **Logic:** This will remove barriers to disparity among employee levels within the organisation and reduce sources of conflict in the workplace. **Process:** This may involve workshop training mediated by a personnel specialist who can advise on areas for structural enhancement.
Principle of Relationship Transformation	Understanding experiences and causes of conflict Transforming and transitioning relationships Shaping and negotiating the interaction of Deaf & hearing relationships Understanding societal attitudes towards sign language users and people with disabilities Ladder of active Deaf community involvement working with deaf-led, hearing-led and mainstream organisations	**Basis:** The sixth principle relates to shaping working relationships between Deaf employees who use sign language and other staff members. **Logic:** This will reduce any divides within the team and improve well-being across the organisation. **Process:** This may involve reflective workshops that encourage individual responsibility for maintaining effective working relations.

This sign language framework, also modelled on the Kaupapa Māori principles discussed above is able to be implemented as a transition and resolution strategy, with its concentration on the instinctive visuality of Deaf BSL users that has formed such an important aspect of this research. While the Kaupapa Māori principles focus very much on culture (O'Brien, 2017: 67), the workplace sign language framework has language and visuality at its core. The deaf studies arena and sign language classes, where small amounts of people each year are learning about the visual cultural identities of Deaf people, is the opportunity to spread the long-needed education and awareness, and cultural understanding, which is required in the workplace and in society at large.

In conclusion, resolution does not rest on good intentions in the workplace. Analysis of the data shows that having a communication policy in place does not appear to resolve many issues, although it is an important step and is of course helpful. The need for clear communication and understanding between employees and managers is crucial (Dawis & Lofquist, 1990; Lawson, 2002; Szymanski and Parker, 2010) and empowerment and trust for all employees is vital (Taylor, 1999) As Taylor notes, "it is not sufficient to simply record and report the 'voice' of the users" (p. 328), it is pro-action based on experience and research that is required in order to reduce conflict. What lies at the heart of the problem may essentially relate to attitude, values and worldview clashes, and the data reveal experiences of insufficient strategy for coping with cultural difference. Where there is a positive attitude toward language and culture, the chances of workplace conflict may be less, according to the findings of this study. In general, a shift in attitudes towards more positive acceptance of difference means that Deaf BSL users will be better equipped to negotiate living between the two worlds:

"While living in a Deaf world, also live in a hearing world raises the conundrum that unless Deaf citizens become able to physically remove themselves from the hearing world (by geographical relocation to a notional Deaf nation for example), there will always be a need for Deaf people to work within the hearing world to seek passage through the closed or partially opened doors of the mainstream."

(Emery, 2006: 186)

7.4.2   Bridging the Gap

This study has shown that continuing conflict among BSL users has led to a persistent divide between Deaf and hearing BSL users in the workplace. The main intention of the thematic analysis of this study was to highlight the experiences surrounding this conflict and, where possible, to consider causes of conflict and strategies for increasing effective workplace interaction. Its aim, then, is to bridge the gap between BSL users in the workplace. Strategies for moving forward, to find ways to take that step towards equal opportunity have been considered. Cultural understanding and a positive attitude towards Deaf BSL users and towards a signing environment have been considered as key aspects of resolution and as important factors towards reducing the divide that continues to exist. Re-defining academic methodologies, towards sign-based access, has been considered as a crucial factor in order to empower increased contribution to research from Deaf BSL users; introducing sign-based frameworks in the workplace has been identified as the key to improved interaction and progression among Deaf and hearing BSL users in the workplace. Acceptance of non-traditional processes that enable academics to work alongside community members, promoting understanding and providing Deaf spaces in academia, is also a key element in order to bridge the gap. Findings have also shown that Deaf and hearing BSL users need to work together, in the workplace and in order to achieve an allied approach that is empowering and provides an environment of cultural equality. It is only through understanding and resolution that attitudes and policies can be altered and can lead organisations to challenge the conflicting cultural barriers that continue to divide Deaf and hearing BSL users. This leads again to the need for discussion over who currently maintains control (Wrigley, 1997), and the need for control to be redistributed and equalised also applies in the workplace. Such a turn in viewpoint in society at large would lead to the de-oppression of a community group according to the deconstruction theory of Derrida (in Kamuf, 1991). The need to dismantle any society in a post-colonial state can lead to the 'undoing' of the cause of underlying social conflict and tension. In the case of the Deaf community, this deconstruction would lead to a modification in audist establishments (Lane, 1999) that operate a "hearing way of dominating and restricting" and has led to "deep conflict"

(pp. 43-44), hence the need for reconstruction. This would help to remove the "dysconscious audism" (Gertz, 2008) and lead to an increased level of equality, identity and language acceptance for Deaf people in mainstream organisations. This, in fact, would be a move from phonocentrism (Emery, 2011) which is "based on the use of sound and speech" (p. 48) to ethnocentrism: from a hearing-centric perspective to a Deaf-centric viewpoint. Advancing technologies and the use of sign language across the internet has seen some progress in this area. This is also makings some headway in academia, with web-sites such as The Deaf Studies Digital Journal produced temporarily by Gallaudet University, providing increased access to sign language in the digital world:
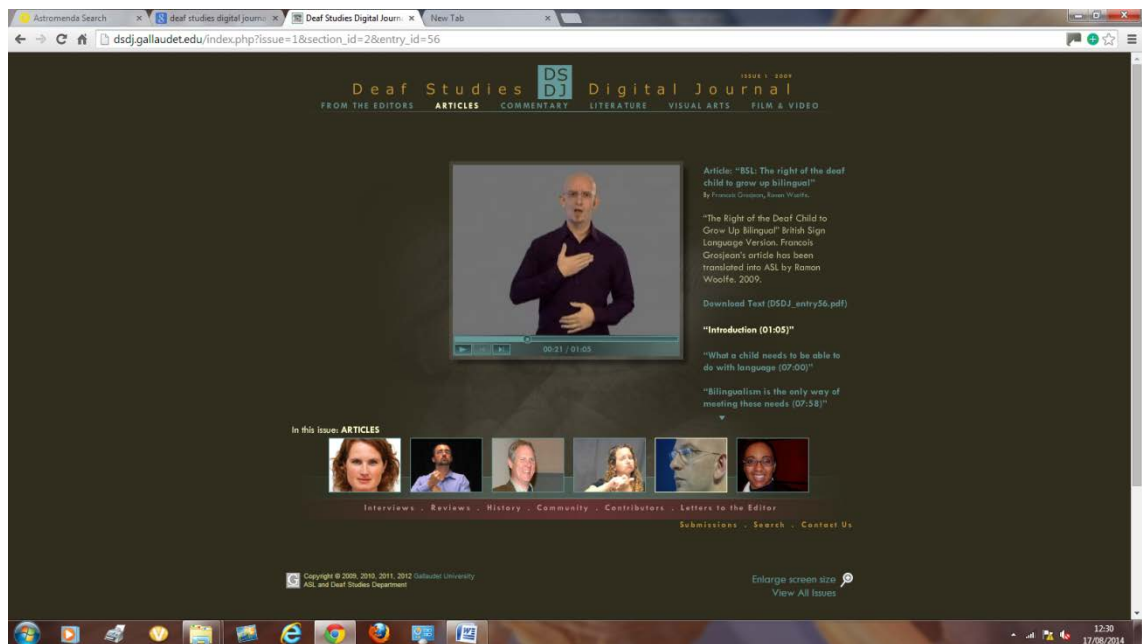
Figure 7-3 On-line American Sign Language Access: The Deaf Studies Digital Journal

Access to resources and materials in BSL is a key issue for Deaf BSL users, both in the workplace and in society at large. Working towards legislation that will give legal status to BSL, and ensure that Deaf people have sufficient access to the language is a step towards bridging the gap between Deaf and hearing people (De Meulder, 2015). Without sufficient access to sign language, many Deaf BSL users remain at work, particularly in mainstream environments, without appropriate access to a Deaf space. The closure of Deaf clubs and schools for Deaf children has exacerbated this lack of provision further. Although Deaf communities still fail to be widely regarded as a socio-

cultural group, researchers in the field of deaf studies continue to note the culture and language used by Deaf people as distinct and different to the language and culture of their hearing counterparts. A published text by Kyle and Woll (1985) explored the language and culture of the British Deaf community and highlights the cultural differences between the two groups yet three decades later, the same issues are repeatedly debated, and we are no further in avoiding the circular conflicting practises that keep the division between Deaf and hearing people set wide. Ladd (2003) explains this difference as cultural. The suppression of Deaf culture that is evident in the data is similarly considered by Kohl (1996) as detrimental to the social development of Deaf individuals per se:

> "…there is a qualitative difference in the behaviour and personality of deaf individuals...due to the qualitative difference in experiences the deaf have, and shows as a descriptive basis that the deaf are socially immature as compared to the hearing and even to the individuals who are hard of hearing."

> (Kohl, 1996: 6)

The following quote from a native BSL user (Lee Robertson) at an academic workshop held at the University of Central Lancashire in 2014 illustrates the importance of language access in all current and future developments:
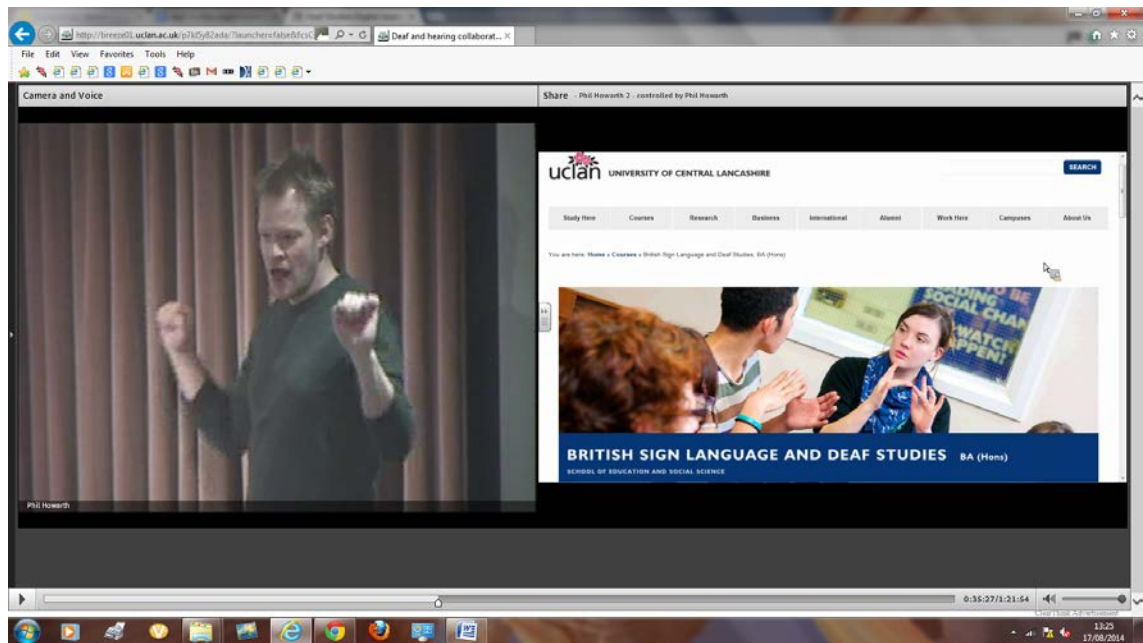
Figure 7-4 BSL Access: The Importance of Native Language Use

Lee: People who express themselves in their native language they can express themselves much more eloquently and accurately. Consequently, when other native users of the same language then read what has been expressed they find it more engaging and stimulating. Well what about the premise of sign language users who are watching a native BSL user express themselves? How much stimulating is that? But that doesn't happen. We, as native BSL users, have to write everything in English for English readers…why? Why write a translation for other people? Why can't we use Sign Language in its natural and intended state? Why is it not pushed more that BSL shows ideas so much more eloquently and beautifully? There would also be the virtuous circle of the more people saw the language in its intended state the more people would appreciate the beauty and richness of the language. But it's never shown…instead we have to write our thoughts and ideas in English. They won't allow us to show the eloquence of BSL. We have to find beautiful ways to write in English but we're stopped from describing our ideas in my language. We're trapped.

7.4.3   Limitations and Future Studies

One of the main limitations of this research study was the lack of previous research in this area, as the use of conflict theory is a new and captivating addition to the field of deaf studies. A study is enriched by ability to consider other studies of a similar nature and this comparative aspect is limited here. This is relevant particularly for the methodological aspects of the study, and this research turned to frameworks designed for the exploration of spoken languages and hearing-based cultures in the absence of suitable sign-based ones. The availability of appropriately designed methodologies may have helped to shed more light on the causes of workplace conflict, as this aspect was also limited due to methodological constraints. Etherington (2004) notes that the limitations of time are a common problem for academics, stating that, "It's a frequent complaint among academics that, although they are supposed to have time for research, there is always so much else to do that they usually end up doing their research in their own time" (p. 50). The space and time limitations had an impact on the amount of analysis possible, and for this reason, the data were not analysed for sociolinguistic variables, such as gender or age. The participants all reported having a degree or equivalent on the participant information sheet, and this results in a limitation in terms of the make-up of the participant group.

The study focussed on the issues that are raised when Deaf and Hearing BSL users discuss their experiences of working together. The findings of this research clearly indicate that there is a need for further study in the workplace and more research in this area, as Watson (2016) also notes. Furthermore, as Napier and Leeson (2016) suggest, it is important that researchers get the "strong message that researchers must work *with* the signing community and must engage in reflexive practice to examine their own position in the signing community" (p. 266). The analysis examined the experiences of BSL users at work and the causes of the identified conflict. The data were not analysed for non-verbal indicators of conflict and this is an element that would reveal more detailed findings. Future research, therefore, should consider replicating this study in other fields, and should explore the psycholinguistic aspects of workplace interaction. This is becoming increasingly possible with advancements in motion capture software

and what it reveals about the emotional aspects on interaction. Previous attempts to develop digital translation software, such as the on-going 20-year project initiated by the French company, MOCAPLAB, to devise a similar on-line tool. The closest to any level of success has been the signing avatar, developed in Paris, which incorporated movements transferred from a live signer, Amanda Everitt, in an attempt to recreate natural language use (BBC2 England 10.30am, 26/11/14).

In order to act against the injustices found in the study, the dissemination so far has led to the setting-up of nationally-attended workshops (called Bridging the Gap), where Deaf and hearing people have been able to come together to further these initial discussions and consider areas of resolution. This is one method by which this study has given something back to BSL users, and encouraged academics and the community to come together. The thesis intends to provide knowledge that will assist the campaigns for a shift to acceptance of Deaf people as a sign language user group, rather than as a group affiliated under the umbrella of disability. It is hoped that the findings of this study will serve towards increasing awareness of the current situation and encourage the Bridging the Gap workshops to move towards action planning, alongside knowledge sharing. While its ability to influence legislation may be limited to knowledge sharing, this knowledge will inform discussions by providing decision-makers with knowledge of the situation in the workplace for BSL users.

A further limitation lies in the ability to generalise successfully, given the small number of Deaf and hearing participants in the research activities. However, Borg and Gall (1989) state that often researchers use small scale studies in this type of research due to the small population of Deaf people who use a signed language as first language in employment. In a post-doctoral project, as a continuation of this research, the author would work in conjunction with psychologists to examine the contribution to interaction from the eyes. The analysis of 'eye reading' would provide supplementary information to this study, specifically in relation to the messages that are sent and received via the eyes during sign language use, and the importance of the eyes as an articulator of language. The notion that the fifth sense for Deaf people is not 'hearing', but is based on the ability to pick up information from the atmosphere, would form part of this understanding of non-verbal information (for example, Bahan, 2008, on 'Deaf

innateness'). Such little attention is paid to how being Deaf would impact on psychological studies, and inclusion could tell us much about the dynamics of the human mind, and of its interaction with others.
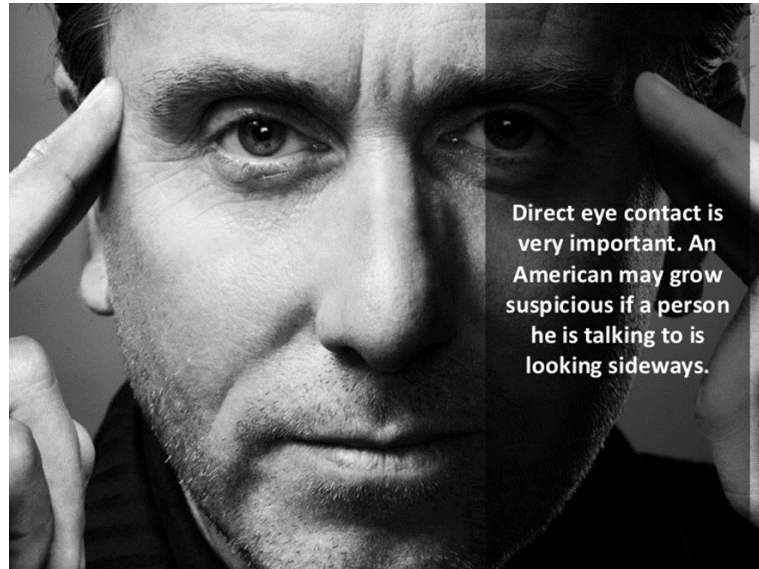
Figure 7-5 The Importance of Eye Contact
(SlideShare, 1995)

As noted above in the discussion of limitations, the frameworks used to examine interaction among BSL users in the workplace in this thesis are models specially developed for the analysis and understanding of interaction among spoken language user groups, i.e. culturally oral frameworks. Future research would benefit from expanding the basic workplace sign-based framework based on the 6 themes found in this study. Attention should also be paid to the limited amount of research into the situation for Deaf people in a Deaf-led environment, as section 2.4.1 noted. Watson (2016) also reports finding "…the need for more studies about Deaf employees working in predominantly (deaf) workplaces, since deaf-service organizations are growing with more Deaf leaders and employees" (p. 176). It is also necessary for future research to explore the mainstream setting, as Deaf people working in this area may not have adequate avenues for expressing themselves in the workplace due to not having access to other BSL users during the working day.

This study that has considered relationships among Deaf and hearing sign language users from a sociocultural perspective, and found that an appropriate attitude and acceptance of difference is at the heart of workplace conflict and its resolution. It is hoped that this research will pave the way for future studies to build on the knowledge and understanding that it has contributed to this under-researched field in order to move towards effective working relationships among BSL users. This knowledge must include further understanding of the central conflict concepts of power, control and equality of intergroup interaction at work. To this end, the acceptance and valuing of other languages and cultures is a necessity, and this is certainly true for sign language environments, which require, as Freidner (2015) suggests: "the emergence of deaf-centered, and therefore sign language-centered, structures and institutions that help deaf people develop language, educational, economic, social, and moral skills for living in the world as both a member of deaf sociality and as part of a larger, normal world" (p. 2).

As a final concluding point, questions need to be asked regarding the extent to which we are guarding our sign languages, both in specific domains, such as the workplace, and in society in general. One of the earliest recorded and most popular quotes from a Deaf American Sign Language user, George Veditz, advocated over a hundred years ago, in 1913, that societies should value and preserve sign languages; it is hoped that the future may bring this increased acceptance of the languages that are the natural, instinctive communication methods for Deaf people – heritage sign languages.

Figure 7-6 George W. Veditz, 1913

"As long as we have deaf people on earth, we will have signs. And as long as we have our films, we can preserve signs in their old purity. It is my hope that we will all love and guard our beautiful sign language as the noblest gift God has given to deaf people."

- George Veditz, 1913

(National Association of the Deaf, 2010)

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DATA PROTECTION COMPLIANCE CHECKLIST

This form and the Security questionnaire must be used by everyone when collecting personal data for use in all projects

You need to check whether there are any data protection issues with the project. Does the project involve the collection, collating, storage or use of personal data? Personal data is data such as age, height, gender, address, test results that relate to an identifiable person. If the data is totally anonomised it is not personal information

If you have any queries about data protection you should initially consult the Faculty Data Protection contact. "(Students should consult their supervisor) A list of these contacts is found at http://www.uclan.ac.uk/other/sds/local/dp/dpcontacts.htm If the Data Protection Contact is unable to resolve the query, they will seek advice from the UCLan Freedom of Information/Data Protection Officer who is located in the Strategic Development Service (Alex Bostock x2561 ambostock@uclan.ac.uk).

Name of Project	Mphil/PhD : United or Divided? – Conflict and co-existence among British Sign Language Users				
Project Leader	Nicola Nunn	Faculty/Service	Education and Social Science		
The term personal data used throughout this form means any information that can identify an individual eg name, address, unique identifier such as dna details etc.					
Tick either Yes or No as appropriate. If No consult DP Contact as instructed before proceeding.				Yes	No
1	Can you trace the identity of an individual from the data used? **If Yes complete Questions 2-8**			☑	
2	Is **ALL** the personal data used in the project supplied under contract from an external organisation who are responsible for collecting the information? **If Yes complete the following and go to Question 5** Either a) Attach copy of contract; or b) Detail: Name of Contract: Name of organisation(s) with whom contracted: Date of contract: Where held (provide filing reference):				☑

3	Has the participant* been provided with a full explanation of the project and given their consent and if applicable been provided the opportunity to opt-out of the project? - See **Annex B** for guidance. If **Yes** attach copy of Consent Statement. If **No** obtain advice from Data Protection Contact before proceeding		☑
4	Has participant* provided consent to use personal data obtained from previous archived projects**? If **No** obtain advice from Data Protection Contact before proceeding		☑
5	Detail how long personal data will be held 5 No. of years When setting this figure consult: a) Any contractual obligations to retain information b) Any recommendations of a relevant professional body c) The University Research Code of Conduct Provide details of any information listed in a), b) and c) above.		
6	Have measures been taken to avoid publication of personal data in published results? **If Yes to go Question 7.**		☑
6a	If answer to 6 is **No** has consent been obtained to publish as part of Consent Statement? (see Question 3) If **No** obtain advice from DP Contact before proceeding		☑
7	Adequate security provisions must be in place – **The Security Questionnaire at Annex B must be completed for every project to demonstrate the Security arrangements in place**		
8	Have measures been taken to anonymise the personal data before transferring s outside the European Economic Area If, **No** answer the following:		☑
8a	If the answer to 8 is **No** has consent been obtained as part of Question 3? If **No** obtain advice from DP Contact.before proceeding		☑

* If the participant is aged under 16 or incapacitated, then the consent of the parent, guardian or legally valid representative must be obtained.

** Personal data from old projects must be totally anonymised before use in new projects. If not anonymised, consent to use this information in new projects must be obtained. If this is not possible, you must consult and obtain clearance from Faculty/Service Data Protection Contacts before proceeding with the project.

The University registers its uses of personal data with the Information Commissioner. This process is known as notification. To view the University notification: http://forms.informationcommissioner.gov.uk/search.html) and key in the name University of Central Lancashire, PR1 2HE. Registration number Z5512420. Research is purpose 6.

Appendix 2: Ethics Checklist

University of Central Lancashire

UNIVERSITY OF CENTRAL LANCASHIRE
Ethics Committee Application Form

This application form is to be used to seek approval from one of the four University Research Ethics Committees (BAHSS; BuSH; PSYSOC & STEM). Where this document refers to 'Ethics Committee' this denotes BAHSS (ADP; ESS; Islands; JOMEC; Languages; Law; LBS; Archaeology[Forensic]); BuSH (Built[BNE];STTO&Health) PSYSOC (Psychology&SocialWork)&STEM(CEPS;Dentistry& Medicine; Environment[BNE]; Forensic[except Archaeology]; Pharmacy).

If you are unsure whether your activity requires ethical approval please complete an UCLan Ethics Checklist. If the proposed activity involves animals, you should not use this form. Please contact the Graduate Research Office – roffice@uclan.ac.uk -for further details.

Please read the Guidance Notes before completing the form. Please provide all information requested and justify where appropriate. Use as much space as you need – the sections expand as you type. Click on box or circle to select relevant option (e.g. type or Yes/No) and click

on 'grey oblong shape' to start typing for the free text entry
questions. Each question on this form has instructions on how to
answer that particular question. In addition links to relevant
documents (e.g. templates, examples, etc.) and further guidelines
are available in the Guidance Notes which can also be access from the
question by clicking on appropriate question number.

Your application needs to be filled in electronically and emailed to
roffice@uclan.ac.uk.   Please insert in the subject line of your
emailthe acronym of the committee that needs to deal with your
application. Committee acronyms are BAHSS, BuSH, PSYSOC or STEM –
see Appendix 1, at the back of this form, for list of Schools associated
with each ethics committee.

If this application relates to an activity which has previously been
approved by one of the UCLan Ethics Committees, please supply the
corresponding reference number(s) from your decision letter(s).

Section 1

DETAILS OF PROJECT

All applicants must complete Section 1

1.1 **Project Type:**		
ꭇ Staff Research	ꭇ Master by Research	ꭇ Taught MSc/MA Research
ꭇ Commercial Project	P' MPhilResearch	ꭇ Undergrad Research
	P' PhD Research	
	ꭇ Professional Doctorate	
*U*Principal Investigator:		

Name	School	Email
Professor Jason L. Powell, Ph.D.	Education & Social Sciences	jpowelll @uclan.ac.uk

Name	School	Email
Nicola Nunn	Education & Social Sciences	njnunn@uclan.ac.uk

1.4 **Project Title:**

provide your project title. If your project title has both a short and long title, please enter your short title here.

United or Divided? - Conflict & Co-existence among British Sign Language Users

1.5 **Anticipated Start Date:**

01/04/2009

1.6 **Anticipated End Date:**

31/03/2015

1.7 Is **this project in receipt of any external funding** (including donations of samples, equipment etc.)?

❌ Yes   ☑ No

If Yes, *please provide details of sources of the funding and what part it plays in the current proposal.*

1.8 **Brief Project Description** (in lay's terms) including the aim(s) and justification of the project (max 300 words)

Give a brief summary of the background, purpose and the possible benefits of the investigation. This should include a statement on the academic rationale and justification for conducting the project.

British Sign Language (BSL) is increasingly used by deaf and hearing people. For some people it is the first or preferred language, while for others it is a second or subsequent language and, therefore, is used in culturally different ways. This research aims to examine the tensions resulting from cultural conflict among BSL users and to consider the consequences for intercultural interaction. The research will examine the conflicts that arise from interaction among BSL users and will identify factors that may enhance intercultural understanding and successful co-existence. Intercultural interaction will be explored in relation to the Deaf community and the research will consider the transmission of positive factors to subsequent generations to increase positive co-existence.

This study will be the first to examine intercultural interaction among BSL users from a sociological perspective of conflict theory. Understanding this conflict from an academic perspective is the key to encouraging more effective integration in society and will have ramifications for wider areas of social research. Furthermore, there has been very little Deaf 'Insider' research in the past, and this research will be conducted by a Deaf person, bringing an element of Bourdieu's 'habitus' that is quite unique to the field of deaf studies research.

Theoretical background:

Empirical methods will be used in order to observe Deaf epistemologies and to explore nintercultural conflict in terms of its cause and effect, and in terms of its origins and its limits.

A transformative study will proceed with a deductive approach in order to test out a predicted hypothesis.

Qualitative research methods will be used in order to ascertain the nature of the intercultural relationships and to identify prevalent intercultural issues.

A descriptive and analytical approach will be taken in order to examine the central themes of power, privilege and self, and disadvantage and marginalization; at the same time, the benefits of intercultural relationships will be explored.

A thematic analysis will bring the research findings to a conclusion.

Research activities:

Phase 1 – Pilot study
In order to ensure a good level of validity and reliability, a pilot study will be carried out. This will serve to ensure that the research activities will result in data that is sufficient to reveal the conflict and misunderstanding among BSL users before moving to the larger data collection stage. The pilot study will comprise:
- **Focus groups:**
  Participants will comprise: 6 Academics from UCLan
  Participants will be involved in a 3-stage participatory process:
  1) a segregated mini focus group interview of Deaf BSL users only OR hearing BSL users only;
  2) an inclusive mini focus group interview with Deaf and hearing BSL users;
  3) a 10-minute, one to one interview in BSL either online or based in the workplace.

Phase 2 – Actual research
The main intention is for the data to be collected as unobtrusively as possible in order to ascertain the impact of the experiences and the views of interacting with other BSL users. The observations will be made directly, with the researcher present, but via loosely structured interviews in order to apply as much objectivity as possible.
- **Focus groups:**
  Participants will be selected as follows:
  - 8 Academics (2 each from 4 HE institutions)
  - 10 Specialist organisations employees (2 each from 5 organisations)
  - 6 Mainstream organisation employees (2 each from 3 organisations)

  Participants will be involved in a 3-stage participatory process:
  1) a segregated focus group interview of Deaf BSL users only OR hearing BSL users only;
  2) an inclusive focus group interview with Deaf and hearing BSL users;
  3) a 20-minute, one to one interview in BSL either online or based in the workplace.

- **Participant observation:** The formal interview findings will be supplemented by observation of individual and group inter-cultural behaviour in the community in order to ensure typicality and by comparison of previous research findings for the purpose of triangulation. Other adopted factors will include respondent validation, which will involve contacting participants subsequent to interviews. As a BSL 1st language user, the researcher will adopt the contemporary critical elements of reflexive subjectivity and transparency in order to ensure that subjective influence is accounted for.

Facilities required:
Deaf Studies Lab: classroom for unstructured interviews **Sign Language Lab:** digital recording, monitoring and transcription **Interpreter room:** for transcription and monitoring of the recordings **Data storage:**   private, locked office and password pc **Technical needs:**   ELAN and NVIVO software; digital video storage space

1.10 **Has the quality of the activity been assessed?** (select all that apply)   **No**

⌐ Independent external review ⌐ Internal review (e.g. involving colleagues, academic supervisor, School Board ⌐ Through Research Degrees Sub-Committee (BAHSS, STEM or SWESH ⌐ None ⌐ Other
If other please give details

1.11 Please provide details as to the storage and protection for your data for the next 5 years - as per UCLan requirements
The details of the facilities available (including non-funding and location);

Manual storage:

All paper and recording materials will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in Room 219, Livesey House (key locked room).

Electronic storage:

All electronic data will be stored in the student researcher's personal F-drive space in a password protected PC in Room 219, Livesey House (key locked room). A hard-drive back-up copy will be kept and stored according to the manual storage statement.

1.12 How is it intended the results of the study will be reported and disseminated?

(select all that apply)

P Peer reviewed journal

r Internal report

P Conference presentation

r Other publication

r Written feedback to research participants

P Presentation to participants or releveant community groups

P Dissertation/fhesis

r Other

If other, please give details

1.13 **Will the activity involve any external organisation for which separate and specific ethics clearance is required** (e.g. NHS; school; any criminal justice agencies including the Police, Crown Prosecution Service, Prison Service, Probation Service or successor organisation)?

r Yes   \." No

If Yes, please provided details of the external organisation / ethics committee and attached letter of approval

NB - external ethical approval **must** be obtained before submitting to UCLan ethics.

1.14 The nature of this project is most appropriately described as research involving:-

(more than one may apply)

P Behavioural observation

r Self-report questionnaire(s)

P Interview(s)

P Qualitative methodologies (e.g. focus groups)

r Psychological experiments

r Epidemiological studies

r Data linkage studies

r Psychiatric or clinical psychology studies

r Human physiological investigation(s)

r Biomechanical devices(s)

r Human tissue

r Human genetic analysis

r A clinical trial of drug(s) or device(s)

r Lab-based experiment

If 'Other' please provide details

Please read all the following questions carefully and if you respond 'Yes' then you should provide all relevant   details and documentation (including risk assessments), and justify where appropriate.

Section 2

HUMAN PARTICIPANTS, DATA OR MATERIAL

_____

2.1 Are you using human participants (including use of their data), tissues or remains?	
(please select the appropriate box)	
P Participants [proceed to question 2.2] P Data [proceed to question 2.20] Γ Tissues / Fluids / DNA Samples [proceed to question 2.20] Γ Remains [proceed to question 2.24] Γ No [proceed to Section 3]	Click here for Q2.20 Click here for Q2.24 Click here for Section 3
2.2 Will the participants be from any of the following groups:	
(tick as many as applicable)	

Ⓟ Students or staff of this University

Ⓡ Children/legal minors (anyone under the age of 18 years)

Ⓡ Patients or clients of professionals

rning disability

Ⓡ Those who are unconscious, severely iff, or have a terminal iffness

ergency situations

nental iffness (particularly if detained under Mental Health Legislation)

dementia

Ⓡ Prisoners

Ⓡ Young Offenders

Ⓡ Adults who are unable to consent for themselves

erson whose capacity to consent may be comrpomised

f an organisation where another individual may also need to give consent

ould be considered to have a particularly dependent relationship with the investigator,
        e.g. those in care homes, medical students

Ⓡ Other vulnerable groups (please list)

The academic environment at this university provides an ideal arena to examine the interactions between deaf and hearing people and is in a location that is easily accessible.

Ethical approval covers all participants but particular attention must be given to vulnerable participants. Therefore you need to fully justify their inclusion and give details of extra steps taken to assure their protection. Where the 'Other vulnerable groups' box has been selected, please also describe/list.

2.3 Please indicate exactly how participants in the study will be (i) identified, (ii) approached and (iii) recruited?

N.B if a recruitment advertisement is to be used, please attach
State how you will identify, approach and recruit participants including how you will ensure no coercion will be used in your recruitment.

Participants will be selected from being known by the student researcher within the community and will be contacted in person initially. This will enable the researcher to use BSL to invite and recruit the participants into the study (please see attached sheet for recruitment details).

2.4 How exactly will consent be given?

N.B. if a written consent form is being used, please attach
Please specify what information you will provide in order that consent be informed, and whether consent will be given verbally or in writing. If consent is not to be obtained, please explain why not.

The consent form will be signed in BSL to participants requiring this and will be collected in written form (please see attached sheet for consent details).

| 2.5 What information will be provided at recruitment and briefing to ensure that consent is informed? |
| N.B. if an information sheet is being used, please attach |
| *Give details of any particular steps to provide information and justify where an information sheet is not being used.* |

The information provided in the attached briefing letter will be explained in BSL to all potential participants.

| 2.6 How long will the participants have to decide whether to take part in the research? |
| *Indicate whether this is days or weeks and if less than 24 hours please justify.* |

A minimum of 2 weeks.

2.7 What arrangements have been made for participants who might not adequately understand verbal explanations or written information given in English, or who have special communication needs?

Gives details of what arrangements have been made (e.g. translation, use of interpreters, etc).

The student researcher is a BSL user and will provide translations and further explanations of all stages of the research to any participant requiring this.

2.8 Payment or incentives: Do you propose to pay or reward participants?

r Yes   r. No

If Yes, please provided details

2.9 Does the activity involve conducting a survey, interviews, questionnaire, observational study, experiment, focus group or other research protocol?

r. Yes   r No

If Yes, please provide details and attach copy of what you will be using

Give details of the specific procedures/activities being used and indicate where documentation (i.e. questionnaire or agendas) will be developed as part of the project. Also include what is the experience of those administering the procedures

There will be no documentation used, as all research activities will be conducted in BSL and will be recorded onto video camera. Participants will be presented with a signed topic, such as 'describe your experiences of interacting with other BSL users through the 'eyes' of a deaf person'. Only open-ended questions will be used in the event of individual interviews.

| 2.10 **Will deception of the participant be necessary during the activity?** |

r Yes   r. No

If Yes, please provide justification
Gives details of the deception and explain why the deception is necessary.

Does the activity (e.g. Art) aim to shock or offend?

r Yes   *r.* No

If yes, please explain
Give details, justify and what measures are in place to mitigate.

2 Does your activity involve the potential imbalance of power/authority/status, particularly those which might compromise a participant giving informed consent?

r. Yes   *r* No

If Yes, please detail including how this will mitigated
Describe the relationship and the steps to be taken by the investigator to ensure that the participant's participation is purely voluntary and not influenced by the relationship in any way.

There is a potential risk that some of the particiants may feel intimidated. In order to mitigate this, the participants will be separated into a deaf-only group first in order to enable deaf people to become accustomed with the focus group situation before being observed in a mixed group and to allow hearing people to explore issues together first, before joining the Deaf participants. The imbalance will not compromise any participant giving informed consent, as consent will be sought in 2 separate groups.

2.13 **Does the procedure involve <u>any</u> possible distress, discomfort or harm (or offense) to participants or researchers** (including physical, social, emotional, psychological)?

r. Yes   *r* No

If Yes, please explain
Describe the potential for distress, discomfort, harm or offense for research participants as a result of their participation in your study and what measures are in place to protect the participants or researcher(s). Please consider all possible causes of distress carefully, including likely reaction to the subject matter, debriefing or participants.

Deaf participants may recall previous experiences of interacting with hearing people that have caused them stress and this may lead to renewed stress. Also, the conversation may be of a sensitive nature to some participants. This situation will be mitigated by allowing participants to withdraw from the study at any time and by conducting loosely structured interviews that will help to steer the topic in a non-sensitive nature.

2.14 **Does the activity involve any information pertaining to illegal activities or materials or the disclosure thereof?**

r Yes   *r.* No

If Yes, please detail
Describe involvement and explain what risk management procedures will be put in place.

2.15 What mechanism is there for participants to withdraw from the investigation and how is this communicated to the participants?

Describe exactly how, and when, participants may withdraw if they change their minds about taking part including how participants know they have the right to withdraw.

During the recruitment stage, the student researcher will explain fully, in BSL, the right to withdraw at any time without reason. This will be reiterated at the beginning and at the end of each research activity.

2.16 What is the potential for benefit for participants?

Briefly describe the main benefits and contribution of the study. Include any immediate benefits to participants as well as the overall contribution to knowledge or practice.

The benefit to the participants is the advancement of academic knowledge in the field that will be made available to BSL users via a BSL version of the thesis being produced. The results of the research may be a framework of cultural competence that can be made available to employers and may improve the working environment for all participants in the future.

2.17 What arrangements are in place to ensure participants receive any information that becomes available during the course of the activity that may be relevant to their continued participation?

Describe how participants will be made aware of relevant information that was not available when they started.

Participants will be informed, in BSL, of any relevant information that was not available during the recruitment and consent stage. The option to withdraw or continue will be given at the same time as any updated information is provided.

2.18 Debriefing, Support and/or Feedback to participants

Describe any debriefing, support or feedback that participants will received following the study and when.

All participants will be informed of the availability of one-to-one time with the student researcher at any time during the project and afterwards in order to receive support or debrief. A system for complaining about the student researcher or about the research itself will be made available and explained in BSL.

2.19 Adverse / Unexpected Outcomes

Please describe what measures you have in place in the event of any unexpected outcomes or adverse effects to participants arising from their involvement in the project

The available one-to-one sessions with the research student will curtail and deal with any adverse effects and any unexpected outcomes will be dealt with in conjunction with the supervisory team and in compliance with the University's code of research conduct.

2.20a Will the activity involve access to confidential information about people without their permission?

r Yes   *r.'* No

	Yes	No
a. complete anonymity of participants (i.e. researchers will not know the identity to return responses with no form of personal identification) is not possible?	*r*	*r.*
b. anonymised samples or data (i.e. an irreversible process whereby identifiers are removed from samples/data and replaced by a code, with no record retained of how the code relates to the identifiers. It is then impossible to identify the individual to whom the sample or information relates)?	*r*	*r.*
c. de-identified samples or data (i.e. a reversible process in which the identifiers	*r.*	*r*

If yes, please explain and justify

State what information will be sought, from which organisations and the requirement for this information.

2.20b Does the activity involve medical research, human tissue samples or body fluids?

r Yes   r.' No

If yes, please detail

Clearly state the source of the material and anonymisation protocols

---

Confidentiality/Anonymity - Will the activity involve:

If yes to any proceed to question below
If no to all, please skip to question 2.24

2.21 Which of the following methods of assuring confidentiality of data will be implemented? (Please select all relevant options)
N.B. Attach DP ComQliance checklist and DP securit}'. guestionnaire

P data and codes and all identifying information to be kept in separate locked filling cabinets

P access to computer files to be available by password only

r other

If other, please describe method.

2.24 Does the activity involve excavation and study of human remains?

r Yes   r. No

If yes, please give details

Discuss the provisions for examination of the remains and the management of any community/public concerns, legal requirement etc.

Section 3

BIOLOGICAL ORGANISMS/ENVIRONMENT

<u>3.1</u> **Does the activity involve micro-organisms, genetic modification or collection of rare plants?**

ⲅ Yes   ⲅ. No

If yes ple ase provi defurther details below State the type and source of the samples to be used in the project and include compliance with relevant legislation.
If no please continue section 4

Section 4

HAZARDOUS SUBSTANCES

<u>4.1</u> Does the activity involve any hazardous substances?

ⲅ Yes   ⲅ. No

If yes please continue
If no please continue to section 5

<u>4.2</u> Does the activity involve igniting, exploding, heating or freezing substances?

ɼ Yes   C.- No
4.3 Does the activity involve substances injurious to human or animal health or to the environment?
ɼ Yes   ɼ. No
4.4 Are you using hazardous chemicals?
ɼ Yes   ɼ. No

If Yes to any please attach all relevant COSHH and/or risk assessment forms
N.B. Please address issues of quantity involved, disposal and potential interactions as well as a thorough evaluation of minimisation of risk

Section 5

OTHER HAZARDS

5.1 **Does the activity relate to military equipment, weapons or the defence industry?**
ɼ Yes   ɼ. No

If yes please provide details and attach relevant permissions and risk assessments. Describe the hazard, clearly explaining the risks associated and specify how you will minimise these *If no please continue*

5.2 **Does the activity relate to the excavation of modern battlefields, military installations etc?**
r Yes   *r.* No

If yes please provide details and attach relevant permissions and risk assessments. Discuss the provisions for examination and the management of any community/public concerns, legal requirement, associated risks, etc.
If no please continue

Section 6

FIELDWORK/TRAVEL

6.1 **Does the activity involve field work, lone working or travel to unfamiliar places?**
('" Yes   (." No
If yes, answer the following questions *If no, go to Section 7*
6.2 **Where will the activity be undertaken?**
N.B. If your work involves field work or travel to unfamiliar places (e.g. outside the UK) please attach a risk assessment specific to that place *Give location(s) details (e.g. UCLan campus only)*
6.3 **Does the activity involve lone working?**
r Yes   *r.* No
If yes please provide further details below and attach a completed risk assessment form *Describe the lone working element, clearly explaining the risks associated and specify how you will minimise these*

6.4 **Does the activity involve children visiting from schools?**
r Yes   *r.* No
If yes please provide further details below and attach a completed risk assessment form *Describe the nature of the visit, clearly explaining the risks associated and specify how you will minimise these*

Section 7

ETHICAL AND POLITICAL CONCERNS

Section 8

DECLARATION

This section needs to be signed by the Principal Investigator (PI), and the student where the study relates to a student project (for research student projects PI is Director of Studies and for Taught or Undergrad project the PI is the Supervisor). Electronic submission of the form is required to roffice@uclan.ac.uk. Where available insert electronic signature, if not a signed version of the submitted application form should be retained by the Principal Investigator.

Declaration of the:

7.1 Are you aware of any potential ethical and/or Political concerns that may arise from either the conduct or dissemination of this activity {e.g. results of research being used for political gain by others; potential for liability to the University from your research)?

● Principal Investigator

OR

r Yes   *r.* No

r. Director of Studies/Supervisor and Student Investigators

If yes please provide details below

(please check as appropriate)

If no please continue

- The information in this form is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief, and I take full
7.2 Are you aware of any ethical concerns about collaborator company / organisation (e.g. responsibility for it. its product has a harmful effect on humans, animals or the environment; it has a record of

- I have read and understand the University Ethical Principles for Teaching, Research, Knowledge supporting repressive regimes; does t have ethical practices for its workers and for the safe disposal Transfer, Consultancy and Related Activitie.
of products)?

- I undertake to abide by the ethical principles underlying the Declaration of Helsinki and the University
r Yes   *r.* No Code of Conduct for Research, together with the codes of practice laid down by any relevant
If yes please provide details below professional or learned society.

If no please continue

- If the activity is approved, I undertake to adhere to the study plan, the terms of the full application of which the Ethics Committee· has given a favourable opinion and any conditions of the Ethics Committee in giving its favourable opinion.

- I undertake to seek an ethical opinion from the Ethics Committee before implementing substantial
7.3 Are there any other ethical issues which may arise with the proposed study and what changes or amendments to the proposed study after the Ethics Committee **steps will be taken to address these?** has given a favourable opinion.

r Yes   *r.* No

- I understand that I am responsible for monitoring the research at all times.

If yes please provide details below

If no please continue

- If there are any serious adverse events, I understand that I am responsible for immediately stopping the research and alerting the Ethics Committee within 24 hours of the occurrence, via roffice@uclan.ac.uk.

- I am aware of my responsibility to be up to date and comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data.

- I understand that research records/data may be subject to inspection for audit purposes if required in future.

- I understand that personal data about me as a researcher in this application will be held by the University and that this will be managed according to the principles established in the Data Protection Act.

- I understand that the information contained in this application, any supporting documentation and all correspondence with the Research Ethics Committee relating to the application, will be subject to the provisions of the Freedom of Information Acts. The information may be disclosed in response to requests made under the Acts except where statutory exemptions apply.

- I understand that all conditions apply to any co-applicants and researchers involved in the study, and that it is my responsibility to ensure that they abide by them.

- **For Supervisors/Director of Studies:** I understand my responsibilities as Supervisor/Director of Studies, and will ensure, to the best of my abilities that the student investigator abides by the University's Policy on Research Ethics at all times.

- **For the Student Investigator:** I understand my responsibilities to work within a set of safety, ethical and other guidelines as agreed in advance with my Supervisor/Director of Studies and understand that I must comply with the University's regulations and any other applicable code of ethics at all times.

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Signature of Principal Investigator: or
   (Research Degrees Tutor)
Supervisor or Director of Studies:
Print Name:
Date: 26 March 2012

Signature of Student Investigator:

Print Name: Nicola Nunn

Date: 05/03/2012

Section 9

ACCOMPANYING   DOCUMENTATION

Please indicate here what documentation you have included with your application:

r Proposal /protocol

– Application to Register for Research

nal ethics approval letter

mission

P Participant consent form(s)

P Participant information sheet(s)

P Interview or observation schedule

P Questionnaire(s)

ert

P DP Compliance checklist

P DP Security Questionnaire

k Assessment

er

If 'Other' please list/describe

Appendix 3: The Statement of Informed Consent

The Statement of Informed Consent

for participant BSL users in the research for the pilot/completion

of MPhil/PhD study by Nicola Nunn

As part fulfilment of the Master of Philosophy degree under the University of Central Lancashire, Preston, UK, I will be conducting a limited research project entitled "United or Divided? – Conflict and interaction among British Sign Language users".

The intention of this research is to enable an investigation in order to enhance knowledge of the experiences and conflicts that occur as a result of cross-cultural interaction on a personal level. Participation will include contributing to unstructured dialogues in the form of focus groups that will be subject to videography recording. All research activities will be carried out in British Sign Language, as stated in the accompanying Participant Information Sheet. Analysis of the videography data concluded from the completion of this research may be submitted for publication in academics papers, journals, and books or for other educational purposes.

If you agree to take part in this research, you will be guaranteed confidentiality with the conditions set out in the Participant Information Sheet. For example, reconstruction of contributions during focus group and interview sessions may be secured in order to provide maximum anonymity. Furthermore, participant names will not be identifiable from the written thesis produced. The research will comply with the Ethics and Data Protection requirements of the University of Central Lancashire, Preston, UK.

If you are content to participant in this research according to the conditions stated above, please provide a signature below:

Participant: I agree to participate in the above research study and give permission for all research activities that I will partake in to be video recorded in line with the above conditions.

Signature : ……………………………………………………………………………………………

Print name : …………………………………………………………………………………………..

Date: ……………………………………………………………………………………………………

Appendix 4: Participant Information Sheet

Information sheet in conjunction with informed consent form:

for participant BSL users in the research for the pilot/completion

of MPhil/PhD study by Nicola Nunn

1) **The project title**

   United or Divided? - Conflict and interaction among British Sign Language users

2) **Invitation to participate in the research**

You are invited to take part in this research. The study aims to learn from the experiences and views of British Sign Language users who consider themselves culturally Deaf, and from hearing professionals who are also BSL users and work within the mainstream sector, in Deaf or hearing-led organisations or in educational settings. The accompanying information presented in BSL will provide a clear understanding of the concept raised in this form and the author is available to provide further clarification or for further discussion with individuals.

3) **The reasons for this project**

The aim of the project is to explore relationships between Deaf and hearing people who all use British Sign Language (BSL). I am hoping to explore any inequalities and exploitation of visual communication as it is affected by intercultural issues. There is very little research in this area and so this study will begin by ascertaining the nature of the intercultural relationships in question and by identifying the cross-cultural issues prevalent in such interaction. This study will then attempt to illustrate areas of intercultural misunderstanding. Because there is no other empirical study that shows the existence of cross-cultural conflict existing among Deaf and hearing users of BSL, this study will also identify and measure to some depth the impact of such conflict among the Deaf community. With this in mind, the research aims to raise cultural awareness by lifting the lid of the disability construction and seeking a reconstruction of the Deaf community's position in UK society.

4) **Why am I asking you to take part in this research?**

The reason you have been chosen is that you are valuable to this research because you are one of the small group of British Sign Language users who is working within either a mainstream organisation, a Deaf-led or hearing-led organisation or in an educational setting (e.g. a school, a college or a university). I am interested in finding out your views and about your background to identify whether or not there is a lack of cultural awareness within your employment setting and if you could provide some valuable input that would benefit this research,

5) **Do you have to take part in this research?**

No decision is forced on you at all; you can take part if you want to but you do not have to. If you do decide to take part in this research, you can withdraw at any time. You will receive a consent form

signed in BSL and a guide to the consent form (also signed in BSL). So remember - you can pull out at any time and this will not affect your protection within this research.

6)   What will happen if you do take part in this research?

If you agree to take part, you will be a participant in the 3 stages of the project's data collection:

1)   Firstly, you will be invited to participate in the first focus group: Deaf OR hearing BSL users. This will be a group discussion in BSL based at UCLan.

2)   Secondly, you will be invited to participate in the second focus group: integrated BSL users. Again, this will be a group discussion in BSL based at UCLan and lunch will be provided.

3)   For the third stage, you may be invited to record an individual testimony about your experiences on an individual basis for the purpose of further enquiries.

All data collection activities will be recorded and it is intended that this contemporary research will take approximately five years to complete. Your participation in the research will be extremely valuable and you will be involved in driving forward the most up to date research, using BSL users' experiences to expand knowledge. It is important that Deaf BSL users take part in this study so that undiscovered historical issues in terms of intercultural collisions, misunderstandings, conflicts and potential resolutions are brought to light and insight into the Deaf experience is gained.

7)   How will the data collection materials be kept confidential?

All data collection materials will be kept strictly confidential by being kept in a locked cabinet for 5 years after the completion of the research. However, due to the uniqueness of this project, participants may be asked for permission for the recorded data clips to be used in published materials and in further research. This may involve providing a link to some quotes from the recordings and, if your input is selected for publication, you will be notified beforehand. You will be offered a choice to allow your original recording to be used in the thesis or in a publication, or for your recording to be published via a reconstruction, using a relay actor who will imitate your contribution. The reason for using original signed materials is to avoid any transcription problems and to provide the most accurate reflection of the data findings.

If you participate in the focus group activities, you will be expected to treat all information confidentially in order to keep group exposure to a minimum. If you do not feel able to comply with this expectation, it would be preferential for you to decline participation in the research.

8)   What are the effects or the risks in taking part in this research?

Some of the anticipated issues that may arise during the course of this research may be of a sensitive nature and expressing information of this nature may lead to some participants feeling emotional or exposed. In this case, you will be able to continue or withdraw from the research according to your own wishes and you will not be pressured into continuing to participate.

9)   Who will be approving this research and monitoring the project?

The University of Central Lancashire, under the school of Education and Social Science, has already given approval to continue with this research project.

10) **Who would you contact if you wish to make a complaint?**

In the event that you would like to raise any concerns regarding the research or make a complaint, you would contact the Principal Researcher directly: Nicola Nunn, University of Central Lancashire, Livesey House Room 219, Heatley Street, Preston PR1 2HE. Email njnunn@uclan.ac.uk   Breeze: Breezebsl1@uclan.ac.uk Text: 07834919858

If the complaint relates to the Principal Researcher or you would prefer to raise the issue with an alternative person, you would contact the acting Director of Studies directly: Brian Rosebury, Principal Lecturer, Research Degree Tutor, School of Education and Social Science, Livesey House room 315, University of Central Lancashire, Preston, PR1 2HE. Tel:+44 (0)1772 893037 Email: bjrosebury@uclan.ac.uk

11) **In the case of any further enquiries regarding this research, please feel free to contact me at any time via any of the following details:**
   Senior Lecturer: Nicola Nunn, University of Central Lancashire,
   Livesey House Room 219, Heatley Street,
   Preston, PR1 2HE.

Email njnunn@uclan.ac.uk

Breeze: Breezebsl1@uclan.ac.uk

Text: 07834919858

Appendix 5: Background Questionnaire

Background Questionnaire

Personal Information :

Full Name :   Gender :

Age: 18 to 30 ☐   30 to 40 ☐   40 to 50 ☐   50 to 60 ☐   60 and over ☐

Marital Status: Married ☐   Divorced ☐   Single ☐   Widow ☐

Cultural Information:

Yourself:

Deaf ☐   **Hard of hearing** ☐   **Hearing** ☐

First Language: BSL ☐ SSE ☐ English ☐   **Preferred language:** BSL ☐ SSE ☐ English ☐

Your mother:

Deaf ☐   **Hard of hearing** ☐   **Hearing** ☐

First Language: BSL ☐ SSE ☐ English ☐   **Preferred language:** BSL ☐ SSE ☐ English ☐

Your father:

Deaf ☐   **Hard of hearing** ☐   **Hearing** ☐

First Language: BSL ☐ SSE ☐ English ☐   **Preferred language:** BSL ☐ SSE ☐ English ☐

Professional Information:

Employment: University ☐   College ☐   School ☐   Deaf-Led Organisation ☐

Hearing-Led Organisation ☐   **Mainstream Organisation** ☐   **Freelancer/Self Employed** ☐

Qualification: Degree ☐ Further Education Qualifications ☐ Educational Experience ☐

School: Deaf School ☐   Mainstream school ☐   Partial Hearing Unit ☐

Role model Assistance Support ☐   **Hearing comprehensive** ☐   **Hearing Grammar** ☐

Appendix 6: Unstructured Question for the Focus Group

Loosely structured question for the focus group

Can you describe your experiences of working in a signing environment with Deaf and hearing BSL users?

Appendix 7: Example of Translation of Thesis Text

Example of Deaf English presented in blue font (1) and the translation returned in purple for checking (2).

(1) In the recent decade, many of the researchers scholars start to go further in the questioning the traditional concept of qualitative and quantitative methods can diverse or commonly known as multi-strategy (Bryman, 2004), mixed methods (Creswell 2009; Taskhakkori & Teddlie 2003), multiple methods (Merterns 1998) in challenge their research in finding new way use the triangulation depending on their specific thesis or research study in validate their findings. As modern term for it is triangulation, as going through diverse junctures of data collection and the explanations for why we used and how it divulges or open up to us. The reason for why to us triangulation is to achieve or gain the 'validity' outcome. Basically is just 'checking' or 'check on factual data' in Mertens (1998:183)

There are several triangulation design in which Denzin (1970) term it 'methodological triangulation' also further Denzin (1978) with Patton (1999) categorised four types of triangulation, which are methods triangulation, triangulation of sources, analyst triangulation and theory/perspective triangulation, Validating quantitative model, Data transformation model or Convergence model from this adopted the data model to make adequate for this design. (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007)

(2) In recent decades, many research scholars have questioned traditional concepts of qualitative and quantitative research methods, and a diverse range of approaches are now in use, such as multi-strategy methods (Bryman, 2004), mixed methods (Creswell, 2009; Taskhakkori & Teddlie, 2003), multiple methods (Mertens, 1998). Scholars continue to find challenging ways to validate their research, and triangulation can be a common method, depending on the nature of the specific thesis or research study in which the findings are to be validated. This modern notion of triangulation involves conducting several diverse junctures of data collection and providing explanations for

why each is used and how it divulges or opens up information about the data to us. The central reason for adding triangulation to a study, then, is to achieve or gain the validity of the research outcomes that is crucial. This is concisely referred to by Mertens (1998: 183) as the "check on factual data". Denzin (1970; 1978) refers to several triangulation designs, and proposes a process of 'methodological triangulation' for research. Furthermore, Patton (1999) categorises four types of triangulation: methods triangulation, triangulation of sources, analyst triangulation and theory/perspective triangulation. Further options include the validating quantitative data model, the data transformation model and the convergence model put forward by Creswell and Plano Clark (2007); this study adopts elements of the data transformation model in order to adequately validate the findings.

8.1   Mixed Group – Deaf and Hearing BSL Users

E: Ok who will start?

B: (Points to A)

> 1. **Silent - due to silent possible led to these people had shared past of the conflict and resolution of cross-cultural communication**

E: <mark>As a deaf group we've been talking a lot and as a hearing group you've been talking a lot but now we've come together we're all sat here silent staring at each other!</mark>

F: Yes.

D: Yes, it looks like a stand off!

B: Well, actually when the A, B & C HBSLU came together we didn't immediately start talking we spent some time paused as we thought how best to address the question.

E: It's interesting the 3 of us came together, D is relatively new in her experiences but what was interesting is that F and I have many experiences and many of those were very similar. Where I worked before we had a sign language policy and E has experience of working in an environment with a sign language policy too. It was interesting talking about how we found the experience. Do you feel that a sign language policy could help here or do you feel it's something that's not necessary A? What's your thoughts? It's interesting to see what your opinions is of a sign language policy.

F: It's very interesting what happened to me. When I started at the xxxx (**??) in xxxxx they handed me the document which was the communication policy. I was quite surprised to see a

document like that, now if I was taken aback by that I'd like to know what a hearing person thinks of it when they were starting in a new job.

B: (A)- do you want to say what you were saying of your experience C ?

> 2. **Sign language Policy/attitude : Show empathy in reflection the experience in the different workplace aspect view of how people measurement of acceptance policy and the attitude behind it**

A: I've worked in different places. Some that had communication policies and others that did not. But <u>I</u> <mark>found that even if you had the very best policy which could all the different eventualities it still didn't change the mindset and attitude of those with a very stubborn attitude towards sign language.</mark> My experience involves working in large xxxxxx hospitals with strict policies but it doesn't always affect the change of attitude required by some hearing people. I remember when I was about 18 or 19, I thought the policy was very good but the policy itself didn't solve the attitude issues with some people. I think you still need to have face-to-face

communication to help someone to talk through their issues. Whatever language is used BSL, English, Polish, French there will always be some differences between linguistic groups and you have to work at resolving those issues.

3. **Resolution: refer the similarity in a different workplace express the important of share balance. Aim to resolution**

E: You're right A. I had a sign language policy when I was working at xxxxx University. Looking back at that time now. Well we moved from one building to another. The first building we were based in was more like a house just of the Deaf team. It was like it was our building really. It was an old, tall 4 storey building. When you went through the front door that was the whole university as we know it in our department. When you went into the building you immediately felt that you were in a sign language environment. We were the only language group in the building and there was no other groups who shared that building. Totally different to here. It's difficult to create an environment of being a sign language only work place because we a re only one small part of one corridor mixed in with many other departments. Therefore we cannot demand of all the other people who share this building that they must use sign language and adhere to a sign language policy. That's the difference between the two places. Interestingly, at xxxxx university's Centre for Deaf Studies it was a very old building, so then we were moved to a new building. But being in the new building it had exactly the same atmosphere, as if it was exclusively a Sign language environment. We were in fact part of a much larger faculty but because we were at the end of the campus when you walked into our door you immediately felt that you had entered a sign language environment. Similar to how it is in this lab was how it was in our building. Here in the lab we have lots of posters acting as reminders for the students saying " please do not speak" and "Please use sign language". So they know that when they entered the lab the modality changes from speech to sign language. Also in xxxxxx another policy we had was that all of the offices must be staffed by a Deaf and a hearing person. It wasn't allowed that the staff in an office were all hearing, or all Deaf. It had to be a balance of a Deaf and hearing person in an office.

B: We had the same requirement here you know E . All our offices must be shared between Deaf and hearing staff. But then one person left and the next person who moved in was the same as the person in there and the policy faded away. So it depended on the people.

E : So, do you think it was different then to how it is now?

B: We were talking about that in our group. We think it's a very good idea having a hearing and Deaf mix in an office and we think it is something that should happen. We think it's even better for having confidential meetings or discussion within an office without disturbing the other person. If you have a fully Deaf office then there is no confidentiality when signing and if you have a fully hearing office then there is no confidentiality with speech but a Deaf hearing mixed office one person can be working without interruption whilst the other person can be in a conversation. The way it is now is difficult as you can't have a private conversation and need to then go and find another room. So, I think a shared office works really well. I also think that shared offices would mean that there was a greater use of sign language. That's how it used to be. xxxxxx shared an office, xxxxxx shared an office. E , B shared an office with xxxx, but then

people left and it seemed that when another hearing person came they stayed in the first office they went in. So there wasn't a conscious decision to abandon the policy but by what happened with people themselves the policy didn't continue. Perhaps we should go back to having shared offices again. I think it's a very good idea having Deaf/hearing mixed offices.

E: It's interesting. We were talking about that earlier and said that in the instance if a new person coins the team it may be difficult for them but they would have to use sign language and the rate of improvement would be very quick. For a person who was proficient in sign language it would be okay but there is also occasions when in a shared office someone would need to use the phone and they would ask first to make sure it was to before they made the call which we would say yes that's fine. But there is always occasions when something has happened in the xxxxxxxx, or the xxxxxxxx has made a change to some policy. 2 people in a corridor could have that conversation in speech and then if a hearing person inn shared office overheard that conversation then they could inform the Deaf staff member. If I'm working in my office I don't know what's being said in the corridor outside my office, obviously. It's not perfect but it is a lot better. In a shared office if a Deaf person comes into the room and starts signing to the Deaf staff member the hearing person is able to watch what is being said and can choose to do so. It also means that the person who has access to that discussion is able to make a contribution and be a part of that conversation. Likewise if a hearing person came into the office and wanted to use speech to the other person in the office they would ask the Deaf member of staff if they minded if they spoke briefly to the hearing person and the Deaf member of staff would give them permission to do so. Even though both of them are hearing with a Deaf member of staff in the office they may both choose to sign, or I may dip in and out of the conversation and at a later stage rejoin the conversation and make a contribution, or not at all and carry on with my own work.

C: What happens if a hearing person comes into the office and asks to use speech and the Deaf person says no?

E: Well they can go out the office and find another room to have that spoken conversation. That's acceptable. It happened very rarely in my experience. When I was asked I always said yes of course but I did know of a couple occasions when other people has said, " No, I don't want you to use speech in the office." at which point they went and found another room to have their spoken conversation.

B: I think it depends. Having a communication policy I think depends on what the purpose of the policy is for. If what you retaking about E, if the purpose is to work towards equality of access and that's what the communication policy is for, then I've got no problem with that at all. But if, like your example, when someone has to ask to use the telephone then I don't think the purpose is the same as said previously. If I am in work should I then stop working the way i could so to ask another person if I could use a telephone?? That to me sounds like a very different purpose than achieving access through communication. You said E that you would give people the permission to go ahead and speak. If 2 people are using sign language. Communication policies can vary from place to place and depends if people respect the policy. For example if it stated in

the policy that everyone has to use sign language at all times, what would be the aim of that? That would be a question I would ask.

4. **Awareness/Respect: Interesting to show a Deaf-led organisation within mixture of hearing and deaf signers, yet two hearing aware when walk in, show respect and empathy of awareness of signing to partake**

F: Well let me give you an example. When I worked at the xxxx we had a sign language policy. There was 4 people in the office, 2 hearing staff and 2 Deaf staff. If someone went into that office they had to use sign language. There was the odd occasion that I would go into a room and the two hearing people would be speaking over a cup of coffee but when they would see me they would apologise and immediately start using sign language. When I would be working and typing at my desk they may be using speech but when I would look up at them they would then use sing language. Sometimes they would forget to sign. Some people can be lazy too. Can you think of anything else?

5. **Communication Policy/Allies: This show encouragement of ally hearing non signer learner of the sign language develop learning sign language by absorb in, show the Deaf signer attitude to bring in to absorb the necessary culture and language, communication. The important fact of having break crucial all there.**

E: Interestingly, from our discussion it may look to be really harsh compelling everybody to use sign language. Although it may look harsh as we had said in our group..for example in the Centre for Deaf Studies we had our own tea room and every morning at exactly 11 o'clock al the staff would gather in the tea room for a break. If anyone was missing from the tea room one of us would go and find them in their office and tell them they had to come downstairs. That was the working culture we had then at xxxx. When a new person would join the team they would be sat in our tea room, with no interpreter and everybody using sign language. They would face a stark reality at the start but everybody would help them in developing sign language skills which they would do remarkably quickly. Also, of course inherent in learning language they are learning about Deaf culture. So hearing people watching and learning sign language were also gaining a first and insight into what Deaf culture was and that shared experiences that Deaf people had. So it depends on the work place but there is an added benefit of sign language in the work place because it promotes and understanding of their culture and an empathy of how Deaf people live their lives. In that short half hour of a tea break the hearing person may be the minority and unable to use sign language but that helps them to gain the understanding that Deaf people face that feeling every day. They realise that their total lack of understanding also creates an empathy for what it's like for Deaf people and actually helps to create a stronger relationship. Conversely, if they didn't have that stark emotional experience then some of them may continue to have a lack of knowledge and empathy for how Deaf people live their lives. I think that's why it was so effective. Otherwise without that experience they would not know what it's like to be a Deaf person. So you ask for the purpose of a communication policy, well that's what the purpose is. When I'm sat in the office and someone asks me can I use the phone i've always said yes. The atmosphere was always very positive with me and we were happy. It was never used to be dismissive. That's important too. But it's good to see that it's the hearing member who is

motivated to inform their Deaf colleague. The communication policy itself did not state that the hearing staff members must ask before using the phone but it was the hearing people themselves who felt it right and appropriate to ask first. Interesting how that came about.

B: Like we said earlier if 2 hearing people are sharing an office they will speak. That's just natural that they will speak but if a Deaf person enters their office then they will change and start using sign language. That's accepted. But if you have written in a communication policy that all hearing people must sign all the time well that's just not natural. people will use their mother tongue when talking to another person. I think there needs to be a mutual respect for both groups. I don't think Deaf people should impose on others that everyone should sign at all times and BSL is the only good language. I think there needs to be a greater mutual respect of the languages. That's why I said it depends on the purpose of the policy. If the purpose of the policy is actually to say, we are great and BSL is the best language then it won't work. If on the other hand the aim is to achieve a genuine equality then it will work.

E: B, you are talking about access which is right. There is respect for both languages. I think the purpose of it is to have access.

B: I agree. The point of access I understand.

E: If there are two hearing people in an office and one uses speech to another person, then other hearing staff member can engage or choose not to listen but they have access either way. If it's a Deaf person in the office and the other person starts speaking on the phone then the Deaf person immediately has no access to what is being said. That's where we are trying to rebalance the access. I know it's very difficult but that's the purpose of the policy.

B: If a Deaf person is in the room yes they should be using sign language, but if there is no Deaf person in the office why should they use sign language?

6. **Attitude/Resolution: Show insight of trying to explain the reverse psychology and try ti swap place to give insght of what like in audio world to sign world to pertain the respect and access that need to rasie awareness also resolution and updating the system in the fashion policy in the conflict of language of open and private standard.**

E: Well, it's similar to your question before about what does someone using the phone need to ask the Deaf person first. It's part of giving access to the Deaf staff. If you were on the phone B and xxxxx was nearby he may know who you are on the phone to and he may choose to ignore it, as he may have no interest but he still knows what you are saying on the phone either way. If on the other hand it was a Deaf person in the room then saying to them I"'m just making a call" and them saying, "Yes, go ahead." When you analyse it at a deeper level you can see what the purpose of it is. As hearing people you cannot stop being hearing. If in the next room there is a loud argument taking place, you cannot switch off from hearing that whether you want to or not. If I

am part of a shared Deaf hearing office then my colleague may say to me, "E, there is a row taking place next door." Which I would not have known about. You as hearing people have

E: Yes. there is also the light switch that can be used to inform people you are entering a room. Here we had to change the doors because of the issue over the glass. If you can see through the glass and see if someone is there then you could enter.

C: What if 2 hearing people are sharing an office and their door is closed. At that point is there a problem if they choose to speak? Then if a Deaf person opens the door and walks in then they can stop speaking and start using sign language. The opening and closing of the door is linked to whether the discussion is private or public? Likewise if 2 Deaf people are in an office with the door closed there is no problem for them is there?I think it goes back to if I'm in my office ad the door is open and speaking then that would be a problem but if my door is closed and I'm speaking then that isn't a problem as the door is closed.

E: I understand what you are saying. Xxxxx and I always have the door pen but you're right, if xxxxxx or I need to make a private phone call then we will close the door which then informs people that we need privacy and not to interrupt. I think we all work by the same assumption that if someone has closed their door they do not wish to be disturbed and if it is open then it is public and people can see them.

7.   Respect/Awareness/Access: Communication awareness

F: Can I add what I have seen. In Harris building where I work, 2 people, my xxx and another person, were in an office speaking and then when I walked into the room they both started signing. It was good that they started signing but what I didn't know is whether the conversation was private or not. then when I left the office I noticed that they started speaking again. I was unsure whether i should watch their conversation or not. How am I meant to know?

B: Yes, exactly.

F: If 2 Deaf people come into my office they would both be signing, I don't know.

B: E you've said about that phone issue but if we were sharing an office and you start signing to another person I wouldn't automatically start watching your conversation. I would consider that rather rude. There is a difference, if 2 people were speaking you wouldn't have access but if No 5 and xxxxx were signing to each other I'm not sure about that, because sometimes it is a group

discussion but sometimes it's not. When I see people signing I would not automatically start watching them.

F: The interpreter was signing and I could see her but we don't have a communication policy here. But when I'm in the office the interpreter will sign immediately and that's good that I have access to what she is saying but I am left confused over whether the conversation she had previously been having was private or not..I then don't know whether I should be watching what they are signing.

E: Imagine if you were hearing and not Deaf. As soon as you would have walked into the room they would have quickly changed the topic immediately, whether it is private or not. Lynne can access it all because she is hearing. People are always free to change the topic when other people enter a room but I feel that we should have access you what is being said either way because hearing people have access to it so why aren't they using sign language. It's entirely your choice if you wish to look or not as it is hearing people's prerogative whether they wish to zone in or out of someone's conversation. I've never been hearing but I imagine it's very easy to ignore a conversation.

8. **Attitude/Resolution: Perception of hearing and deaf simulation of information receiving surrounding access**

B: Yes it is easy. It's very easy for me to zone out a conversation. For example in the office if I was working on my computer and xxx was on a telephone call I could zone out his conversation. I can do that. I see what your point is. I can do that I have a choice. I can switch off which is what we do all the time in work. We often switch off. Interestingly talking about your tea break and every one congregating at 11 o'clock is a great idea. One of the problems we've had in the past, it's not so much a problem nowadays but one of the problems we had in the past was that there was conflicting perceptions by the Deaf and hearing staff. If the Deaf staff saw two hearing staff speaking about work they Deaf staff have often felt why have they not informed us? Why haven't they told us what they're saying? the perception being that the hearing staff know all things going on and the Deaf staff receive very little information. When in fact the two people may be talking about Coronation Street or something else. So, you're right, it encourages this suspicion of each other. People have often said, "they know all the information. They know what's happening in the university." When actually if we had strictly enforced tea breaks when all staff came together and everybody talked to each other, then I think firstly there would be much more communication shared by everyone and also that it would be influential on improving peoples' attitudes. When I think about it the only time we come together as a team is when we have a Deaf Studies meeting, just that one reason our staff meeting. The effect of that is that the agenda when we do have our xxxxxxxx staff meeting is huge, with many, many items. That causes a hectic meeting where we have to rush through lots of items. It would be lovely to have tea breaks where people could relax, bring their tea, or sandwiches and just chat to each other and that would be really good for us.

E: I recall when I started here i was really shocked with the difference here. We were hoping to transform the little room at the end of the corridor into some sort of kitchen but it wasn't something we could achieve, even though I tried. I really missed those tea breaks when I came

here. It may seem really small to some people but being able to have those conversations is really good.

C: Do you recall last year at the xxxxxxxxx boards. All the Deaf staff went to xxxxx's retirement that was the last time..(**??)

9. **Social Access: Teabreak (Jule Dickson) to bring back the united group of hearing and deaf signers communication as hearing signer concern will cause raise suspicious (Dai O Brien)**

B: I do think we need to establish fixed tea breaks when all staff must come together and chat together. I think that would be really nice. I also think it would help increase confidence between each other and it would dramatically reduce this engrained sense of suspicion that exists between each other. I'm not sure suspicion is the right word but it would really help to eliminate that feeling.

E: Yes, it does not need to be a formal structure to it. It can be totally relaxed. i think it's important to have that balance of formality and informality. What I wouldn't want is to have a lack of that balance so we only ever had formal discussions. We are all so busy we do need to make a conscious effort to stop working at our desks and take 15 minutes to have a break and have a chat with each other.

B: Once e have the new timetable for the academic year we need to slot in a tea break time and then inform all of the staff that they must come together.

10. **Oppression/Isolation/Space: The oppression of the space which cause the creation of the diversion when together similarity to above, teabreak together united back to office space casue the restriction and back to normal way. Possible the space if create differently and breaks crucial as health way may possible work.**

F: Let me tell you something that happened to me. I'm now in the xxxxxx team and the staff repeatedly forget about me and don't include me in things. But previously I was in the xxxxx team do you remember that team? that was a fantastic team to be in, as they always invited me along to everything and involved me in what was going on. they always made sure at tea breaks to invite me and talk to me. But for example when we had an 'xxxxxxx' everyone had a great day, all talking to each other but as soon as we get back to our office everybody reverse to how they were before just concentrating on their own work keeping their heads in their computers and forget all about us again. So it doesn't achieve anything. I don't know if your "xxxxx' are similar that whilst you're away everything is great and people bond well but as soon as everyone goes back to work they go back to their old ways. There doesn't seem to be a way that that bonding and communication on the 'xxxx', is not brought back with us.

D: Yes, nothing ever happens after you come back from an 'xxxxxxx'.

E: I think we all need 'xxxxxx' to get away from everything going on in work and be able to spend time talking and mixing together. But at the same time it's impossible to be like all the time, that when you are in work. That's why "xxxxx' need to be on a regular basis because people are very busy when in work but if you can have regular 'Away days' to be able to discuss things with each other, I think that's really good. No 1, its similar to when you all used to go to the pub.

B: That's a long time ago.

E: Yes, but the 3 of you used to regularly go to the pub. You all liked going the pub together but you don't go anymore.

B: No.

E: I know there are people who like to regularly go to the pub for an after work drink.

B: That was 2 years ago.

E: 2 years ago.

B: It was on a Thursday. When we finished work. It was actually 3 years ago.

11. Communication barrier/conflict: Mainstream socialising oppressing of barrier of language communication.

E : Sometimes I've walked into xxxxx bar and been surprised to see some of our staff having a drink together and chatting. I understand why you do it because it's a place away from work where you can talk in a relaxed environment which is good. Last week I popped in to look past England V France in their first game. When I went in I was surprised to see xxxxxx was there the xxxxx of School. I went over and said hello as xxxx's usually with other people. I asked xxxxif he had come in to watch the football but he said that xxxx had lots of work he had to go and do. So I went and sat down and watched the football, xxx came over later watching the football by xxxxxx and then left. I found that encounter a shame really as xxxxx and I work in the same building yet there was such a barrier between us and it was extremely hard for us to communicate. If I would have been a hearing person I think xxxxxx and I would have had a longer discussion. In fact, I saw him having much longer conversations with the pub staff but I suppose that's because they could both understand what each other was saying. But it's interesting to see that. Its a real shame that if xxxxxxxx could have signed or I could have spoken but neither of those things happened.

B: You're right we did used to go the pub and it was a good thing to do because the may be people that you don't speak too much in work and speaking to them outside work you may find out that what they're doing is really good. But we don't go anymore, that's stopped.

E: It's useful having a general knowledge of what's happening with everyone. Deaf people often feel that they are in a bubble of their own and only know what's happening with themselves and those closet to them, other Deaf people but they don't have a general knowledge of what's happening within the rest of the building and the wider organisation. They feel that they don't know what's happening else where and there is a barrier that exists and no matter how hard

Deaf people try to eradicate the barrier it seems to always be there. then they need to rely on other people to give them an insight into what is happening but that is usually little and not often. So they have very little general knowledge of what's happening. It's a difficult working environment. As I've said before if everybody was Deaf within an organisation, and there are a few fully Deaf organisations out there then as a hearing person being in that organisation they would be exactly as it is for Deaf people now but in the opposite direction. For example, xxxxxxx! is a Deaf led company. xxxxxxx has worked there before and it wasn't a completely smooth running company because they still have a few hearing so issues still arise where a hearing person will use the telephone and will put down the phone without involving the Deaf person who may have been able to provide a solution but the Deaf staff member was not asked. Conversely, if the Deaf person had been a hearing staff member they would have been able to hear the call and could have interjected before the call was ended. So it's interesting to see that even in an organisation predominantly Deaf led there are still issues that seem small but make people frustrated. perhaps it's an impossibility to have a place run completely smoothly without any issues. As you said earlier there will always be something happening.

12. Audism/Institution culture/Policy – Institution audism – tool of communication (G Turner 2002/2007)

A:I also think different places have their own culture too. E and I have worked for the xxx for a long time and Deaf people working in the xxxx, or the xxxxx has to take on that extra layer of intersectionality, so I'm C , from xxxxxxx, but also the culture within the company may make it harder for Deaf people to work under. When the vice-chancellor does a podcast of 10 minutes, which would be so easy to have interpreted, it isn't and Deaf people don't have access to his speech. So there are two types of problems we have those that are local for instance in the corridor here and those that are more to do with the wider institution. Likewise when you look at the xxx or xxxx they will have policies and ways that some Deaf people will feel doesn't suit them. I think it's important that people recognise that often there is an institutional culture which can cause extra problems for Deaf people and perhaps the organisation needs to change. people change but also an institution needs to change, taking a look at their policies and seeing that having Deaf staff certain policies may not be appropriate for Deaf people to work in such an environment. It's only in the last 9 to 10 years that email has become so pervasive in the workplace. When I started working there was no emails at all. That's an issue because emails have created a big problem in the workplace because emails can only be used with English. There are lots of misunderstandings that happen. In 1997 we all signed when we needed to say something but now people just fire off emails. Emails create lots of misunderstandings. Before they cam along people had to use sign language to inform people of anything. Now email has become the primary tool of communication in work. That creates problems around people's attitudes and of institutional policies linked to communication.

13. Audism: The loss of transaction of emailing communication/feel threated/have to accept part of the mainstream/culture changing within the institution.

E: I remember when email first came out some Deaf people felt threatened by them and they were continually behind the curve as they couldn't read and reply in enough time so that the

hearing staff had sent many more emails before the Deaf person had read the first one. They were also misunderstanding when reading them and for those reasons some Deaf people objected and refused to use emails. I can sympathise with why they did that because if you have good literacy skills then you can quickly read and reply but if you haven't got those skills then it makes it really difficult to reply using English language. You're right Eddie email should not be the only communication platform used within the workplace. Meeting face-to-face is also important and as you say Lynne having our Deaf Studies meetings on a regular basis but we haven't had one for a long time because everyone has been so busy. But there does need to be a balance between using emails and having meetings. It cannot solely be emails, in meetings you can have really useful discussions.

14. **Resolution: Positive response to solve the emailing 'english barrier to shift the oppression by switching to webcam to signed information, to try resolve the conflication of the signed video upload/to enable to email need techinal issue to resolve this.**

B: A lot of meetings have been cancelled because staff haven't been in the building they've been working from home. We need to look at that and ensure that we communicate on a regular basis. We all have webcams so we could send messages using Sign language but the only problem with that is it's very difficult to look back over what we have agreed. The information is gone once the conversation is over. there's no way to check what was said and look through it quickly. Actually you can record a clip but you would have to watch the whole video in real time just to find one point or sentence. So it's much more difficult, not impossible, but more difficult. May be we could use webcams for informal points but when we need precise information regarding work or policy and procedures then we do need to use emails. We need both.

15. **Resolution: Communication when people all sign in the meeting, resolve the conflict and improved communication two way.**

E: We were also talking about when you have a meeting and everybody uses sign language it's really good but in some meetings when you need an interpreter because there is a guest who doesn't have the sign language skills or perhaps the confidence to sign for them selves in the meeting and have to use speech, the dynamic of the meeting is completely different. Here, when we meet we all sign. I think that's really good because it means we all have full access to each other. When we need to bring an interpreter in it's ok but you can feel the difference.

16. **Empathy: feeling the frustation of wanting to watch sign but conflct of hearing the voice over has the effect on the hearing signer but in positive way.**

B: We were talking about the same issue. When everybody uses sign language there is no problem at all but as soon as you have a guest attending and bring in an interpreter people start to veer to using speech and using the interpreter. Even though some staff have the sign language skills when an interpreter is present they will use the interpreter because it's really difficult when, as a hearing person, I can hear the interpreter voicing me over and saying what I have

E: I've noticed that when we are in a meeting if the hearing person signs exactly what they've just said again then it's because they've heard the interpreter has understood what they have said. As Deaf people we don't hear the voice over and we carry on regardless. It's only people like you B who inform me later that a person hasn't interpreted me properly but I'd have no idea.

B: Yes we come up with ways to be able to help the interpreter if we hear they haven't voiced us over properly.

E: I have seen hearing people repeat what they have just said and I couldn't understand why they had done that. So now I know the reason.

8.2   Deaf BSL Users

F: I think better we swap seats so I can see you all better.

E: Oh ok no problem. Now I'm the one in the middle frightened now!!:)

F: That's better thank you.

E: Are you well? Are you well? I know you F but I don't know Dso perhaps xxx can tell us a little bit of her background and then she'll feel fully involved and not left out. The question Nicola has posed regarding working with Deaf and hearing people. Well, what is your experience?

D: Well it depends if you mean Deaf organisations where there are hearing people who sign? But if you mean outside of work mixing with hearing people...?

E: No. In the work place, have you worked with other companies too?

D: Yes, I have worked with hearing people when using the telephone, using interpreters for access. I don't know really.

E: Have you found the experience to be positive or stressful?

D: In the xxxxxxxxxx?

E: In your experience at work.

17. Discrimination/Barrier/Access/lack of Awareness

D: There is Deaf awareness by many of the staff and those that know I am Deaf are becoming more Deaf aware. But when I go to other buildings there is no Deaf awareness. So when I have to go to other buildings in the university I usually go with an interpreter or I have to write everything down using pen and paper.

E: I feel awful asking this but I don't actually know what work you've been involved with in the past so could you briefly tell us what work you have been involved with in the past?

D: Well I first started here on an internship.

E: What about before then?

D: Before that I was working at Deaf Perspectives (**??) with a colleague. We were helping Deaf and hard of hearing students supporting them to gain access to note takers etc.

E: Where was that?

D: Here at the xxxxxxxxx.

E: This xxxxxxxxxx?

D: Yes.

E: With whom?

D: With a colleague named xxxxxxxx

E: Right but with what department were you working under?

D: Oh, xxxxxxx as it was but it's now been disbanded and we were there to help people with their access needs and supporting people. We were trying to improve access for the students by emailing them and signposting them to the services available, also educating them about the differences between using in-house interpreters or freelance interpreters. We would make them aware of the issues regarding cancelation fees and the notice that some professionals needed when being cancelled.

E: Right, so that's what you did before. then what did you do?

D: Then I had a second xxxxxxxxx

E: Ok what did you do after that.

D: Secondly, I then went on to work for xxxxxxxx

E: Ahh, I thought I recognised you from the summer time.

F: Yes.

E: I saw you last summer didn't I?

D : Yes that was my second internship at ISLanDS. Now I'm on a short term contract busy designing and placing posters around the building.

E: F did you want to ask a question?

F: Did you also work voluntarily at a Deaf organisation too?

D: Yes, I worked at the BDA. That was my external work.

E: So you've worked at the xxx and at xxxxxx. What was the difference between the two organisations based on your experience?

D: The xxxxxx was very political organisation to work for. Xxxx at the xxxxxxxxx it was a much more relaxed atmosphere and more friendly. For example, here if it's someone's birthday in work we would celebrate it, which is really nice. But at the xxxxx it was more more formal and political. It was very different to here.

E: F did you want to ask something.

F: Well, I've been waiting to but you keep asking questions.

E: Go ahead F You know D well already you see.

F: Did the xxxxhave fewer Deaf or hearing staff?

D : When I was in the Preston branch our line-manager was hearing but our Outreach officer was Deaf, the administration person was hearing. So it was more hearing people than Deaf.

E: Could they all use sign language?

D: Yes. One volunteer who could only use a little sign language, really the basics like asking if you wanted a tea or coffee, or a biscuit. Obviously the Deaf staff could use sign language. My manager could sign. Sometimes the admin was done by short term contract staff and the they would not have been exposed to sign language beforehand.

E: Have you been in meetings in xxxxxxx?

D: Yes, I have once.

E: What did you feel when you were in the meeting at xxxxxxx? Did you feel that you were very equal to others? Or did you feel unequal?

D: The first time I went into an xxxxxx meeting they were all using xxxxxxxx Sign and I couldn't understand what they were saying. It was difficult to grasp what they were saying But then I got used to it and now I know what people are saying when they use International Sign so i feel very much involved. When I started I was also much younger so I didn't feel equal to the others. But now I feel that I can contribute, talk about what I'm doing and others talk about what they're doing and I'm fully involved.

E: that's good. F you and I can now talk about our experiences.

18. Reminding awareness constantly

F: I have lots of varied experience. this is my 9th job. I've worked with both Deaf and hearing people. Let me go back a bit. My first job was in xxxxxxxxx working among the xxxxxx workers in (place). I worked within the xxxxxxx team, which included both xxxx workers for the Deaf and social workers for the blind. My role was in the administration department. But often the other admin staff would forget me and I would often have to remind them to book interpreters for meetings. I'll quickly take you through each of my jobs.

E: When you say they would forget you, do you mean they would ignore you and use speech between themselves meaning you were left out?

19. Isolation/Social Break access limitation

F: Yes. The admin team was a fully hearing team using speech. So they would chat away to each other drinking, I would be focusing on the screen and doing my work. Being Deaf, I would oblivious that they had all stopped for a chat and a coffee. When the social workers went out to see their clients there would be no sign language users in the office at all, I would be the only one. I was very isolated.

D: I have some similar experiences when hearing people are talking and I'm left out.

E: D you haven't had that type of experience yet have you? Yes, you've had everyday, life experiences but not actually within the workplace yet.

D: I have been in places in work where I have been the only Deaf person, on my own, waiting for the interpreter to arrive. Then I have to ask the interpreter when they arrive what were they all talking about before and I then receive the information much later than everyone else.

E: What are the highs and lows of your experiences No 6?

F: I have such a wide variety of experiences. Briefly, my second job was a short term contract. I had a manager who was disabled but had a really good attitude. treated me on an equal footing, didn't leave me out of anything, ensured i was involved fully, she made it compulsory that all of the staff had to undertake deaf awareness training. She also brought interpreters into the team. If we ever needed to have a meeting very short notice that didn't give us enough time to source an interpreter then one of the staff would sit next to me taking contemporaneous notes, which I'd feel sorry for them really but that was the best access I ever had within a team and my best experience because they all made sure that for the 3 months I was there, that I was fully involved. I was genuinely involved and continually informed of what was happening. When I was looking down typing, they may have spoken to each other, I wouldn't know. But I really enjoyed working with them all. i felt a strong bond with that team. My worst experiences?? I don't know really. Oh there was one time I was working for the Tyneside Deaf youth project with young people. I shared a job title with another person. I brought the admin skills and the other person was very skilled at youth work. So we split the full-time job between us. Sometimes when we were both there at the same time we would have a good chat between ourselves. I do recall there was one incident that happened iI had fallen out with someone n the evening out of work and the next day that person brought the issue that had happened outside of work into the work place which was unprofessional.

E: Yes, it's very important that people can separate their personal and professional lives.

F: Yes you're right. I had a falling out with another person in work and they came to me and said, "i know we've fallen out outside of work but it's important that we keep a separation between our roles in work professionally and what happens in our personal life." I learnt a lot from that experience. Looking back, I recall one time when I was working in London the organisation had a sign language policy which compelled everyone to use sign language at all times.

E: Did it work well?

20. Sign language policy – positive experience

F: Yes. When I arrived and they informed that they had a sign language policy I was really impressed. I had never experienced anything like that anywhere else. It mean that wherever the hearing staff where and at whatever time of the day, they were required to use sign language at all times. It was very impressive

.

E: Did you feel that was the best it could get or was there still issues between people.?

F: It depended on which people you were talking about.

21. Mainstream enivorment – Isolation constantly writing communication/no effort of trying sign language from his aspect.

E: that's interesting. So you've had 9 jobs! You've beaten me. I haven't had 9 jobs!! On average every 5 years is when I would have itchy feet and move on to another job. So for me let me work it out 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7,. I'd say I've had about 7 or 8 jobs in my working life. 7 times 5 is 35. I've been working 35 years, so that's about right. yep. 7 jobs. Like you Claire I have had varied experiences in the workplace. There was one place I worked where I was the only Deaf person in the firm. It was impossible for me to feel equal to all the hearing people that with there, impossible. In that job I had to write everything down to communicate and nobody bothered learning sign language there. Then I left and went to another firm as a xxxxxxx xxxxxxxx. I've always held the attitude of encouraging people to use sign language themselves. I remember on the first day i handed a pile of manual alphabet cards and for many people they had never seen anything like that before. But the next day one of the staff came up to me and in a rather clumsy way but with a good effort was able to spell out GOOD MORNING. that then enabled me to show them how much easier it was to use sign language to say Good morning. It gave them an insight into sign language and they could then appreciate that it wasn't necessary to finger spell every word but much better to use sign language. But unfortunately, where I worked at that time they had blocks of 4 staff sat in a square formation. On my table of 4 the other 3 staff signed as they were with me every day. But on all the other work stations they didn't sign at all, so the signed environment became very localised to my table. When the other tables would converse between themselves they would only use speech and I would have no access to what they were talking about. Then one of the people on my table would give me a very brief one line note on what the conversation was that others were having, for example: " something awful happened to him last night". But no detail, if I had been hearing I would have been able to access the detail that one of the men had drank far too much and ended up in a fight." But I never received that type of information, it would simply be a comment that something had happened, for example :" the manager has had a row with one of the staff." The hearing staff were able to hear the rows taking place at the end of the corridor the I didn't have access to. they would tell me about them but only in short comment. Also if they hadn't indicated to me there was a row at the end of the corridor I would never have known, so it was hard working there. My first 'Deaf' job I would say was at Durham university. The team consisted of 2 Deaf staff and one hearing staff member. Unfortunately the university had many different lecturers and research staff. When they would come into the office they would converse with our hearing member of the team and then leave the office. Sometimes our hearing member of staff would pass on what had been said but sometimes they wouldn't. If we would have been hearing staff we would have heard everything that was said when staff came into our office but because we were Deaf staff we were unable to access what the conversations were about. Sometimes I felt that wasn't fair because sometimes the hearing staff would speak and then leave, some of them could have used sign language but chose not to which I sometimes felt was offensive towards the Deaf staff. It may

have been an important discussion that would have enabled both of us to contribute to the issue but because they chose only to speak.

22. Communication issue from industrial to university mainstream – still communication issue conflict – however when in room need and can sign, whereas industrial non signer but still effort need.

They deliberately barred us from accessing what the conversation was about. Briefly, I have worked in another workplace at xxxxxx University that did have a communication policy which came about because lots of the Deaf staff were becoming very frustrated by being frozen out of what was being said at work, not finding out what information was being discussed. So it was decided to introduce a strict communication policy. It was agreed that each office must have a balance of one Deaf and one hearing member of staff. There was a ban on any office being only Deaf staff or hearing staff. So then if a hearing person walked into any of our office there would be a Deaf person within the room which forced everyone at all times to use sign language. That meant that everybody learnt sign language. Another measure introduced was that at 11 o'clock in the morning when it was tea break. Everybody had to go to the staff room. The difference here being staff did not meet together at break time. All staff would go to the staff room, if anyone spoke in the staff room they would be told that it was not allowed and that they should sign.

D: Is that something similar to a swear box for when people swear they pay a fine?

E: Yes, basically it stopped people using speech. It was strictly adhered to and was very effective. Unfortunately for some people who could not sign at all then they would not be allowed to speak and would be forced to sit in silence. I thought that was acceptable as after all it was only what Deaf people have to do all the time. So if for half an hour a day they have to sit and just watch then that will teach them a real sense of empathy of what Deaf people have to do for the other 23 and a half hours of every day when they can hear everything and Deaf people can't access what's being said. It worked very well and everybody became very proficient a sign language. There were still the odd few times a hearing person would speak but they would firstly gain the permission from the Deaf staff member in the room if they could use the phone or if another hearing staff member and themselves could quickly speak instead of sign. It was a much better way of working. Then I came here which was completely different. Firstly, we don't have a tea room where staff can meet and it's such a huge campus. E do you remember when we used to share a big office space and we'd have our own tea room in xxxxxx? Well here there is nothing. In fact when you were upstairs here I would go upstairs at break time join your group but the hearing staff would very rarely go upstairs to join us at break time. Sometimes xxxxx may join us which was fab, but most of the time it was a group of Deaf people who would get together. Tea breaks can be a really important part of the day because it's when you discuss issues that happen outside of the workplace. Events that may have happened the night before that you were not aware of. It's intrinsically, information sharing, which is very important. For example, on our corridor we now have 2 people from Education who have taken one of the offices. Previously it was xxxxx and xxxx who were in the end office. But now a hearing person is in there but does have sign language skills, then there is xxxx and I that share an office and were both Deaf, xxxxx

and xxxxx share an office - they're both hearing and then No 1 has an office and she's also hearing. So really, it should be that xxxx and I, split up so that we can have a hearing/Deaf mix in each of the offices as that would encourage more sign language interaction to happen between all of the staff. On any given morning you often see hearing people congregate and talk to each other. I understand why they do it but is what they are saying important and something that would also be interesting to Deaf staff. When you have the separation it can create an atmosphere of a Hearing v Deaf split in the team. It's similar to when I see education department staff speaking in the corridor. I appreciate that anywhere within the university campus hearing people can go up to each other speak to each other in the corridor. But within our Deaf environment outside our office it is such a small Deaf space that seems strange. when we visit other areas of the university there just doesn't seem to be equality for Deaf staff.

F: Now I'm admin in xxxxxxxx but also within xxxxx too.

E: Are you moving your place of work soon?

23. First: Positive interaction awareness – resolution

Second – move to different department – unpostive interaction (attitidue/audism)

F : Yes, I'll be moving into the xxxx admin team in August. Let me go back and share my experiences. When the admin team was here downstairs in xxxxx on the first floor they would all greet me. But then we were transferred into a different team the xxxxx team, remember E. that was the best of the teams because all of the staff in that admin team had a great attitude, involving me in everything. If there was a birthday, cakes, I was always kept fully informed of everything. They were all very keen to learn sign language, so I felt very much a part of that team and they never left me out of anything that was happening. They would also send me emails to ensure I was informed about everything. Then we moved again into the xxxxx admin team. that was awful. There attitude was one of me being a burden and they didn't want to do anything. They would not inform me of anything. I wouldn't invited to go with them for a coffee or tea. Every time I passed them in the corridor the best they would do is a simple nod but that was it. There was one person there who was nice to me and tried to talk to me but basically that was it. the rest of the team were awful. This August we are changing again and we're moving into the xxxxx team. I do feel like I'm going to have to go through everything all over again and I worry what they will be like. As it is I don't know. Well, yesterday we had an away day and my feeling is that actually this move might be ok. The head person seemed to have an odd attitude, I'm digressing now. basically, it does feel like I go through the same experience again and again. Moving from one department to another. As I say the best team was the xxxx team but unfortunately that's now been disbanded.

E: Can I ask you what was it that was awful? was it that xxxxxx was great because it was a small team and what was not good was very large teams? Or was xxxxx the same size?

F: xxxxxx was a very small team. Their attitude was lovely and they all bonded really well, working well as a team. xxxxxxx is really cold. Oh I've just thought of an example to tell you about. One of my previous jobs was working on a project looking at xxxxxxx in Deaf adults. My job was the

administration. My line-manager was Deaf but xxx was awful. xxx had a very stubborn attitude. xxx had a xxxxxxxxx committee above her about 4 of them were hearing and they tried their best to understand Deaf people. Then I was off ill for a couple of months and when I returned I was told that I now had a new manager who was hearing. I thought to myself this may not be good having a hearing manager but I thought I had to keep an open mind and see how it went. The Deaf manager I had had previously I couldn't work with her at all. I told this to my new hearing manager about how controlling my Deaf manager had been and I also spent time explaining to het what Deaf culture was and other things too. She really made big effort to understand. the Deaf manager just wanted control and automatically disliked hearing people, it taught me a lesson that you should not prejudge people and you ought to accept people.

E: That was difficult wasn't it.

F: Yes. that's one of my many experiences.

24. Sign environment/positive interaction/respect

Positive experience in the university mainstream, an minority of positive hearing led of minority studies department, all sign, good interaction

E: Here when we have <mark>meetings it's good because everyone signs for themselves, but</mark> if we do have a guest come to our meetings then an interpreter is brought into the room. As soon as the hearing guest leaves the interpreter leaves too and all staff revert to sign language. That's similar to Bristol and here. Of course, there are some hearing people who <mark>would rather not sign and would prefer to use speech as it's easier for them.</mark> But we have a struct rule here that when we have a meeting everybody uses sign language which creates a sensory of parity. There is also the issue of pre-meetings that people have before they go into a meeting. There is also post-meeting discussions that take place. I see that happening, it is usually only the hearing staff who have these extra meetings. I

feel if there is a need for clarification or further discussion then we should do it together. there shouldn't be small pockets of people having further discussions.

F: Yes. Strangely it was the same on my xxxxx xxx. It was a lovely day and I felt really involved. Everybody was making the effort to talk to me. Then we had a meal in the evening time and it was brilliant all together but as soon as we returned to the office the next day it immediately returned to a split between a Deaf group and a hearing group, so I know exactly what you mean.

E: xxxxxxx is unique really isn't it because there are few hearing people in the team, isn't that right?

F: there is only one hearing person.

E: Only one. amazing. So xxxxxxis the only hearing person in the team. So xxxx has to accept that sign language is the language of the group being just one speaker. If hearing people were in the majority in the team, one wonders whether the dynamic would be different. Previously you had

other hearing people xxxxxxxxxxx, other hearing people, and some interns. before D was there you had a couple of hearing interns didn't you?

F: Yes we did, we had a couple of interns who were hearing.

E: What was that like having the interns there?

25. Attitude: Interesting case of one out of three seem aloof, refused possible negative experience of that person by past experience or confidence, created aloof.

F: Two of them were no trouble at all but there was one who remained aloof and refused to sign with the team.

D: I remember one of the people who was there before me. Didn't mix with anyone and kept herself to herself, didn't stay long.

F: 2 years ago we had two Indian Deaf interns who were really passionate and excited to be here. It was before your time I think, ….the time of my graduation.

D: Is that the same 2 Indian men who were there last year explaining to us all what life was like in Indian.

E: Oh you are referring to the xxxxxxxxxx men, the guy in the wheelchair.

D: Yes that's him the guy in the wheelchair. He had an interpreter with him and explained all about his life experiences in India.

F: Now xxxxx has gone, and we have no interns. everyone is Deaf in the team so sign language is used all of the time. The only time speech is used is when note takers are in our meetings.

E: Some people prefer to speak and use an interpreter don't they. You said in meetings there has to be an interpreter for the note-taker. Let me ask you do you feel that if there was no interpreter there, and therefore no need for speech that the meetings would be different? Do you think it's an issue having speech in the meetings?

F: I would rather that we just used sign language in our meetings without an interpreter there speaking because often we have to stop or slow down to allow the interpreter and note-taker to keep up with us. Often when you read the notes back there is often misunderstandings and commissions from what we said in the meetings. Often the notetaker or the interpreter has totally misunderstood the point that was made in the meeting. So, yes. I have noticed that things tend to go wrong when we have to use translation during our meetings.

E : Yes, it can make a difference can't it. Also if the interpreter is new and doesn't know the group it can have a real affect on the dynamics of the meeting.

D: Yes. Last year I remember we had an interpreter who just couldn't understand us and we had to repeat ourselves over and over again. Now they have had time to get used to us and they come on a regular basis.

E: Yes, a lot of people have the same reaction when they arrive in an environment like xxxxxx and it can be quite a shock for them. But over the course of time they become used to it.

D: Yes, with people using BSL, international Sign a real mixture, then it can be a whole new experience for an interpreter that's never experienced that before.

E: Yes, I have been in meetings when we have needed to record some notes.
 but usually one of us will just wrote down some bullet points of what had been said. Afterward we can then expand on those bullet points and write them out much more thoroughly. Sometimes it can be very difficult if you are taking notes and wanting to contribute at the same time. So what we used to do was take turns to do the note-taking. It seems now that it is just the manager who takes the notes in the team meeting. Claire do you feel it's important to have minutes from a meeting?

F: Yes I do because you need to know what was agreed and check on who is responsible for doing what. then you need evidence from the meeting so you can use that as back up when checking if all has been done as was agreed.

D: You also need to check before you go into the next meeting that was was agreed as action points in the last meeting have actually been achieved and not just ignored. So I think you do need to have minutes.

F: It's impossible for me to do the minutes in a meeting because I need to use my eyes to visually see what people are saying as they're using sign language.

D: Can you ask people to pause so you could write? that's what you did last year wasn't it? you would ask people to pause so you could write down a few lines and go on like that. I suppose that really stifles people from being able to have a flow when they are wanting to make a point.

F: I would much rather have a xxxxxx and an interpreter then I'm able to relax, everyone is able to contribute in sign language, the interpreter voices everything that is signed and the note-taker is there to write down all the notes which are then distributed to the team after the meeting. It's impossible for me to try to do both roles of watching what everyone is saying and then trying to type up the notes at the same time. Last December we had a team meeting and I tried to take down notes of what people were saying but it was really difficult. then recently in May we had an Away day but before it I said that it would be much better to bring in someone like Jenny Webster, who both understands sign language and is a proficient typist too.

E: Yes, you are right. I agree with you, that then enables you to play a full part in the meeting. If you are trying to take on the responsibility of note-taking at the same time then it creates a distance between your involvement in the meeting and taking notes.

D: Yes it would be hard for you to contribute and take down notes at the same time. It's much easier having a note-taker in the meeting.

26. Equality issue: Deaf led and non-deaf led experience (Transition/positive and negative share experience)

E: Like I said working here I don't feel like we have equality because all the meetings, everything that happens here it is almost all done by hearing people as this is predominately a hearing staffed institution. But if I was working in a Deaf institution like you said D when you were in the xxx, still having to work with some hearing people too. I haven't yet worked in an organisation where everybody was Deaf. Have you worked in such a place D? You know like the xxx and xxx they have a lot of hearing staff but I haven't worked in a truly Deaf organisation, say like xxxxxxx!, where everybody was Deaf. I would be very interested to see what that would be like and how I would find that. I'm sure there would still be some frustrations even then as there would still be administration staff, staff to use the telephones and I'm sure there would still be incidents of someone using the phone and not informing the Deaf staff what the phone call was about. making the Deaf people enquire about what the call was about which is different from the person freely giving the information without being asked.

F: I worked for one organisation where the head of the organisation was Deaf, the administration staff were Deaf and I was there staffing the telephones but I would have an interpreter booked everyday to access the answer machine each morning, listen to the messages and then pass them on to the relevant staff. that was a time when all of my team was Deaf and we had no hearing people at all.

E: That's really interesting that is a truly fully Deaf led organisation.

8.3   Hearing BSL Users: Pilot

B: Experience? What do you mean by that. I go to work where I sign with Deaf people but what do you mean by 'Experience'?? It is such a general term.

A: I've never had a half a half an hour to talk about anything!! (Laughs)

C: You start

B: 'Experience' is such a wide term I just don't know where to start.

27. Audism: Hearing signer expressed the attitudal barrier of expression the perception of people concept consciousness or unconsciousness for those open and closed mind

A: I have experiences from working in different places, some experiences are bad and some are good. It depends on the people. Some people are very closed minded and some people are very open minded. I think when you have both sides being open minded and sharing and not expecting one side to do all the changing, both to compromise. Some places I've worked in before they've thought it better to compel people to change their behaviour by having policies and riles but that doesn't really work as people's attitudes are still the same.

B: I think also we had a communication policy here and it compelled everyone to use Sign language. But it was not a natural way to behave. For example if 2 hearing people shared an office then they were going to speak. You can't expect them to use Sign language, but if a Deaf person were to enter that office then yes, ok, they would naturally start signing. So they see the Deaf person enter then room, they start using sign language and the Deaf person has access to the conversation. But for example when we have meetings we always use Sign language then.

A: In your meetings everyone uses Sign language but in other places staff don't use Sign Language, all hearing staff speak and an interpreter is used. I think there may be a more Deaf-hearing balance here but it depends on the workplace.

C: I see how the attitude has changed here at this school. But when you go out of xxxxxxxx to other parts of the university, in different Schools they have a different attitude. They're frightened and don't know how to behave towards Deaf people. There is also an ignorance of behaving the same way they did before for example turning and speaking to the board when teaching instead of outwards towards the class. But here there is regular contact with Deaf people but outside of this School hearing people do not have the same contact with Deaf people. So in our work it's like this but even my father is deafened but he wouldn't say Deaf.

B: I've worked here for a long time now, I often also visit other Deaf workplaces but that's as a Speaker, or for a meeting and the other work places seem to be doing ok. When I visit other universities the dynamics seem to be similar to what we have here. But that's just as a visitor, I don't know to any great depth what things are like. May be in other places they have all people using Sign language at all times. Here, I know xxxxxx would want all the lecturers to sign at all times and that has happened. For us as hearing people, we don't use sign language all of the

time. It really does depend on the working environment at the time. It's more to do with the causes than actual events.

A: I'm thinking about the other group of D, E & F and whether they will be talking about the same content we are talking about?

B: Yes, I think they will be as the question is the same for both groups.

A: Yes, I know the question is the same but I wonder if they will be responding to it in the same way, do you know what I mean? We are talking about our experience and what we have known but will their perspective be the same as what ours is? I think that's important. I'm hoping they'll be saying the same thing as we are but I suspect that they won't be. I suppose it highlights the difference in culture and experience. Our experience may be that sign language is used openly and is lovely but they may not see it in the same way. Do you know what I mean? More about perception.

28. **Audism/Oppression: Perception and Communication related to Suspicion: A hearing signer express the concern of the perception of deaf people aspect on their suspicious of hearing people/hearing signer when believe either talking and see something but cant hear what go on, but see what go on, cause the create of conflict in the stir mind of unconscious or consciousness not hiding information but how it present or look from their perception. (Dai O Brien/Bauman/Geetz)**

B: Yes, there is still a lot of suspicion by Deaf people who think that we are keeping things from them and we're not. It may just happen that they may not know something yet that other people know about. sometimes it is easier when you are sharing an office with someone that you will speak and by doing so give them more information than what other people may have but, you know, it's more about the actual environment you are working in and who you are sitting next to at that time. You do not always have the time to convene a formal meeting every time you want to say something so that all people have an equal amount of information at the same time. perhaps we should do more informal meetings together as a group. May be we should do that more often but sometimes it just happens

A: But perhaps you'll never solve those suspicions. I was reading last night an article about the Polish community in England. Now when you say the word Polish it is synonymous with being bright, efficient, value for money and punctuality but 50 years ago lodges in London would have a sign outside the door stating: 'No Blacks, No Irish and No Poles'. 2 language groups will naturally have suspicions about each other and trying to resolve all of those suspicions between the groups is impossible to achieve.

B: It's about perceptions and communication. I suspect that lots of Deaf people think that we know things that they do not know and may be there are the times when we have simply forgotten to inform someone of something. But it's the same both ways. It's very difficult in this environment because English is the language of the university. So it can be very difficult for Deaf people to gain full access to the information.

A: I think what happens sometimes is that I think someone has a bad experience when hearing people have forgotten to inform them of something but it's not seen as forgetful but more a deliberate choice not to tell them. But it was not a choice that was made it was purely an omission, a forgetfulness which is different.

B: Yes, it's all about communication. When we have team meetings all the staff use sign language and nobody has any problems with them at all. But if we have a hearing guest come into our meetings then they need an interpreter brought in for them. The tendency by the hearing staff is then to use the interpreter that's in the meeting even though we as staff don't need to use the interpreter, as we call all use sign language. the interpreter is only there for the hearing guest who is the only person who needs to use the interpreter but there is a tendency that we all start leaning on the use of the interpreter when there is one at our meeting. That's possibly because it is more comfortable for us to use our own language or it could be that sometimes when I have chosen to use English instead of BSL it may be because I have a really complex piece of information I want to get across, or it could be very sensitive, or just that I haven't felt totally confident in being able to get the points across clearly. then I have chosen to use my first language.

A: It's human nature to choose the most efficient way. If you want to cross a park then most people, after a couple of weeks, will find the shortest route across the park rather than walking the long way around, human nature is such that people choose the most efficient option.

C: Also if we have an interpreter in the meeting and I'm using Sign language, then I can't ignore the sound of what I'm saying being relayed back to me via the interpreter's English voice-over. It's very difficult because then I'm sub-consciously checking that what the interpreter says is what I said at the same time of trying to resent my original point in BSL. So I'm hearing a loop of what I've just said through someone else. It's not a normal way to use language and communicate.

A: It's never exactly what you said, but more an interpreter's perception of what they think you wanted to say.

C: It's very difficult to zone it out and just focus on what I'm trying to say. I feel that if an interpreter is there I must speak rather than use sign language otherwise there is a really damage to the communication process. I also feel that if an interpreter is there what is the point of the hearing people all using sign language if the interpreter is there anyway. I think it makes sense that everyone uses the interpreter if there is a meeting between hearing and Deaf people.

A: It's not a natural environment if there is an interpreter in the room. I recall working in a place where they said that there must be one Deaf person and one hearing person in every office. But the choice of people did not take into account personalities, skills, or the jobs people were doing, or how they liked to work. It all seemed very proscriptive on the staff.

B: We did that here in the past. We said that a Deaf and hearing academic must share an office. But then someone left and another person moved into that office. We never made a conscious

decision to segregate the offices into Deaf only and hearing only offices. It just happened but perhaps we should go back to that system, and have one Deaf and one hearing academic per office. I'd be happy with that.

C: I know that when xxxxx left xxxx moved into my office. Before then xxxx and I shared an office. Frank came into my office because he was originally in the corner office which was freezing cold because of the draughty windows.

B: So you shared with xxxxx, xxxxxx shared with.., who did xxxx share with?

C: (xxxxxxx)

29. **Transition: A hearing female signer express her concern about the need for openness in the shared office space and about how hearing signer can 'modalities' to switch back and fro from audio to sign more fluency.**

B: (xxxxxx), xxxxx was part-time wasn't xxxxx. I don't know what happened it just changed.I think in someways it would be better but there does need to be more open use of sign language. I think when you are in a shared office with Deaf and hearing there is more use of sign language so I think it's better. Also you can have meetings much easier because if one person is Deaf and one hearing then if they're are using sign language in a meeting and I'm using speech, both can modalities can occur at the same time in the same office. Perhaps we should go back to that again.

A: You could argue the opposite too, that Deaf people sharing an office together is good for them to be able to use their language naturally between to native users but I think you're right, if everyone signed openly anyway then it would not matter whether they were Deaf or hearing.

30. **Audism/Attitude: A hearing male signer express his view, concern about the conflict raise in the shared office of language communication should in BSL or audio and express confused of why and hearing male signer (right) express refelcitve view trying to overcome the barrier of the language communication of access it language.**

C: I remember a long time ago xxxxx and I talked about this, when a student came in and spoke to me, when the student lefmtxxxx asked me why I did not use sign language? I asked him why. He said well that student can sign very well but you both chose to speak. I said to him it was a private conversation between us, a private meeting. they wanted to talk privately. xxxx said that i should go outside the office then if that's what i wanted to a different room. I asked him why should I do that?

B: So xxxxx wanted you to use sign language when talking to a hearing student..? that doesn't make sense.

A: That's part of what could be in a communication policy which would state that if you are in a room with a hearing person then although it would be natural for you to be speaking as you are both hearing, if a Deaf person were in that room then you really ought to be using sign language. Perhaps xxxx was saying that if xxxx was to turn around or look up within xxx own office you

C: But another student wanted to meet me about their dissertation and we were both using sign language, but then xxxxx said there needed to be a partition screen (??). xxxxx and I used to laugh about it but that's why the screen is there now so that the student is not seen by the other person sharing the office. But the idea that you must sign is interesting but they didn't want to see what was signed by adding a partition screen.

A I think that's back to the old problem that English speakers have when they don't know what people are talking about. They naturally think they are saying something negative but usually when people find out what the other people are actually saying they don't want to know.

C: Interesting, if you wanted privacy, there was a partition and then when Frank came in I had to go out the office to have a private meeting.

A: Therefore would it not be better to have Deaf only offices and hearing only offices?

B: A person would need to go out of the room.

A : You mean if two hearing people shared an office ?

B: If the student was to come into the office and both staff were hearing then you would have to leave the office to speak privately because you could not speak about anything confidential when sharing an office with a hearing person but when sharing an office with a Deaf-hearing mix there was less issues of confidentiality.

C: What was interesting is that the Deaf people could have a private meeting because they were not using speech. But the Deaf person could walk in and watch the hearing person signing which would mean it wouldn't be a private meeting.

B: It would be interesting to know what policy Deaf people would want, if asked.

31. **Audism: Expressing the concern of the communication policy confliction and perception of hearings left feeling uncomfortable whereas via versa trying to emphasis why the need for the policy because of the effect of the bias**

A: I have seen that before. I have seen work places with 18-20 Deaf staff and they were tasked with the responsibility to create a communication policy. When it was rolled out a lot of the hearing staff were not comfortable with the policies. I think it was because it seemed very one sided.

B: Also it is telling people what they must do all of the time which is impractical at times.

A: The old O' Level phrase about laws, 'you can change a law but it doesn't change attitudes.' I think there has ti be a better way that dictating policies but a lot of Deaf people think that policies is the solution to all of the issues but you are still working with the same people.

32. **Language oppression/BSL vs English – loss in the translation/crosswire/conflict of the misunderstanding and how time changes in the sturucture/system surrounding effect the space.(Hauser/Bauman/Deaf Gain/Looking on)**

B: Also we are talking about BSL but there is the problem with English. Here at the university there has been a huge rise in the use of emails. Everything now is focused on using emails but Deaf people have a first language which is not the same as the English of emails, plus there is cultural inferences/notes within emails. Lots of things often arise from an email that were never intended to because as well as language there is cultural differences too.

A: You're right that's a big problem, and very recent because 15 years ago we all worked without emails and that wasn't an issue. The last 10 years is really the length of time that email usage has become a big issue. You're right emails are in English and that's a problem for BSL users. Therefore previously you may have had a communication policy that stated you must use BSL for meetings but today meeting are much less and emails have become the way to communicate with each other, but emails are in English. even between hearing to hearing people there is often many misunderstandings using email but that can be double the amount when it is involving Deaf people receiving emails.

B: There is cultural misunderstandings that happen all the time.

A: How do we resolve that if email has become the primary tool used in the workplace..I don't know. If Deaf people don't have efficient English skills. There are some places that when a hearing person sends an email they write it with a BSL grammar, but if you're not good at using a BSL grammar it can be hard to understand.

B: Yes that would be difficult to understand.

C: Some people I have worked with read everything from a BSL grammatical order. I think the problem with English will be less in the future because most Deaf children are being taught in mainstream schools so there won't be that same issues in the future regarding people who use BSL versus SSE.

B: Maybe we as a team need to use more technology like, web cams.

A: that would be a brilliant solution.

B: But I would need to be taught how to use it, I don't know how to sue it.

A: That would be a perfect solution.

33. **Resolution: A hearing signer female expressed positive resolution to solve the conflict of how to unoppressed the language from English to BSL using via webcam. Same in second comment (purple) about encourage deaf signers emphasis them to go forward and ask the mainstream university to resolve the issue in altering awareness of having interpreter on the Vice chairmen to channel the awareness of seeing sign langue display increasing possible positive aspect of sign language users surrounding the university mainstream surrounding.**

B: I suppose rather than us all sending emails to each other we could sign on webcams to each other.

A: That would take the dynamic back to 15 years ago when people were not sending emails to each other and everything was communicated using sign language.

C: But it happens now when you are supporting an email by explaining it in sign language if someone hasn't understood the original email. But you still need the email as evidence.

A: I've worked with Deaf only groups, at international level, where they agree to only have meetings using webcams but they then do send an email afterwards.

B: Yes, there is the need to have a record/evidence of what was agreed. there also needs to be a list of what was agreed.

C: Now we send so many emails asking for information.

A: Webcams are a very good start to try to resolve this issue but it isn't the panacea to all issues.

B: For example, when you have lots of emails in your Inbox they act as a prompt to remind you to do something. The inbox is a reminder but that wouldn't work with webcams and signed VT clips. How could you peruse the main points using a video
clip?

A: Is there a way of keeping a record of webcams?

B: When using xxxxxxxxxxxxx you can keep a record of your conversation but it still wouldn't be like an inbox on email, looking at the emails as a reminder of what you need to do. With a VT clip it would need you to rewind and basically watch the whole conversation again which would be impossible. With email it's so easy to quickly browse your list of emails and spot the one which needs responding to next, the Inbox acts as a reminder.

A: The problem is 2 groups of people using two distinct languages. For both groups to completely understand each other is not going to be easy. I think that's part of the problem too, both Deaf and hearing people can be fixed in their views and there needs to be greater compromise on both sides. But you are right B, more use of Webcams would be a great start but it wouldn't solve everything as you'd still need emails for evidence, data, quotes and a record of everything that had been said.

C: When we would have a meeting it would mean having 2 cameras on all of the people and where would you store all the information?

A: And the confidentiality of the video information being stored.

C: Yes. I think keeping a record of minutes is different. But doing a video of every meeting. What would the university policy say about storing such data. How many cameras would be required and the written back up of what was said. Who would have the time to do all of that?

B: Yes that's the problem that there would still need to be minutes written up all the time.

C: That's it really, it would be either using one system or the other. If it turns out you needed to do both overtime that would be double the amount of work or even treble when you add notes on to that too. If you were trying to create an equal environment then you would need both.

A: I think your'e right. In an ideal world where finance is no issue then you would have both systems, but that still wouldn't be perfect. English is the issue for the BSL user but using BSL per se wouldn't resolve all the issues but would be a very good start.

C: I think what we have now is a very strange situation. We know that outside of our own xxxxxx environment, if there is a xxxxxxxxxxxx speech, or another xxxxxxx meeting then there would be an interpreter at xxxx side.

B: But then when you see his podcasts they don't have interpreters on those messages..

A: They should all be interpreted.

B: Everybody agrees they should be done, but nobody volunteers to go and do it. EM: In other

places there is a policy so interpreters are always there for speeches.

34. **Resolution/Paternalism (positive dynamic change): Seeing the hearing female and male signer expressed look at if paternalism to get deaf people to see them, whereas university responsible for action, obviously awareness need to start somewhere and resolve conflict and more awareness**

B: We need it here. We need to sort this out because the xxxxxxxxxxxxx has agreed, but we need a person to go over and be filmed interpreting it. For example you can ask if we can have ==videos of the podcast interpreted and xxxxxxx agrees to the requests but it doesn't happen. We need xxxxxx, or e, or xxxxxx to tell you or whoever to go over to the building and sign the podcast but we're waiting for it still.==

A: They're only 5 minutes in length so would be very easy to interpret.

B: We should do it because it would have such an impact on the rest of the university. All over the university it would improve things but for some reason it isn't happening. I can't ask you directly.

A: ==But B the xxxxxx staff would say it is not there responsibility to sort this out but that of the university to organise.==

B: But how would that happen? For example you are employed by them, meaning you would have to ask them, which means they would pay for it. We've asked the xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx and he has said no problem, we've asked xxxxxxxx and he has said no problem, but yet it still isn't happening. What is the next step?? It should happen..

C: If it's interpreted podcasts then shouldn't we also have subtitles too? Have both as not all Deaf people use sign language.

C: If all over xxxxx when the xxxxxxxx was speaking an interpreter was next to xxxxx then the attitude of all of the staff over the university would change because as the profile of sign language increased so too would the acceptance of seeing sign language. Then it would not look so strange and different.

A: In 1997 my xxxxxx at xxxxxxxx phoned the Conservative party and said that they should be having an interpreter version of the Party Political Broadcasts as they were repeated throughout the evening at 6 o'clock, 7 o'clock on Channel 4, 9 0'clock, 10 o'clock and then finally at 10:30, so the last one should be interpreted. The Conservative party agreed. So straight after the call he put the phone down and phoned the Labour and Liberal Democrat party who upon hearing what the Conservatives were doing also agreed to have their broadcasts interpreted. So you're right that when one person does something it has an effect on the attitude of other people too.

B: You can see the situation at xxxxxxx too. We should bring someone like you in and film you next to the xxxxxxxxxx so using two cameras or whatever the process is.

A: Yes you can have 2 cameras or separate rooms for the filming.

C: They could be stood next to each other.

B: It's much easier doing it together live, with the interpreter next to him.

C: Then everyone watching throughout the university would see the interpreter.

35. **Resolution/Awareness: to resolves and create awareness within the mainstream institution is need both party express their view positively change way to new way to improve awareness and lessen the conflict to change the institution culture. (deaf gain/deaf space)**

A: Then the other people watching who may have an important announcement to make will think beforehand about bringing in an interpreter so there is access.

B: Also it shows other people that if the podcast had an interpreter then they need to also think about interpreters. At the moment part of our problem is that with all the changes being implemented and all the information being shared about whats changing Deaf staff do not have access to the information. We need it to be interpreted at the same time.

A: I have worked here as BSL User I would sadly say, that there has not been full BSL access to speeches for the last 10 years.

B: It needs someone to decide on the process. Everyone is happy with the idea but nobody is moving along with the process, so the situation is not resolved.

C: Do you know last week A when you were interpreting the Board with xxxxxxxxx, you and xxxxxxx agreed the signs for vocabulary of defer, refer, how would we do the names etc. It was great that A and xxxxxxx, and myself created and agreed our communication strategy. But if it was a different interpreter than you, xxxxxxx came in later, if she had been there instead of you she would not have know what was coming up in the Board. You need that information to be written down as a policy/strategy. When meetings are going to happen and Deaf people will be in attendance there should be guidelines/strategies that people can refer to and see what the procedures should be. You have to have that. people need to be more open minded. Deaf people are going to be in meetings again and again. Last year, or 2 years ago there was a meeting in different part of the university where they had invited a Deaf person along but had made no plans for providing interpreters, they phoned me panicking saying what were they going to do as they didn't have an interpreter. It's the same situation. the same problems. We seem to receive lots of phone calls from other parts of the universities. Do you receive calls like that B ?

B: Yes I get those calls too.

C: I think that's the problem with the working environment. People are frightened and they don't know how to work with Deaf people.

A: There are problems on a large scale when a xxxxxxxxxxx is giving a speech to 5,000 people but you can have very local, specific problems about where Deaf people are sat and the lay out of offices and how they interact. When Deaf people work in such a big institution there needs to be appreciation that big institutions don't change overnight. It takes a long time to change institutional culture.

8.4   Individual Self Testimonies

(A)

I think deaf and hearing people mixing together have lots of issues that arise.

36. Language group/culture

Firstly, I think Deaf people have their language, culture, heritage, history, values, behaviour and norms. Hearing people also have their language, culture, heritage, behaviour and norms, which are different. There is additionally a natural suspicion that exists, that would exist between any two language groups: French - Ukraine, German and French. The can be respect between two language groups but there can also be suspicion. WE must accept that it exists and will never truly be resolved as hearing people are not Deaf people and Deaf people are not hearing people. I don't think that should be seen as a negative but something that is good and embraced.

37. Institutional culture/confidence dishearten

At the same time I think it's important that where hearing and Deaf people mix together in work it is not only there own cultures which exist but also an institutional culture. What I mean by that is sometimes you can work for an organisation like the xxxxx a university, the xxxx, the xxxxxx, xxxxx and they each have a unique culture and values within the organisation. The hearing group were discussing that for example here at the university the vice-chancellor has sent out a monthly, or quarterly podcast to all of the staff for the last 3 years. But the podcast has never been accessible to Deaf staff because it is delivered only in spoken English. It would have been so easy to have BSL interpretation live on the podcast. Just recently it seems that the vice-chancellor has theoretically agreed for it to be interpreted and the technical team have agreed but it still hasn't be done. I think if I was a Deaf member of staff here at the university I would feel I wasn't treated equally as a member of staff. I would feel that I wasn't valued as much as hearing staff which would be disheartening and would affect my own confidence. That's happening now at the university.

38. Email/face to face

There are other problems Deaf staff face. I recall about 15 years ago I worked within various Deaf organisations and we had not started using email then, none of the staff had access to a computer. Therefore if I wanted to inform other staff that I may be off work, because it was my mum's birthday or whatever it may be, I had to talk to them face-to-face and explain, for example; I would see Tony and inform him I'd be off tomorrow, at which point he may enquire why and I would inform him it is my mum's 82nd birthday and xxxx's living up in xxxxxxxx. This would engender a repertoire of understanding and a building of relationships. But nowadays what happens is 'xxxxx' lets call xxxxxx sits only about 3 feet away from you and you all sit at desks with computers (I have experience of this at xxxxxxx) when people would rather send an email to someone just a desk away than actually talk to them. The culture is it's much easier to send emails out. But emails are inherently used only by using English. That then adds an extra

dimension of processing for Deaf staff. For some Deaf staff they may ask hearing staff that if you have something really important to say then please don't just send it by email. Let's meet and be informed face-to-face.

I recently worked for a Deaf organisation where we actually made a policy that if there was something very important to inform all staff about then it would not be done by sending an email, but would be told visually. So that reminded me of how it used to be only 15 years ago in all organisations but now that's the exception. Email makes it much more difficult for Deaf staff in an organisation and on top of that the hearing values that may be inherent within the email.

39. Conflict in Policies/Attitude/Social Break need

I think Communication Policies, Behavioural Policies whilst being good are by no means the panacea to all the ills of Deaf people at work. Rules don't change attitudes, attitudes change with education and forming relationships, getting to know each other and liking each other. I think there is a suspicion that exists between Deaf and hearing people some due to linguistic differences, some to values that are different. Deaf and Hearing staff need to be able to sit down together and talk through things but I'm not sure that is done so often. It's important that we learn from each other. Both Deaf and hearing people not being too intransigent in our views.

40. United not divide

Sometimes Deaf people should listen more to a point as the hearing person may have a valid point. There are times when some Deaf people almost have a default position of the hearing people only talk rubbish. Which is unfair. Many hearing people do talk rubbish but to say ALL is unfair. I think to say you don't like 'him or don't like 'her' is fine but to say you don't like someone because they're hearing is wrong. Not all our values are the same. I think we should see each other as individuals, recognise the differences we have, that's important for me. I firstly see people as individuals, they may have a different language and culture which I can recalibrate myself to. When the vice-chancellor gives his speech in a big organisation like this you'd think there would be a policy that says there ought to be an interpreter with him. But changing big organisations is very difficult. It needs a change of mind set from both Deaf and hearing people so that they work better together.

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I think that from our decisions we have had, I have very little extra information to add but I can clarify some of the most important issues discussed.

41. Communication/Access/Policy

I think it's about communication and access. From our discussions some people think that communication and access means compelling everybody to use BSL at all times. I'm not sure when people talk about a Communication policy, what is the real aim of that? Is it a genuine communication policy or is it compelling everybody to sign at all times regardless of whether they are Deaf-hearing or hearing - hearing? The communication policy what really is there aim?

My aim is equality of access. That means that if a Deaf person walks into a room, then of course, people should start signing. If there is only 2 hearing people in a room I cannot understand the rationale of why they would both be signing.

42. Cultural misunderstanding/create suspicion

Also another issue regarding Deaf and hearing people working together, which is completely understandable is cultural misunderstanding, it's more to do with people giving the time to communicate and understand one another. Thinking more about what did the other person say, there is a lot of suspicion that exists between Deaf and hearing people. Deaf people making the assumption that hearing people know everything that's going on because they are able to hear and Deaf people receiving very little information.

When we mean access for Deaf and hearing people what's really important is that people have to take on board awareness, culture and recognising the differences of both cultures.

43. Check/listen/Attitude

For me it's about taking the time to listen and absorb what the other person has said instead of reacting with one's own point regardless. This is the same on both sides with Deaf and hearing people. I think people should take more time to process what the other person has said to them, then think about it and analyse what did someone mean. It is here that I think there is often misunderstanding. That's related to how Deaf and hearing people are communicating with each other. Sometimes people assume a lot; a persons knowledge is assumed, a person's attitude is assumed, assumptions are made.

There are different way we can work and communicate. I think we need to to reduce the assumptions and to ensure that everyone is aware of what's happening all the time.

44. Staff room/dialogue – seeing two conversation

We were recently talking about establishing a staff room where both Deaf and hearing staff could come together in an informal environment just to chat with one another. I think that's

really important. Without having that dialogue people continue with suspicions of hearing staff conspiring and speaking to each other. Deaf people forget that often there are Deaf people coming together and talking about things on their own too. It happens on both sides but what we need to do is bring those two conversations together in the same place and share those discussions. That would really help in encouraging a greater understanding and respect for each other.

45. Share office

We also talked about split and shared offices. Deaf and hearing people sharing an office. That used to happen here in the past. There was no conscious decision to end the practice but naturally when some staff left and new people arrived a hearing person may have moved in with a hearing person but I think we could go back to the old way and think about doing it that way again.

46. Policy/second language - awareness

We need a regular time when we can meet. I think there is other things we can do, not only adopting a communication policy but also with regard to how we use English. We talked about emails. Sometimes a Deaf person can send an email which is incredibly direct which I would never write in that way. So we need a greater understanding, empathy and awareness of each other's ways. But it also means that Deaf people need to gain awareness that hearing people have a culture and a different way of being. It has to be two-way and sometimes I think we forget that.

For example when someone cites a communication policy to me, it seems that what they are actually talking about is 'their' policy, a Deaf persons' policy. What about a hearing policy? We need to work together and engage on our policies or whatever you wish to call it.

47. Mainstream environment – merge conflict

But our use of language, practice and emails, if you look around at the wider university environment is fundamentally an English environment which can be difficult for Deaf people. We need to be aware of that process.

The only way we can do all those things is through dialogue and having discussions with one another. I don't think we have enough time to actually sit down and talk to each other about what you think it means and what I think something means. What it means for us as a team, as a School and on a more wider scale. I think I'll finish there but happy to talk to you anytime on a one-to-one basis.

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Individual Testimony – (C)

48. Conflict experience

My experience of working with Deaf and hearing people is that, it's not a problem for me but there is conflict in work when together (**??) but outside of work they are different.

My view is different.

49. Cultural Issues

Working with Deaf people there are many similarities as working with hearing people but there are also some differences. Hearing people don't think about culture. They have culture but they don't think about it like Deaf people do. If a hearing person meets someone who is visibly different they make think about it for example: their skin colour, clothes, or their language is different. But with Deaf people it is very obvious. For example if a Deaf person wants to gain someone's attention they may walk over and tap them on the shoulder but a hearing person will just call across a room. Communication has many issues.

50. Policy/conflict in language

In our small and large group we talked about a communication policy but I don't think it's necessary, I think it's related to respect. If you make a policy of something you are compelling people to do it rather than them wanting to do it. If you tell people they must do something many people don't like that and may actually repel from it. If we are working together we should be looking for respect.

Earlier we talked about two hearing people speaking in an office and why would they speak, so I though it was ok if they closed the door when speaking as that informs others that they are having a private conversation but if a Deaf person opened the door they could stop speaking and start using sign language. That then gives full access to everybody, the opening and closing of the door resolves that issue.

51. Understanding in language

Also our work needs to have respect between the team but it also needs a mutual understanding too. So, for example, when I write an email to all the team, both Deaf and hearing, I don't use English which is too advanced but is pitched somewhere in the middle, so it's accessible but at the same time not patronising. So that's part of me respecting Deaf people but without being patronising.

52. Awareness

But outside of the Deaf Studies team is very different. We are responsible for promoting awareness of Deaf people. Perhaps we should meet at break times downstairs in the cafe. Then everybody would see our team, Deaf and hearing, all chatting and laughing at break time which

would also act as promoting awareness of Deaf people and they would not see Deaf people as disabled. I think it would be useful for us who work here but I also think it would be useful for students to see a model of what should happen in the workplace and change their attitudes. We need to act as role models together. I don't feel there are lots of problems. Any team of people will have some problems sometimes but I don't think it's a Deaf problem or a hearing problem. We are individuals and I think where you have respect you can resolve issues and where there isn't respect then there can be big problems.

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No 4

Individual Testimony – (D)

53. Miss information

My experience of working with Deaf people and working with hearing people who sign. My first job at xxxx was an internship. I was working in xxxx with 2 hearing staff. My role was to support Deaf and deafened students and people with learning difficulties who needed support and I would interview the students to see what their access needs were and whether they were aware of interpreters and notetakers and look at improving the service for them. I worked there for 10 weeks and that was my experience of working with some staff in an office. I remember also being with a team of hearing staff, one responsible for blind people, another person was the technician. They were all hearing and a colleague and I were the only 2 Deaf people. My colleague and I signed to each other and could share information, the larger group would make tea for us and us for them but I did feel there was a divide between us. Sometimes the hearing staff would just be speaking with one another. If anything important was happening they should have shared that information with my colleague and I but they didn't always keep us informed. But there was a sense of some relationship within the team in the sense that we all took turns to make the tea. I think they hand sense of Deaf awareness, the IT person could only sign a little, so we managed to get by with pen and paper. He would point at the computer screen anything I needed know to do with my job.

The first experience I had of using interpreters to make phone calls, they would sit next to me and I could make calls. I would inform people that I was using an interpreter and that made my phone calls much easier. We had notetakers and interpreters in the meeting.

54. Good Awareness

One department which had good Deaf awareness, accepted that they needed to book an interpreter when they planned a meeting to give access for Deaf people. That department was happy to do that, afterwards they all became interested in Sign language and asked me to become more involved with what they were doing. Helping with the website and translating their web pages into sign language. I was able to do the translation as the English was not that hard and I had an interpreter there to support me. Some of the staff were nice in that

department. After the meeting they contacted me and asked me to be more involved with Deaf awareness, web site pages and how to book interpreters and engage with Deaf people. I also taught them some basic sign language such as please and thank you.

55. Difference in meetings

Then my second internship, last year, if I compare the first one which was mainly hearing colleagues except for the one Deaf colleague,. My xxxxxxxxxxx was all deaf colleagues with only one hearing colleague who was the director f the team. I had full access there as everybody used sign language and we still brought in interpreters too for when we had staff meetings. The notetaker would listen to the interpreter and take the notes of the meetings. But if we didn't book an interpreter then we would only use sign language in our meeting and one person would have to try to take down the main points and ask everybody to pause as she wrote. It was much easier booking an interpreter and notetaker for our meetings. That experience went really well. But the difference between the two teams was the second team everybody had full information and were up to date but in the SLRU team I wasn't always up to date with all the information all of the time. We only really talked if we were asking for a tea or coffee or a little bit of good news. There was no real information sharing in that team.

56. Technology changes – face to face/emails

When I was xxxxxx I always had access, information was always shared, emails were sent out for everything and we had a clear agenda before our meetings, with SLRU we never even had meetings. My colleague and I because we were interns it was not considered necessary for us to be in the meeting, I suppose. That was that.. now I've started working in xxxxxxx as a xxxxxxx. I think when we have meetings, people actually use emails more now rather than face-to-face. I like that because I can send out emails to all of the staff and they can send me everything I need to be able to create and design the posters. Then I can ensure there all displayed in the corridors before the workshops start. I received few responses to my emails, I have to remind them and tell them to send me any work they want me to do or give me any information I need. I can then send them the posters when I've finished.

It can be difficult sometimes to make the staff send me the information I need on time but most of our communication is email but without a lot of replies. I then have to chase them and ask "Did you receive my email? Do you need me to do anything?" I only have two weeks left now so I need to ensure I've done everything.

57. Conflict communication

Also when I'm in the office the interpreter sits opposite me, if another interpreter comes into the office, they will usually speak to each other. When I look up and they know, they both change to sign language so I know what they are talking about. When I look back down to do my work they stop signing and start speaking again. I feel that really they should abide by a sign language policy and if they are in a Deaf organisation then I should have access to all the information and

I think that's it really from my experiences. I don't have many experiences.

58. Difference in environment spaces

I recall I worked as a volunteer in the xxxxxx for about 6 months. That was working within a Deaf organisation but most of the people were hearing. But it was a very political environment and I'm not political at all. Most of them being hearing staff, there was a xxxxxxxxx Officer and a xxxxxxxxx Officer who were hearing, they would tell me what posters they wanted me to design. The hearing staff were the managers and admin staff of the department. They would ask me to create a poster and I would do it. But there were lots of people there. The Development Officer and Community Officer were both Deaf. When they were not busy we would have informal discussions but often the staff were too busy with their work.

(E) Missing breeze

Individual Testimony - (F)

Hello my name is xxxxxx, this is Nicola's topic, " Divided hearing and deaf people mixing in employment." My views, well this is my ninth job and I have plenty of experience working in a hearing environment, deaf environment and a mixed environment.

59. Access to work/Social integration/Deaf-led organisation

Let me go back to my first job, when I was working with xxxxxxx Services and I was working in the sensory team. There was sign language used in the team by hearing people who could sign. For example - the admin team that I was in, they never booked interpreters, at that time I didn't know about Access To Work and budgets and bringing interpreters in, so I struggled in the meetings. I tried to follow what they would be speaking about and someone would write things down for me. At the end I would receive minutes of the meeting and sometimes I would be asked to go out for a drink with them and I would go. I would mix well and communicate well. That was one example but I didn't know anything about access to work or interpreters then.

60. Mainstream led/Loneliness/Manager awareness

The second experience was in a Sensory team, we had a team meeting and they would bring in an interpreter from their budget and then I could follow the meeting and have access. My

second job was in xxxxxxxxx for the xxxxxxx department. There were four hearing people and just myself as a Deaf person and that was a big challenge for me because <mark>I was dropped into a hearing world with no Deaf people around me and that had a big impact upon me</mark> but actually it turned out to be lovely. The manager, had a disability so xxxxx had an awareness of equal opportunities for Deaf people and disabled people. xxxxx had been researching Access to Work and how to find interpreters. I had no knowledge of that at all so I took down the information she gave me and I booked the interpreters and it was great. No one taught me from my other jobs, I'd had before. The hearing people would always be speaking in the team but I was always focused on looking at the screen and cracking on with my work that they gave me. Sometimes they would say to me "xxxxxx, slow down a bit, you're working so hard!" But I couldn't communicate when they were all speaking anyway. I felt left out and unable to understand so I just carried on with my work. I remember another time when there was no interpreter there and I had to struggle in the meeting and the communication was extremely hard and it got me quite down. They didn't offer me an extension of that contract, so the contract expired. I didn't continue with that job.

Then I worked for xxxxxxxxxxxx and that was very interesting working with the Sensory team again but my manager was hearing but blind. I was the admin person, who was Deaf. There were 4 hearing staff and just me that was Deaf but they could all sign. <mark>For example - they were social workers and if they were going out on a visit to a client, they would go out and I would just get on with my work.</mark> There was an admin team in the building but they would always forget about me so really, I felt quite isolated because I was just keeping my head down working hard but working alone. There was very little communication. I did feel at break times, coffee times and lunch times that the hearing people would often go out to eat or drink and they would never invite me.

 For example - there was one time when the manager, who was blind, who didn't use sign language, she was always chatting to everybody and she did not know I was there in the room. One of the social workers said to her "xxxxxx is in the room, she's over there." and the manager said "Well, tell her this, this and this." and then the interpreter would sign it to me but I struggled with that.

61. Salary/discrimination/Equality

<mark>One time I became really angry because the 'xxxxxx manager' (xxxxxx), gave me a job that paid a salary of level 2 but when I read the job description it was level 3 salary. So I thought; why has she given me, level 2 salary? So I went to her and I said, "Why am I being paid at Grade 2?" and she said "Because you're deaf, you can't use the telephone so that has reduced your responsibilities.</mark>"

I was furious and I called in the union and had them involved and we researched it and we had evidence gave it to them, to look at. We had to go through a process of me being interviewed and then my xxxxxx manager being interviewed. I was successful in being able to claim back 1 years salary that was paid back to me and I was overjoyed with that. Later on, they asked me would I like to have a permanent job, on a level 3 salary and I refused and said, "No."

I'm not going to go through that again and suffer with the xxxxxx manager (xxxxxx) I had and the break down in communication I had. She's blind and hearing, I'm sighted and deaf and it just seemed like she had no respect for me at all so I didn't stay there.

62. Communication conflict

Then I worked on the TT deaf youth project, which was very interesting because everybody was Deaf on the team and there were no hearing people on the team which was lovely. Everybody used sign language to communicate. For example - I remember one time when 1 or 2 personal issues, from outside of work blew up in work and caused conflict. One time I was feeling quite anxious about being in work and another person called me over and said "I know we've had a falling out outside of work, but it's better that we're professional in work please and that we just focus on work. Is that ok?" I was very surprised by that and I thought it was very professional behaviour. I really enjoyed that and I was happy to work there but one thing, interestingly, one of the only problems is that when the phone rang, we couldn't answer the phone. If there was no interpreter there the we didn't know the phone was ringing so, there was issues to do with the phone and English but nothing serious.

63. Up the ladder/Cultural awareness/Fitting in

Then I was in a project for Deaf xxxxxxxxxxxxx Project. I was the project coordinator and one the researcher who was Deaf and the line manager was Deaf as well, she was based in Newcastle and she had a very strong character and very anti-hearing culture. She was very pro-Deaf rights and in the steering group some of the members were hearing. Then the line manager was changed to a hearing person. I asked the new line manager if she had any Deaf background and she said only a little bit. Then I wanted to quit my job and the new manager said "Why do you want to leave?" and I said, "Because I can't cope with the seven members of the steering group, they all tell me to do a different job and to do different things and it leaves me very confused and conflicted. There's lots of break downs in communications were their hearing culture assumes that deaf people are lazy when I've been working and I've shown them evidence to prove to them I've been working."

There was one time, xxxx who was hearing, I explained to her that one of the Deaf people were very adamant and continued to disagree. The project finished not long after that which I was pleased about.

64. Policy Issues

Then I went on to xxxx and that was a real shock for me there because they had Hearing policy, sorry a sign language policy and I'd never seen one of those before. I was very curious asking people what is it? They were saying "It's just that if hearing people are standing in the corridor or if they're sat round a desk with you in an office, while you're working then the hearing people must use sign language to communicate and to ensure that there is an equal opportunity to access the communication and not just 2 people speaking, regardless of who is in the room."

At the same time as I think that was really good having a communication policy, I also think (this foes off the point) but I did feel like I was very nosy in that I could find out what people were

talking about when two people were talking and I didn't know if I was allowed to look and access the conversation or whether it was a private conversation. I think it was good to have the equal opportunity.

Here at xxxx, a very big organisation, with many hearing staff, spread all over the campus. Some of the people I have contact with have Deaf awareness.

Six years I've worked here now and the people that I'm regularly in contact with, like xxxxxxxxxxxx in the Finance department still refuses to learn any sign language so if ever I go over there without an interpreter, what I do now is, I always email her all of the information about what I want to talk before I go over. Then I go over and say "Hello" and talk to her and we try to write things down.

But for example - in xxxx which I'm in now, the admin team are very blasé about having a Deaf person in the team. As if it's too much like hard work. They don't really want to invite me to the admin team meetings and I don't have anything to do with them now because of the attitude they've shown towards me.

65. Good relationship

I much preferred the school of xxxxxxx which was the one previous to xxxxxxx the admin team there was lovely. There was sign language, they always invited me to go out with them and to any activities. They were all very motivated to learn sign language and they tried their best and they made a lot of effort to communicate with me. I went out with them for Christmas dinner and for any birthdays. It really was a lovely team and I was very sad to leave that team. Interestingly, last week for example - my interpreter was sat with me and I went out of the office to do some photo copying and when I came back in, my interpreter and another interpreter were speaking to one another but when I walked into the office they both started signing. I thought that was really nice of them but at the same time, I wanted to get on with my work but I also wanted to be involved in their discussion. There was a deaf person who sat opposite my desk and I was signing to them and the interpreters can watch us and I was just unsure if it was rude of me to get involved in their discussion.

So, sometimes I think it's good but sometimes not, I feel that Deaf people working in just a Deaf team is good and I feel that working with hearing people, it really does depend on their attitude and their behaviour and if they have awareness or not

Appendix 9: Extended Study Data Translations with Focussed Data Coding

9.1 Mixed Group – Deaf and Hearing BSL Users

00:43 – – Hi!

00:47 – No 2– Why don't we each say what it is we do?

00:51 – No 1 – Yes perhaps say something about ourselves and what our job is. Let's start with you.

01:08 – No 3 – I work at xxxx...as a support worker.

01:14 –No 2 – I'm a Deaf role-model in education.

01:19 –No 1 – I work for xxxx, doing admin and paper work. Our organisation is Deaf-led but we have both Deaf and hearing people as staff but mostly my work involves Deaf people.

01:28 – No 7 – I work for xxxx as a BSL tutor for Deaf children.

01:30 –No 6– With children, oh that's nice. I'm in the same organisation as Celia, xxxx, I work as an interpreter, over to you.

01:35 – No 5– I work here in xxxx as a teacher of Interpreting and Deaf studies.

01:40 – No 4- I work in xxxx, the same as No 3, as a support worker. But in a different place.

01:50 –No 6 - What's the difference? The place or do they both have Deaf and hearing staff?

01:53 – No 4- They both have a mixture of staff. It's the clients who have different needs.

01:59 – No 6 – So the staff are both Deaf and hearing within the teams?

02:00 – No 4- Yes.

02:03 – No 1- You work alone is that right? There's no other Deaf people you work with?

02:09 – No 2 Working for the whole county of xxxx and with a whole range of ages from 3 years old upwards there is 2 role-models. Myself and another person who cover all the work.

Big time jump???

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02:27 –No 7 – I work alone. Last week I received a letter from council saying they had decided to cut the funding for BSL teaching so I'm effectively out of a job after the end of this month. Those in management are all hearing and have had no Deaf awareness; they have deemed BSL not to be a language but a 'novelty'. They have decided they need to keep English, maths and sciences. They tried to close down BSL last year but after a hard fight we won a reprieve and they kept BSL on the curriculum. Then this year just as we were planning the new year in September I received an email to say that, "After lots of discussion we have decided that the future of BSL teaching is not something we can support and in fact that BSL was seen as a novelty. Therefore, we will not be providing any more funding for BSL teaching going forward." So it's a real shame. There no reason campaigning as the decision is done and dusted.

1. **Extract: 53 D/HBSLU 4**

Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: respect

Discussion: Positive BSL was treated like equal as English

03:32 – No 4 – You would have loved xxxx where they have maths, English and the sciences but they also have BSL as a proper subject on the curriculum. I used to teach there and they have an interpreter in the classroom too. It was extremely useful at consolidating what they were learning in English and helping them to have a more global understanding of language. They were fluent in English and It was very lucky for all that the school had decided to have BSL as a single subject.

04:01-No 7- You're right it's important the language is recognised and taught, you're right.

04:04 – No 6- Do you work by yourself?

2. **Extract: 24: D/HBSLU7**

Theme: Audism   Sub-theme: Isolation

Discussion: Deliberately leaving out one deaf person because their language was different.

04:07 – No 7- I work alone. That's why I was always in conflict with the management as it was me against all of them, constantly battling. I don't have any allies to lean on and have to fight the battles myself, it's exhausting. Just like all my life having people not understand me when signing, it's exhausting. It's not just about being one Deaf person it's also about attitude of the management. Last Christmas the entire management and team went out for Christmas dinner and they didn't invite me. I would have been too much like 'hard-work' for them at the dinner table so instead they chose to leave me out. They want to sit and speak to each other and that's what they enjoy. Really it was

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good I wasn't there because I would have been sat there like a lemon and nobody would have been talking to me. It would have been very tedious.

3. Extract: <mark>78: D/HBSLU 6, 1</mark>

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitudes towards Sign Language

Discussion:

04:50 – No 6 – Is your experience different to xxxxxxx? Seeing that you work with a lot of Deaf people and Deaf people are very much involved. How do you feel? Oppressed too?

04:56 – No 1- In work we do have a Signing environment. So I can talk to everyone in work but at the end of the day I'm still glad to get out of there. I'm still glad to go home. To go home and relax and get away from Deaf people is also a relief! Not always is it 'hard-work' but it can be 'hard-work' and when it is then it's a relief to be able to get away from it.

4. Extract: <mark>82: D/HBSLU 5, 1</mark>

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitudes towards Hearing People

Discussion:

05:17 –No 5- The same can be said with hearing people too. I often work with hearing people of a day and when I get home of an evening, I have a couple of drinks and sit back and unwind.

05:23 – No 1- Perhaps then it's a feeling about being in work in general regardless of whether it's with hearing or deaf people. Thing is I've only ever worked within Deaf organisations and grown up in Deaf schools so it's incredibly hard for me to compare what it's like in other organisations. I do think that if I were in a hearing organisation I'd like to educate them about Deaf people and communication. I've always wanted to actually change a hearing organisation from within. That's always been an ambition of mine but at the same time I'm reluctant to do anything like that because I want an easy life. Now I go to work and everything is very easy, all able to communicate. I'm not sure I do want to have to do all the fighting and battling from within...I don't know.

5. Extract: <mark>25: D/HBSLU 4</mark>

Theme: Audism   Sub-theme: Isolation

Discussion:

06:04 – No 4 - To be honest with you when I go into work the first thing I do is look on the shift rota to see who I'll be working with. If I look down the list and see they're all hearing I feel rather despondent. Yet if I see a Deaf person is on my shift it makes me feel really happy and eager to be there because I have an ally. When you're by yourself and they all start talking it's not so easy to go up against them. I'm constantly having to

say to them "Please sign when talking, please sign when talking", she's not one of them type (No 5). She's good. But I constantly have to remind them to sign when I'm on a shift as a sole Deaf person. But when there are two of us there you've got some support. I remember once, just the once when the whole team was Deaf and the shift was lovely. All of us signed. The clients loved it too because it was a completely signing environment for everyone. There was absolutely no speaking taking place at all. We all get on with our jobs so smoothly. It was a lovely day. But I do have times with hearing people when it's okay too. Most of the hearing staff are alright it's actually a minority which are the problem.

6. **Extract: 81: D/HBSLU 1, 4**

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude towards Hearing People
Discussion:

07:05 – No 1 – May be you should make a case to management that there should be a policy of having a minimum of 2 Deaf staff on every shift? Could they change the policy to ensure that there was a minimum number of Deaf people on shift?

07:14 – No 4 – They would ask for the reason and wouldn't do it just because I wanted it.

07:20 – No 1- used to work in a nursery with Deaf staff and we noticed that when it was a team of 2 hearing people with 1 Deaf person it was too hard, communication was fraught. So we requested that it should be 2 Deaf people on together so you had an equal 2 hearing to 2 Deaf people split and that worked much easier. So until you ask you never know.

7. **Extract: 26: D/HBSLU 2, 4, 5**

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude towards sign language
Discussion: The staff choose to speak and not to sign, oppressing the deaf clients. Ignoring the policy and forcing their language on the environment.

07:35 –No 2 – When I worked at xxxxxxx which was a long time ago, I worked in the community office building. I used to see the residents relaxing in the lounge of a day and the hearing staff would stand in front of them speaking. They wouldn't even raise their hands to sign. I mean if I was there with Deaf residents I would be signing. My signing back then was pretty rubbish but I would be signing none the less. To not sign I would have felt was completely wrong. But for hearing staff to stand there right in front of residents and be speaking to each other is outrageous.

08:14 – No 4– Oh I have banged on and on about it. We now do have a policy that staff must sign but still people carry on speaking to each other. Hopefully things will improve in the future.

08:25 – No 5– Can I ask., now that you have a new policy what action is taken against those that deliberately break the policy? Are the reprimanded for it or does nothing happen?

08:31 – No 4- A disciplinary procedure will be activated.

8. Extract: <mark>67: D/HBSLU 1, 2, 5</mark>

Theme: Attitude   **Sub-theme: Attitude towards Deaf People**

Discussion: The staff choose to speak and not to sign, oppressing the deaf clients. Ignoring the policy and forcing their language on the environment.

08:33 – No 1 – Can I ask the hearing people whether they believe equality for both is right? (No 5 What's the question?) Do you believe that Deaf equality is something we have now?

08:46 – No 5 – Well, no we haven't got it yet. On a general level we don't have equality between the sexes, women are still treated less equally than men, black people are also still treated unequally. I think things are better but there certainly not treated equally.

09:01 – No 1- I think Deaf more valued at xxxxxx. I think a lot of hearing people look at Deaf people and think they're better.. (Unsure what she means..

09:23 – No 2– What do you think?

9. Extract: <mark>27: D/HBSLU 3, 4, 1</mark>

Theme: Attitude   **Sub-theme: Attitude towards sign language**

Discussion:

09:25 – No 3 – I think differently from 4. Seeing I'm working with Deaf people makes me say, "Great!! " Why I'm so happy is because I can use Deaf people to learn more sign language!!

09:35 – No 4 – That's a positive example.

09:36 – No 1– I suppose another reason why people are happier when Deaf people are working is that they can communicate with the clients, right? Yep, so if you're staff you will feel better knowing that people are on your shift who can communicate.

10. Extract: <mark>68: D/HBSLU 3,7</mark>

Theme: Attitude   **Sub-theme: Attitude towards sign language**

Discussion: Some people don't see that they exist other culture and other language. Some people know the policy but refuse to follow them effect the Deaf community. Some people see their own language; their own culture has been the only way, the right way.

09:50 –No 3 – Like you say you also see a lot of people defiantly speaking to each other without signing, they really ought to be using sign language to communicate. I think it's not all hearing staff but there are a few that we both knew who are persistent offenders.

10:00 –No 7 – You're not mentioning any names but you both know who!!

11. Extract: 28: D/HBSLU 2 & 5
Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude and Reaction
Discussion:

10:05 –No 5 – It's interesting that when we were in our hearing group we actually identified that labelling something as a hearing problem or a deaf problem was wide of the mark. It was actually a problem belonging to an individual. But that individual can infect others around them and it becomes a wider problem but it starts from an attitude of an individual. Conversely, when one person is very positive and the rest of the group is very positive you don't find any problems between Deaf and hearing people and everyone get along just great.

10:34- No 2– Sorry to interrupt. My experience of a Deaf and hearing environment has been that when I have found one person to have an awful attitude and tackled them then all the other hearing people quickly developed a similarly bad attitude towards me. It was as if the hearing people quickly coalesced around a fellow hearing person to close ranks and support each other. Which meant I was then having to challenge a number of people and there was a wall of negativity towards me.

12. Extract: 29: DBSLU 7
Theme: Audism   Sub-theme: Assimilation
Discussion: Deaf have double stress, one from work but the other worries about the perception of the other see in work (mean by hearing people)

11:03 –No 7 – So in effect instead of you having to concentrate on achieving the goals of your job you also had to think about your image and be careful about what you said so not to offend anyone. Adding more than just the work stress as you constantly checking yourself to see what you were saying was not going to cause offence, trying to make sure you fitted in with hearing culture. Me personally, and I'm not having a go at people here, but I think some people are just far too sensitive. They take things the wrong way. I've got a good example. Firstly let me say that I come from a Deaf family, so I've grown up within a Deaf house. I shared a house with someone else when I was at university, he was hearing. It quickly came to light that I was banging doors and walking very loudly on the floor which I was completely unaware of. He didn't mention it but was becoming increasingly annoyed by it. Then one day he told me to stop banging and making so much noise. I said, "No. You can't tell me what to do". We then had a massive row.

13. Extract: <mark>30: D/HBSLU 7</mark>

Theme: Audism   Sub-theme: Assimilation

Discussion: Deaf have double stress, one from work but the other worries about the perception of the other see in work (mean by hearing people)

No 7: But my view was why should I change my lifestyle and the only way I knew, how I'd been brought up. Just as you had been brought up a different way. Why should I stop making noise but you carry on making noise? We were very much at loggerheads. There was no one view which trumped the other and we both took our respective positions on this argument. I think people do have differing views and values. But I think it's important for people to be open minded and accept differences in people. I have another example when I was in University here in fact and I was late for a lecture. I was late for a lecture and I went in and said to xxxx that I was sorry I was late. It should all be signed classes anyway as Deaf studies but that aside the interpreter office had told me something had come up and the interpreter couldn't attend. I didn't mind as I knew xxxx could use sign language. After all this is my world. He's a teacher in my world. Then he started saying something but I wasn't watching him as I was busying myself with my laptop and doing other things. It happened in this very room, just in the corner behind us. As I was sat there, xxxx came over to me and started to speak to me…I thought he'd come to ask me a question but instead he just stood there with no facial expression and kept speaking at me. I said to him "Stop speaking at me and Sign, you can sign". Well my confidence just went through the floor as everyone in the room, who were all hearing, stopped and was watching him do this to me. He carried on speaking at me and again and again I said to him "xxxx, please stop speaking at me and sign". But then he just shrugged his shoulders and said to me" Well you're the one that's turned up to class without an interpreter so that means then you can lip-read me". I went ballistic. I stormed out of the classroom, I was furious! I went straight to the university office to report him as it was clearly a case of discrimination against me. But sadly I lost the case. I lost on a number of points but one of them was that xxxx's manager took his side and supported his view. It was favouritism on her part because they socialised a lot together and were also friends. I knew there was clearly a problem here so I battled and battled against them for over a year but I got nowhere. So now I refuse to teach here and will not teach here because of his attitude. It means that one area of employment I have had to cut off for the rest of my life because of people's attitude that's what I have to do. I have lots of experiences when you meet someone with a bad attitude and you look to your manager expecting support and it doesn't materialise. On the flip side you can have Deaf people who sign really demonstratively and may not be understood, I don't know may be there's bad on both sides really.

14. Extract: 57: D/HBSLU 2

Theme: Empathy   Sub-theme: Equality

Discussion:

15:01 – No 2 – My feeling is that I like my job, I like the families, the babies and the teenagers I work with. I feel it's very important that they have that Deaf connection. My stresses are not with my work colleagues it's with the people I work for who aren't allowed full access, are not being treated equally. I feel for them. The administration part of my job is relatively easy and straightforward, but when I come face-to-face with the clients who aren't being treated fairly that's when my stress levels rise. I have with work I keep separate from the joy I have with the people I work with. I know what they're feeling as Deaf people. I know the discrimination they suffer. I understand the Deaf issues they have. I know how it feels. The TODS have no understanding of it at all. That where my stresses lie. Being in work is fine I can focus and get on with my work. I wish that all I had to do was go into the office and work there as I wouldn't have any problems. But when I go back to the Deaf people I work with I instantly have that connection with them and feel their frustrations. It really angers me. (Her experience view's that all)

Big time jump???

16:06 No 6 – Can I ask, both of you. Do you feel that having hearing people involved in your working lives is a good thing or would you rather work with only Deaf teams? I'm just asking. I mean there are times when interpreters will be used in some teams but in a deaf only team? I'm just curious that's all.

15. Extract: 31: D/HBSLU 4

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude towards Deaf People

Discussion: the need to be culturally aware and, if not, it can lead to conflict

16:27 No 4– I feel it's nice if…it's nice if it was an all Deaf team for a change. If it's an all Deaf team you don't need an interpreter we can use type-talk, we can talk directly, and when we need an interpreter we can bring one in but they don't have to be a full member of the team. You can just book an interpreter as and when required then they can go off somewhere else. I think it would be nice to see an all Deaf team operate but as xxxxx said that has it's issues with people pulling each other down and back stabbing each other so it actually becomes an issue of the individual and their skills. If you have a hearing person who is a fluent signer and has a really good attitude, then I don't mind that person being part of the team at all. That would be lovely. As they would completely mix in with the right skills and the correct attitude, fully culturally aware and have Deaf awareness then everyone understands each other. But when you have a situation where

people don't understand each other or know each other's culture that's when conflict happens.

16. Extract: 46: D/HBSLU 7

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude towards Hearing People

Discussion: statement about Deaf people actually working better with hearing managers with the right attitude. But Deaf people with a bad attitude not being good for Deaf people

17:11 – No 7 – It comes down to the management of the team. I really do feel it's all about who the manager is. I know this seems awful but in my experience, and I really do hope that how things have been in the past with me will not continue in the future and I'll have positive experiences, but a lot of the hearing managers *I've had have had a very good attitude in contrast to the one or two Deaf managers I've had which have not been good at all.* When you look at appraisals and reviews etc. For example, in one instance my immediate line-manager was Deaf but the manager above that person was hearing. The hearing head manager was fantastic. They had a wonderful attitude and extremely fluent signing skills. When I met the head manager they had been very clear with me and told me that I would work flexibly which I agreed to. But then one day the train was late and I arrived slightly late into the office. I apologised for being late to my manager but in the back of my head I was aware it was ok because my job was flexible anyway. But then the manager came over to me questioning me as to the reason I had arrived a little late. I informed them that the train had been delayed and carried on with my work. But my manager went back to their computer and went on-line to verify if the train really was delayed. After that our relationship was finished. There was no trust, no valuing me as an individual. (asked if he was Deaf) …yes, he was Deaf. The reason for his mistrust is that he had known other Deaf people who had said to him in social situations that they would just turn up late for work the next day. He then believed that I was like the others he had met and was just out socialising too much and that's why I was late. So having a Deaf manager he felt that he knew me more than anyone else and therefore he unduly targeted me. But that was very unnecessary to tar me with the same brush as other people. Now with a hearing manager they may have been unaware of the social aspects of the Deaf community and perhaps some Deaf people get away with it a lot easier with hearing managers. With hearing manager's people have their own social lives and don't interfere or know what other people are doing. Obviously there are some hearing people who have an extremely bad attitude and are discriminatory to Deaf people. But I think the upshot is, as Lucy asked the question of whether I think hearing people should be included in a Deaf team, I think the answer is it's not what they are it's seeing them as people. See them for their qualities, for their skills irrespective of whether they are deaf or hearing, black, white or Asian it really doesn't matter. I think the problem is labelling people into these categories.

17. Extract: <mark>65: D/HBSLU 1, 7 & 4</mark>

Theme: Paternalism   Sub-theme: Benevolence

Discussion: Policy constructed does not resolve problem. Sometimes policy makes things worse and separates people.

19:41 – No 1 – A long time ago at xxxxx we used to have a policy that dictated that everyone must Sign. It became extremely prescriptive and <mark>people were enslaved to the policy.</mark> It should have been scrapped really. (No 5- why not people just naturally absorbing the language and using it in natural conditions…yes). Yes, It would have been better if it was scrapped. But everyone was doggedly following the policy and signing more because the rules said you had to.

20:03 – No 7– Are you implying that the policy became more important than what it was trying to achieve right?

20:08 – No 1- Everyone would just sight the policy and tell people to sign. It made a difficult situation and I felt it would have been better if it wasn't there.

20:14 – No 7 – Do you mean that forcing the policy on people like telling me that I was breaking a policy for being late made people clam up and say nothing?

20:32 – No 4 – I think in my experience that where there isn't a policy people still keep on speaking instead of signing. If the policy is there at least people will feel that they are compelled to sign.

20:47 – No 1- <mark>Yes, they have to…but it shouldn't be compelled it should be that they are signing anyway irrespective of if there is a policy or not.</mark>

18. Extract: <mark>83: D/HBSLU 5, 4, 3</mark>, 1

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitudes towards Sign Language

Discussion: People who choose to work in a linguistic and cultural field but actually have no wish to learn the language and no desire to work with other culture.

20:49 – No 5 – I've seen hearing people like that too in the past, people with a very negative attitude but I always question why are they working with Deaf people if they feel so hard done by because they have to sign. Yes, and other people have to wear uniforms and abide by other policies, they can't just sit around naked in an office but that's part and parcel of a working environment. If they have such a bad attitude to working with Deaf people it beggars belief why they would wish to continue.

21:19 – No 1– why don't they…bugger off/get lost/F**k off…(?)

21:25 – No 5– It's like saying I hate being around children and taking a job as a school teacher!

21:30 –No 4 – It's like TOD, they have a bad attitude and their job is to support Deaf children. They say they are sick of supporting Deaf children...well that's the job.

21:50 – No 3 – I love signing. Sometimes I sign at home...I just forget I'm doing it. Some yes and some no but I want to learn more. But I think some people just want a job. The person who left recently, you know who, they were not interested in using sign language or in developing a relationship with the clients. When another staff member who was hearing entered the room one day this man, who didn't know that the guy had a Deaf girlfriend, started spouting off about Deaf people and really complaining about how fed-up he was with the job and how Deaf people had a bad attitude and how he really wasn't bothered about Deaf people...after going on a tirade for some time when he finished the other hearing staff member calmly informed him, "You do know that my girlfriend is Deaf". Well he was really shocked by that and embarrassed. But for a guy that didn't want to work with Deaf people, didn't want to learn sign language and just complains all the time I'm left puzzled as he can go off and do another job.

19. Extract: 79: D/HBSLU 4, 1,
Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Acceptance
Discussion: People need to be able to have bi-cultural and bi-lingual skills to be able to move between the two.

22:48 No 1 – But I have to say I don't sign all the time in work. Sometimes when I'm talking with hearing people I speak with them. I am able to communicate in speech and I find it quite easy to be able to switch from the two. Do you do the same?

23:00 – No 4 – I'm the same. In the real world sometimes I sign with people and sometimes I speak to people.

23:08 – No 1– But in work I tend to use my speech when communicating with hearing people.

23:10 – No 4 – Yes I understand that as there are a lot of people who don't know sign language.

23:14 – No 1 – No All the hearing people working with me can sign but sometimes I just find it easier speaking to them.

23:15 – No 4 – Yes you do. In fact, regularly you and I will speak to each other.

20. Extract: 37: D/HBSLU 2 & 4
Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitudes towards Sign Language
Discussion: Intentionally stay within a sign language modality as risk of confusing identity with hearing people.

23:22 – No 4– That's the same as me. I can speak but I choose not to because what happens to me is if I use my speech with hearing people they automatically speak back to me and I miss what they are saying as they forget that I'm deaf. So I don't speak at all now, I sign to colleagues then that forces them to sign back to me. I had to because if I speak it's so easy for them to forget that I'm deaf. But on another level I also think it acts as a good role-model for the clients to see me signing and that will encourage them to use their sign language. I'm not saying that I only sign to be role model I love signing and I'm very comfortable with it. I actually prefer signing to speaking.

24:01 – No 2 – I'm the same. Where I used to work before I used to use speech to communicate and try to lip-read in meetings and with one-to-ones with my manager but it became increasingly difficult so in the end I made a conscious decision to only sign at work and when there was a meeting to bring an interpreter in. From then on if there was a meeting or if I was in the office all day there had to be an interpreter there. My only way of communicating after that was through sign language.

21. Extract: 47: D/HBSLU 7, 5, 4
Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitudes towards Hearing People
Discussion: Talking about their interpreter preferences.

24:23 – No 7 – Talking about interpreters I have my own preferences for which interpreters I would use and in fact I have a list of interpreters that I would prefer to use. At home I have a book and if I work with an interpreter I go home and put them in my book and what they were like. I'm not being just negative about some interpreters but some of them I put down as not good enough so I know not to book them again…I'm talking about the quality of their skills. After all I'm paying for the quality, well the government and me are paying for the quality. But why should I pay for poor quality. Then in say 5 years' time if I hear someone say they're going to book a specific interpreter I can say don't book them there not of a good quality. In my book I have information taped over the names of those I don't feel are good enough. Then that information I can use to share with the Deaf community. But my notes do not mean that I'm saying to other Deaf people do not use a certain interpreter but I just think it's good to share our experiences. My notes may recommend that Deaf people don't use a specific person because they need more training. Some Deaf people are very grateful for my notes on interpreters. I think the role of an interpreter is to be my link in the work place. The work place is hearing and I'm Deaf therefore the interpreter is the link between the two. It's like Deaf abuse but when the interpreter sits there the Deaf person has someone that they can offload on to and the interpreter has another function almost as a counsellor sitting their patiently listening to the problems of the Deaf person. So an interpreter has lots of roles to perform. I know they are meant to stay in role but some interpreters I know well I can vent my frustrations out and then ask them what their

view was of what just happened which will corroborate my feelings, then I go and act upon them. But other interpreter would be very reticent to give opinions and take sides. I think having an interpreter work, especially a hearing environment then I really do value their presence. I really value having an interpreter with me. I value them as that link and the bridge to communication with hearing people. Also at tea break times I have someone I can chat with and relax with. Through the interpreter I have learnt a huge amount about the hearing community and how they operate. Giving me a greater understanding of why hearing people behave in certain ways. So interpreters are very useful and provide lots of information.

26:34 – No 5 – May be that appears on your post it notes in your interpreter book too.

26:40 – No 4 - We use three interpreters in work when we have any presentations or speeches. One of them I can't relax at all with and another I find very relaxing to take the information in. But unlike you xxxxx I don't have a book full of post-it notes on each of them! Ha!

22. Extract: 38: D/HBSLU 1, 5
Theme: Audism   Sub-theme: Assimilation
Discussion: Deaf people needed training in mixing with hearing colleagues as norms, humour and values were so different from hearing colleagues that would often cause offence and alienation.

26:57 –No 1- In the past at xxxxx we had a Deaf officer whose job it was to train Deaf people. It was very interesting as we were finding lots of Deaf people were being turned down for jobs that they were applying for. They were failing because they didn't know how to behave in the workplace. They had been at Deaf school, then Deaf college and had exclusively a Deaf way of behaving. Then when they go into an environment of hearing people they are very direct in what they say to everyone. Perhaps saying things unsuitable, including subjects of a sexual nature. So a lot of the problems of a Deaf and Hearing work place is that the Deaf people just don't know how to behave with hearing people which causes a lot of incidents of Deaf and hearing culture clashes. They just don't know so part of the course was teaching them how to behave, what to do what the etiquette was in the workplace. Some Deaf people felt that coming to work within a Deaf organisation and talking with other Deaf people was all they had to. We had to say that as lovely as it was to see them communicating well in work they also had to do some real work and not just chat.

28:08 – No 5 – Yes. They were not just paid to chat.

28:10 – No 1 – Exactly, so they were getting in trouble at work. We taught them that having a brief chat to touch base at the start of the day was fine but then you had to go and do whatever your work was you were supposed to be doing. Likewise, with hearing

people having a brief chat then getting on with their work. One of the issues was that the boundaries of Deaf culture were much further out than that of Deaf culture which often caused offence. Some hearing people would accept it as being Deaf culture but the Deaf cultural behaviour went too far for a lot of hearing people. So it was extremely interesting teaching them about what was socially acceptable within the workplace. It was termed 'Deaf awareness of hearing culture'.

23. Extract: 64: D/HBSLU 5, 7

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitudes towards Deaf People
Discussion: Deaf people needed training in mixing with hearing colleagues as norms, humour and values were so different from hearing colleagues that would often cause offence and alienation.

28:50 –No 5 – It's interesting because as interpreters we can inform the Deaf person of the boundaries and politics of mixing with hearing people. For example, for over 2 years I worked every single day with the same hearing and Deaf person??

I was hearing so I knew the boundaries and etiquette and what to expect. That was part of my responsibility. But also when The Deaf person was giving a lecture they wanted to talk about hearing organisations but I said that wouldn't make much sense to the audience who was hearing and it may be better to term it mainstream organisations. The Deaf person really liked my input and we worked together to make sure that what they wanted to say and what the hearing people heard in the voice over was the same given the different boundaries and cultures. The Deaf person was great at signing their presentation and saying what they wanted to and my job was to interpret what they said so the hearing people fully understood. We divided the roles of signing and interpreting between us. Part of my role was to interpret between the two language and the two cultures and if there was a word they wanted to use that I thought would not be suitable then to offer them some appropriate alternatives. It's a shared enterprise working together to achieve the outcome wanted.

30:39 –No 7- divide it up and you'll succeed.

30:44 – No 5 – Yes and then together you'll be stronger.

24. Extract: 36: D/HBSLU 4, 1, 7

Theme: Transition   Sub-theme: Policy
Discussion:

30:47 – No 4 – I think it's incredibly difficult for Deaf people who from the very earliest age at school have had to fight and fight for their rights. Then campaign and campaign.

Then going into the workplace they have to go through it all over again. This is wrong to be like this in 2012.

31:02 – No 1 – Anything that is about delivering a service to Deaf people should be Deaf led. Where I work all our managers and senior managers are Deaf.

31:14 – No 7 – Having one hearing manager is ok to bring some balance.

25. Extract: 55: D/HBSLU 1, 2, 4, 5
Theme: Transition   Sub-theme: Incongruence
Discussion:

31:17   No 1– Deaf organisations should be the ones working with Deaf people. Any service delivered to Deaf people or Deaf children should be Deaf led. Then it's up to the individual if they want to go to a hearing organisation or not. That would be fine.

31:42 – No 4 – What about Deaf and hearing managers working together. That would be nice.

31:48 –No 5 – 2 Heads are better than one.

31:51 – No 1 – No they would clash all the time.

31:53 – No 5 – That's to do with attitudes. If they see eye to eye and get on with each other then they can work well.

31:57 – No 4- But what if they don't get on with each other. What if the Deaf person does not want to work with the hearing person and vice versa?

32:05 – No 5 – that's a problem linked to their attitudes and has nothing to do with whether they or Deaf or hearing.

32:17 – No 1 – Also I think it depends on the person. How they approach things. Whether they're very aggressive and loud demanding their rights.

32:25 – No 2 – You mean me don't you! I go around shouting about people giving me my rights.

32:29 – No 1 – No. It's about how people approach things in a positive and considerate manner. Ready to have a conversation with someone about what they want.

26. Extract: 80: D/HBSLU 7, 1
Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitudes towards Hearing People
Discussion:

32:40 No 7 – I think you get your attitude from your parents. I grew up with Deaf parents who were both working and from what I remember them being like Mum didn't have the capacity to use any speech whatsoever. My father couldn't use speech either. My father was Deaf-blind and worked in the same factory for 45 years. Recently he was thrown out of his job because he was unable to see anymore. But anyway. My mum used to work, more recently she works teaching sign language to hearing families, but a long time ago she worked in a clothes factory in xxxxxx. She used to say it was fantastic working there. I would ask if her if there were other Deaf people there and she would say no everyone was hearing except me. But it was great we would all talk together and I was involved in everything. I asked her how that could be…and she would say…

33:40 No 1 – I know how because it would have been so loud with all the sewing machines that all the girls would have been very good in talking loudly and she would have been able to lip-read them, that's why.

33:48 – No 7 – Oh..I never thought of that.. I see.. but anyway she said she had a fab time there.

9.2 Deaf BSL Users

00:39- No 2 - Crap! Ha!

00:44 – No 4 – Waiting for her to go out!!

00:40 – No 1 – Why don't we start by giving a brief explanation about what work each of us is involved with and then we can move on from there…? Why don't you tell us about your work first?

00:54 – No 2– I'm a Deaf role model in xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx. I started earlier this year. Working with ages from young babies up to age 4. But just recently it changed and I'm working with ages right up to 19. So all change.

01:11 No 7 – I work for Blackpool council teaching sign language and especially working within families, every Tuesday, to encourage parents to use sign language with their children.

01:23 – No 1 – I work for xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx, Organising activities and working in a Deaf leadership role.

01:31 – No 4 – At the moment I have a foot in two camps. Firstly, I work at xxxxxxxx but I also have prior experience of working in xxxxxxxxxx school and both have given me very different experiences.

01:43 – No 7 – No 4 you say about having 2 different experiences I've also had differing experiences. Before I worked in the xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx and at one time I had a hearing manager and at another I had a Deaf manager. Although both were in the xxxxxxxxxx xxxxxxx they were massively different experiences.

01:57 – No 1 – All my life I've only ever worked in Deaf organisations.

02;00- No 7– All your life…that's interesting.

02:01 – No 1- Hang on, my very first job was in a xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx as a xxxxxxxxx officer. In xxxxxxxxxx…a long, long time ago!! It was a part-time job but as I say many years ago…!

02:19 – No 2 – Congratulations at finding the place!

02:27 – No 1- xxxxxxxxxxxxx likes its roundabouts!! Very easy to end up getting lost there! Can you see me alright?

27. Extract: <mark>13: DBSLU1,2 & 7</mark>

Theme: Audism   Sub-theme: Isolation

Discussion: TOD – they are deliberating refusing to sign/They believe is their paternalistic attitude is right/They had traditional theorist and they didn't want to be open up to other theory

02:39 – No 2– <mark>My experience has been horrendous when working alongside hearing people. At first I was very optimistic and looking forward to the challenge.</mark> I felt like I could change the world. You warned me not to go into education and what an awful experience it could be but I felt I would be alright. But how wrong I was. The attitude of the TOD Teacher of the Deaf was outrageous.

03:04 – No 1 – Did they sign or speak?

03:07 – No 2 – Both. The skills varied greatly. Some of the TODs were good signers; others not. Their skills varied immensely. They were learning Level 2 and post Level2. They were very eager and were getting a positive message regarding BSL and the rich visuality of the language. But then about 5 years ago when the course finished their sign language skills declined. They were not using the language and were not mixing with the Deaf community. Their attitudes were awful.

03:47 – No 1 – When you are working in the classroom does your work involve hearing and Deaf children together or is it a room full of only Deaf children?

03:53 – No 2– It's a hearing service but I work with Deaf families and all types of deafness and ages right from babies upwards.

04:08 – No 7 – Yes I've been to your base before...it's in xxxxxxxxxx, is that right?

04:11 No 2 – no, we were different from that group. We were based in (xxxxxxxxxx) We were a TOD led team and it felt like a team. The TOD had a so-so attitude and I didn't truly feel involved in everything. I went into the job feeling very positive and eager to be involved but over time I became more isolated and felt I was on my own, I was the only Deaf person in the group too.

04:58 – No 1– Did you think the viewed you differently? Why did you feel more isolated? Was it their attitude to you? Or was it you felt you had a different relationship with the Deaf children than they did? What was the reason for the isolation?

28. Extract: <mark>14: DBSLU2 & 7</mark>

Theme: Audism   Sub-theme: Isolation

Discussion: Hearing staff refuse to learn to sign/Banned from giving information link to signing/Hearing staffs believe it's their way mainstream was the only way.

05:11 –No 2- When I'd go the office which was not often, but once a fortnight perhaps, there was no one who could sign. They hadn't even bothered learning the very basics. Not one of them. So I accepted that they only wanted to speak and I could speak a little bit, but it didn't make me feel a part of the team at all. Also when we'd have a team meeting everyone would chat among themselves and none of them would bother to talk to me or tell me what they were laughing at even in the meeting. I'd sit there feeling very uncomfortable and completely left out of all the conversations.

06:04 – No 7 – I know exactly what you are talking about. I was only there a short time, about 10 months but and in the end I had to leave the job. I was under 2 official warnings within just the last 3 months as I'd been continually challenging my manager.

29. Extract: 15: DBSLU 7 & 4
Theme: Paternalism   Sub-theme: Cultural Awareness
Discussion:

No 7- I was working with the youngest pupils in the school there was literally no language at all, no Signing language and no ability to speak, nothing. They tried lip-reading and speech with the children and everything had failed. The parents were at a loss about what to do next. So I was asked to go in and see what I could do. I started teaching them and within no time there was evidence that it was working. It was wonderful to see that they was a slight improvement taking place and they were able to express themselves with simple sentences such as saying their name, but even still for the first time there was meaningful communication. The parents asked what my background was and I told them I'd graduated from university and my many experiences of working abroad. They were really impressed and it gave a positive model of being a Deaf person which they could naturally transpose on to their own children to see what they could go on to become when they were older. The parents became keen on finding out any more information so I gave them copies of the xxxxx magazine. I found a lot of my influences had come through the xxxxxx as that's where you hear about events and Deaf cultural activities. I would also mention to them the other organisations and magazines including the xxxxxx and the xxxxxx. How they operated differently. The parents continue to be curious about Deaf culture and I started sitting with them and sharing my experiences and thoughts. When I'd finished giving them such cultural insights they went away. At a later date they informed my boss how useful they had found the sessions and how they information had been very valuable. I was immediately summoned to the Head's office to be informed that I was receiving my first verbal warning and that I was not allowed to give any xxxxxx literature out to parents and I wasn't to sit down sharing my experiences and knowledge of Deaf culture. It just wasn't to be allowed. I told the head, "Hang on a minute. It's part of my job to ensure that all areas are covered for the benefit of the child, including identity and culture. Furthermore, you stopping me is clearly

discrimination as you are discriminating against my culture and your actions are not to be allowed."

08:08- No 4 - That's like saying to a black person that they would not be allowed to pass on their culture and history. It wouldn't be allowed as it is clearly breaking the law. So you should be protected. "

30. Extract: 16: DBSLU 7 & 2
Theme: Transition   Sub-theme: Policy
Discussion:

08:20 – No 7– You're absolutely right but I wasn't. In the end she called a full staff meeting and handed out a new set of rules for everyone. When I looked down the list rule number 9 or something like that stated "Do not promote any Deaf related material to parents. "But we were allowed to give out xxxxxxx material…because it was an Oral school of course, but not allowed to give any cultural literature...I went ballistic! It ended up in brouhaha with HR being involved and, well...in the end I quit. I know that you got a job there, I'm astonished you had the stamina to remain there, much more than me...

09:05 No 2 – They must have been following the organisations policies on that, xxxx's authority is very much biased to the oralists. It's surprising that they then appoint BSL users.

31. Extract: 49: DBSLU 2 & 7

Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Respect
Discussion: Extremely biased view about signing language, oral policy given top profile, the signing policy is bottom…Deliberate ignoring values of deaf culture and sign language.

09:12 –No 2 - They say differently. They say "Informed Choice. Parents should always have informed choice". I know that when a TOD has an initial meeting with a new family after diagnosis of deafness, however old the baby/child is they have a list of subjects to inform the parents of. The list is provided by xxxx and is a proforma list. But when you look at how the list is structured the check list covers all the oralist organisations first and then towards then end mentions the subject of SSE and then at the very bottom, the last subject to mention is BSL. I've said to the teacher that putting it right at the end seems wrong and how it can be very confusing for parents. She just replied that we mention Sign language briefly but don't go into any depth until some later date. I told them that it should be at the top of the list and I don't really see what's so confusing for them. She has Makaton in the list...! Throw it out it's no more than useless anyway. Just have Sign language, full and proper BSL. It's the child's right to learn their own language, completely. Not just as a passing thought. But the teacher just prevaricates by peddling

lines about 'Informed choice' and providing 'full information' but if anything it's just confusing everyone.

10:26 –No 7 – What the term 'full information is a lot of what they want them to know. Actually providing a breadth of information is very limited.

32. Extract: 17: DBSLU4, DBSLU7 and DBSLU1
Theme: Audism   Sub-theme: Oppression
Discussion: Deliberately refusing that child access to their language

10:29 – No 4 – Imagine, if it wasn't for you that poor boy would have grown up without acquiring language and he would have been F*****d – up!

10:37 –No 7 – You're right. But that same boy one day I turned up at the school, I always arrived by greeting everyone with Good morning and he usually said it back to me. But this day I said good morning to him and I just had a nervous silence, he just looked very reticent to say anything. I asked the teaching assistant (TA) what was wrong. She told me to come outside and she would explain. So we went out of the room and she said that new rules had been imposed upon the boy meaning people must speak to him and if he doesn't respond they speak it again and again and only after 3 attempts if he doesn't understand then sign language may be permitted, but not before. I went ballistic. I absolutely lost it!

11:18 – No 1 – Did you get your second warning!!

11:21 – No 7 – So I went all the way to (?) office, all the way in (??) at (?). I Barged into her office, throwing her door open and I shouted at her that I had had enough and I quit. Throwing my notice and the desk and then I left the job. I felt very good afterwards. We had a furious row before I left and I told her straight that I thought her service was a joke. But it really was a joke because it achieved nothing really, nothing.

33. Extract: 18: DBSLU 2, 4 & 7
Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Signing Environment
Discussion:

11:58 – No 4- It's a shame actually because the school needed people like you in there but actually you lost your job. You could have been fighting for that boy's right.

12:07 –No 2 – Yes. You have to challenge the system all the time. Challenge it again and again.

12:11 – No 7 – But the risk of that is that you may lose your job. If you become the one always challenging, then the head will try to find a way of making you redundant. It

recently happened when there was a round of redundancies I was one of them and the head just sorry but the budget had been cut.

34. Extract: <mark>50: DBSLU 2 and 1</mark>
Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Respect
Discussion: The staffs were paternalistic, thinking that they were doing good but they actually disempowering.

12:30 – No 2 – Where I worked before in education xxxxxxx my boss discriminated against me. I'm preparing a case, I will make it formal, I will. They talked to me only verbally and often I didn't understand them. Or they would write something down in a letter and I wouldn't understand it. I repeatedly told them the way they were treating me was wrong and this was discrimination. For example, when they wanted to change my line manager and the 2 hearing bosses would say your new line manage is lovely and has kindly said she will make phone calls FOR you. They were just so patronising and I said to them just hang on a minute. I'm not thick you know. I know how to make phone calls myself using my interpreter. I was so angry that they were using such patronising language. It was unacceptable. There were lots of small things that piled up together became a really big issue for me.

13:55 – No 1 – What would have made your working situation better. What would it have taken, training? Deaf awareness? What did you want to see happen there?

35. Extract: <mark>63: DBSLU 2</mark>
Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitudes towards Deaf People
Discussion: Superficial course or policy alone won't change; you need fundamental attitudes to change.

14:00 –No 2– I think all of the staff needed proper, meaningful, in-depth deaf awareness training. Not some superficial one-day course. Looking at the issues in depth so that they would have been able to fully understand what it was like for me. Teachers of the deaf should understand but actually there extremely ignorant of the issues. The know nothing at all. What really surprises me is that the TOD have huge influence over the families and families go on to make decisions on whether to sign or not based on the influence of the TOD. From when the child is a little baby it will affect their whole life. That really worries me. Now since the structure has been changed in September we have received no referral for the whole of xxxxxxxxx there has been no referral at all none. No there has been 1, just 1. For the whole of the xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx, there should be more babies coming through, lots more. Where are the referrals? Where are they? It doesn't matter what type of child or referral, Cochlear Implant child or not. There should be first referrals to the TOD team but there's none. From the (?) west were getting lots of referrals coming through as a steady stream but from the east it's totally dried up. It

really worries me. Are they lost in the system? Maybe with so much restructuring taking place recently the hospitals and staff are not aware of how to refer. There could be lots of families out there completely isolated and lost without any support for them or their Deaf baby.

36. Extract: 51: DBSLU 1

Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Respect
Discussion: Deliberate policy to deny sign language to a child and to parents. Biased to technology.

15:42 – No 1– xxxxxx used to have a family support project but the funding dried up. We used to help about 100 families with children as young as nursery age but the funding just dried up. It's more important than ever that we campaign and lobby to get that funding back again. We need to get the connections back with families and sign language. I remember some time ago I was at a meeting in school and about a girl who had an implant and was aged 10. I said to look after her when she was 3 years old but then she went off to another school. At the age of 5 she had the CI. The CI team had told the father do not sign with her. No signing must be allowed. When I met up with them again when the girl was 10 I saw the father and he said to me I wish I had never listed to the CI team. The CI hadn't worked for her and he wanted her to sign instead of using the implant. Should the CI team have a rule by where they encourage both CO work and signing?

37. Extract: 19: DBSLU4

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitudes towards Sign Language
Discussion: Hearing people felt sensitivity because deaf want with deaf. Deliberately language discrimination and refusal to share the language and communication.

16:39 – No 4 – I think we should go back to Nicola's original question. I feel we have gone way off from what the question was. I have 3 things to say about when hearing and Deaf people mix in the workplace. The first thing that really annoys me is when hearing people tell Deaf members of staff that they are using a wrong sign. That's outrageous. Excuse me! BSL is my language. For example, I have used a sign for EARLY and a hearing person has said to me that's not the sign for EARLY, you should use this or this. I say to them just stop there. This is my sign for EARLY and that's the end of it. Same story when I worked at a school. They would just make up their own signs, I knew from meta-linguistics that what they were doing was wrong. When I would say to them that's not the sign for AFTERNOON as your location and movement is wrong they would say it was fine as it was their sign at the school. I'd have to challenge them and say it's not your signs, it's not your language. It's mine. That's first thing I dislike from a hearing Deaf mixed team.

38. Extract: 20: DBSLU4

Theme: Attitude   **Sub-theme: Attitudes towards Sign Language**

Discussion:

The second thing I don't like is when hearing people all speak to each other when having a conversation and when a deaf member of staff comes into the room they carry on speaking. Why?! In a Deaf environment why are they insistent on speaking?! They would even carry on speaking in front of the Deaf children. If it's private go somewhere private and have your conversation. I work in a home for Deaf people, xxxxxxx, now and what sometimes happens is the hearing staff speak to each other when chatting but if a Deaf person walks in the room they stop speaking and start signing. Well that's not right either. They should be signing all the time. Then clients watching can choose if and when they wish to participate. If you have a private conversation you want to have go and have it somewhere private. The third thing I dislike, what was my third one??

39. Extract: 21: DBSLU4 & 1

Theme: Transition   **Sub-theme: Intersectionality**

Discussion:

Oh yes, what's ideal for me. Ideally a Deaf lead team where everyone is Deaf. That's it. If you have a team either in school or in xxxxxxx where you have a deaf and hearing person both doing the same job the Deaf child/adult is going to gravitate towards the deaf person. That's perfectly natural! You find that hearing people then feel their noses are being put out of joint. But I have to explain to them not to be offended it's perfectly naturally. In fact, if they were hearing clients they would naturally go to you. Then the hearing staff feel threatened by deaf people and actually it makes them become more oppressive towards Deaf people. It's just so difficult.

18:56 – No 1 – That's interesting because my work is Deaf led and we have an interpreter team upstairs. We have to go upstairs and rely on hearing people again! So the Deaf client with the Deaf community officer have to go upstairs and use the interpreters. What's happened now is that lots of Deaf people actually prefer using the hearing community officers because they can make phone calls.

19:24 –No 4 – You can use type-talk!!

19:25 – No 1 – I know...they still prefer using hearing staff who can use the telephone...it's an interesting one.

40. Extract: 23: DBSLU7

Theme: Paternalism   Sub-theme: Passivity

Discussion: Is happening by the Deaf people feeling low confidence with English and becoming dependent on 'hearing' people.   (emotional dependent and language dependent)

19:28 – No 7 – That may be a psychological reason going back to the days of the Missioners and welfare officers who were hearing. It's interesting as part of my work I was involved in a project involving 2 centres. The first centre all the Deaf people signed and everyone said they were unable to do a lot as they couldn't read. I looked at the Deaf people and they were passively sitting there not challenging this notion. The hearing person just kept saying Deaf people needed them to move forward. I looked at the Deaf people and it seems there is a historic influence from the missioners time that the grassroots Deaf people felt that they actually did need the hearing people to help them. xxxx's attitude is the same. She's an old woman now, obviously! But when xxxx sees an interpreter she immediately asks them to do everything for her because they can speak and use the phone. I realised that it's how society was when she was younger and how they used hearing people that has shaped her attitude now that hearing were always right and Deaf people were always wrong. It's interesting Lesley you talked about having a completely Deaf team but it depends on what the work is. I've worked for xxxxxxx service Deaf service and for the xxxxxx service (hearing team) and my experience is such that I found the positive experience to be that at the xxxxxxx not at the xxxxxxx department. In fact, the Townie xxxxxxxxx was the worst job I've ever had. Yes, it was full of Deaf people all signing together which was great but so much back-stabbing it was unbelievable. It was like its own deaf community within a community. When I decided to apply for another job, which was a personal and private matter, somehow it had leaked out to everyone else and people were coming up to me saying I hear you've applied for another job. It was unbelievable. Many of the Deaf professionals were just not professional. There were some good ones but too many of them mixed their private and professional lives to such a degree it wasn't good.

41. Extract: 22: DBSLU7

Theme: Transition   Sub-theme: Policy
Discussion:

Another example is when I worked for a Deaf organisation and I quit. This is a really good example, basically I was working for one Deaf organisation and I quit going and working for a rival organisation. One night I was at a social event when I saw someone from my previous organisation. When I said how are you, they were really stand offish and they had allowed their professional environment to influence them whilst speaking to me of an evening. I had to say to them that it was perfectly ok to talk to me outside of work

at a social event. But at the same time you're right about hearing people constantly speaking in work. I have spent untold hours telling hearing people to please sign and to respect the rules of our communication policy. Instead of concentrating on my work and what I was supposed to be doing I was getting all stressed and worked up over having to persistently tell people to sign and not speak.

42. Extract: 61: DBSLU 4 & 1
Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Acceptance
Discussion: Lack of understanding and empathy related to Deaf culture. Not able to see that they were different culture was there and they were ignoring the Deaf cultural issue there.

22:44 – No 4 – I think it's just that a lot of hearing people are not culturally aware. Before new members of staff start on our job they should first go through a thorough awareness programme and cultural awareness programme for example I was across a room from a Deaf person but a hearing member of staff was standing right next to them. I waved to gain the attention of the Deaf person but instead of the hearing person next to them just tapping them on the shoulder they stood there and did nothing. I had to walk all the way over and tap the Deaf person myself. They were just completely unaware of how to tap a Deaf person and get their attention for me. It's little things like that.

23:15 – No 1 – I think a lot of it is down to your own personality and an individual's choice. If people speak it doesn't really bother me. If I want to know what someone is saying, I'll ask them to sign it and they will. So then I'll know. So maybe it depends on what type of person you are, if you're very militant and demand that everyone signs or if you're like me where I'm strong enough and thick-skinned enough not to be bothered what people do.

43. Extract: 52: DBSLU 4, 1
Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Respect
Discussion: Disempowerment by teacher who in power, Audism to the children, that the children couldn't answer back themselves.

23:37 – No 4 – It's not about whether you are being strong enough or not. It's actually about respect. For example, with the schoolchildren they're not old enough to be able to handle adults and to know whether they are being talked about or not.

23:50 – No 1 – Yes but if I was in a room on my own and two hearing people were speaking I wouldn't be bothered. But if there are lots of other people in the room besides me then I agree with you everyone should sign. I agree with that.

23:55 – No 4– Also some people with mental health issues may also be paranoid, could become even more paranoid. Really it's down to respect if hearing people are working within the deaf community then you should sign, you should.

9.3 Hearing BSL Users

Lucy No 6 – My experience has been lovely. Every day I've been working with both Deaf and hearing people in different places. Over time I've been learning more of the language so overall it's been nothing but good.

 01:08 No 5 – What's your background?

44. Extract: 1: HBSLU3
Theme: Transition   Sub-theme: Policy
Discussion: **What it the management issue?/could be value judgement that see BSL below?/Why they had to write English? Why were they were force to write English rather sign in it own right sign language?/Contrasting experience from two different institution?**

01:10 – No 3 I work at xxxx in xxxx, I've worked there for 3 years and I've just started at xxxxxxxxthis year which is similar type of work. My experience of working with Deaf people has been fantastic. Although I have seen things. I have seen discrimination against Deaf people. One example is a member of staff who was Deaf had reached the end of their shift and wanted to write in the logs for the Deaf clients. By the way all the Deaf staff have no problem writing at all. But one manager decided that Deaf staff did not have sufficient written English skills, which I found puzzling because I've read what they write and it looks absolutely fine to me. But the manager decided that Deaf staff must go through an interpreter when writing the logs. Yes there was an occasion when an agency member of staff (hearing) arrived on her first day and was allowed to write I the logs straight away. No one bothered checking whether they had sufficient English skills. Now to me that looked like discrimination, do you know what I mean? (Rob agrees that's about attitude)..Another thing and I don't want to just go on being negative but there are two different departments one team had 2 regular Deaf staff and one regular hearing staff member. They had worked together for some time. Yet when I started the hearing member of staff asked me to explain to the Deaf member of staff..The hearing person was able to sign for themselves. Why they didn't so it themselves was either that they just couldn't be bothered or that they felt they didn't have the skills to be able to do it..strange really. What's your previous experiences Rob?

45. Extract: 75: HBSLU 5 & 6
Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitudes towards Sign Language
Discussion: Is he learn, whatever there and learnt what out there and accepted as part of their dynamic (within the environment)

03:13 -No 5-   Well, mine go back a long way!! I would say I've been signing now, over 25 years… (other: 2 WOW!! 25 YEARS!!You were signing when I was 2!!) I'm an old man!! It's interesting how when I started I was just interested in learning the language, I had

no interests in interpreting then. I was just fascinated by the language. As a hearing person I wrongly assumed that learning sign language was like any other language. But actually to really learn the language you need to be friends with deaf people first of all. Back then there were no deaf studies courses. You had two options if you wanted to get involved you went through an education course that didn't have sign language being taught or you chose the interpreting course which was heavily structured with sign language the woman who ran it was herself Deaf. That's how it was back then in the xxxx. The course basically was just signing all the time going to Deaf clubs and events at weekends and became friends with lots and lots of Deaf people. So I didn't plan to get so involved with Deaf people it just that's the way it happened.

04:23 – No 6– I was much the same. I didn't plan it to happen it just did.

04:25 – No 5 – Really I was just fascinated by the language but back then there were so many deaf clubs that you could go to and meet Deaf people. Back then there was a wide variety of ages and types of Deaf people that you could socialise with but now there is not that same variety. It's much more limited so the students mix with other students not with much older deaf people or very young children. It still seems to be a very positive experience and they're sharing the language.

46. Extract: 76: HBSLU 6 & 5
Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Acceptance
Discussion: People come in, open mind ready and accepted whatever language is there.

04:51 – No 6 – For me I feel that learning Sign language is like learning to drive. At university, you learn the mechanics, how to do it but it really not until break time and lunchtime that you actually start to see the real language in use, and that's where you learn. It's very much like driving a car that being in university they can teach you about it but it's not until you get out there and do it yourself within the community that you really become fluent. Altogether I work with about 10 – 12 Deaf people whom I'm talking to everyday and I love it. But I've seen one girl who started in January and she came in with Level 2. She was really tentative and just able to use the basics of the language. Now she's really good. Not perfect but a huge improvement from where she was, in just under 6 months from working with the people every day she had taken a huge amount of language on-board.

05:40 – No 5 - That's understandable because she was in a Deaf environment. Here at the university it's a hearing environment with a small Deaf contingency. But I used to work in a Deaf team with occasional contact with hearing people just like you.

47. Extract: 59: HBSLU 3 & 6
Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Acceptance

Discussion: Again accepting the natural linguistic environment

05:54 – No 3 – When I finished my year long course at college I had completed level 1 BSL. I wasn't really that interested in anything but I was looking at the adverts in the newspaper to see what to do and there were lots of courses. That's where I saw BSL so I thought I would try it. The teacher said that every year the hospital was always looking for bank staff especially those who can sign. So I applied for the hospital job but when I started work my confidence was really low. I wanted to learn sign language and tried my best to pick up the signs every day, slowly building up my vocabulary. So I think it's better to learn within the job really. Really I knew nothing when I left college.

06:43 – No 6 – A person needs to work in a Deaf club or where they can go every day.

48. Extract: 2: HBSLU 5
Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Signing Environment
Discussion: Fundamental shift toward policy and sign language

06:47 – No 5 – Absolutely. I was fortunate because I worked within a Deaf team in the xxxx for over 3 years. It had a deaf manager, Deaf staff at all levels, actually there was only me and…well, there were 15 staff in all only 4 of us were hearing and two of those were interpreters. We were a completely signing team and everything was set-up visually so it worked from a Deaf perspective. The seating was such so that everyone could see each other. We would cook together, eat together and talk together. On every level it was a Deaf team but there wasn't a feeling of exasperation that I had to sign. It was just the natural form of communication within the team.

49. Extract: 3: HBSLU 3, 6 & 5
Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Signing Environment
Discussion: Two environment, people able to use sign language skills but one environment choose not to, damaging the working relationship and perception of deaf language, that they choose won't sign.

07:35 –No 6– Before when I worked in xxxx we had 15 hearing people and 3 Deaf people. We had a signing environment in that team but it was totally different from the all deaf team I'm in now in xxxx. The level of signing is completely different. I think it's crucial that interpreters have that level of language immersion every day. We all work very positively together.

07:59 – No 5 – So you think it's a different experience working with deaf people within a hearing environment right?

08:05 – No 6– Yes it's different. xxxx was a good team but say lunchtime people would be speaking to each other. They were hearing so they would speak to each other. But

now be it lunchtime, break time or just a quick catch up it's all done in sign language. Certainly was different.

08:24 – No 5 – Did you have the same experience?

08:25 – No 3– Oh at xxxxxxx I love it!

08:27 – No 6 – Is it mostly Deaf staff in your team?

50. Extract: 4: HBSLU3
Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude towards Sign Language
Discussion: People are deliberately choosing that they don't want to sign! Language apartheid. Deaf people are force out by the attitude of the majority.

08:29 – No 3 – No, there's only a few really. When I started I was really nervous. I thought that there would be a team full of Deaf people and I would be the only hearing person but I really imagined that's how it would be. With the name Deaf (**) I thought it meant everyone was Deaf but when I started in my team there was only 1 Deaf member of staff and 5 hearing people. Now there are 2 Deaf staff but a lot of deaf people leave because they say they are not happy there. They feel discriminated against. Now people are talking about Deaf and hearing people being at war. Everyone is always teasing each other by saying that deaf and hearing people are at war. There are other teams and I'm in a good team but in the other team there's a lot of animosity and a lot of arguing. The hearing staff constantly refuse to sign and walk around speaking to each other.

51. Extract: 5: HBSLU6,5 &3
Theme: Transition   Sub-theme: Policy
Discussion: Deaf people are treated it unequally and the management attitude sees Deaf people as less able. Personal Issues become stigmatized as full Deaf issues.

09.36: Also if a client goes out to lunch it's always a hearing member of staff who escorts them, never a Deaf person. Or so the Deaf staff feel. It's always the same clique of hearing staff and they leave the deaf members of staff out of things. You know what I mean? About one or two months ago we had a staff meeting. The manager decided to split the groups into one hearing group and one Deaf group. But I didn't agree with it. It seemed to be encouraging separation. But they said the reason was that Deaf staff had a problem with a few members of the Hearing staff. I appreciated what they meant but if there is a problem between two people the manager should be bringing them together to resolve their problems, not splitting them up into two opposing groups.

10:35 –No 6 – Were the Deaf or hearing?

10:37 – No 3– Hearing No 6: Respond HEARING! Ah I see

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10:39 – No 6 – My Deaf staff members are different. We seem to have a more natural communication environment. Not like that.

10:47– No 5 – It's an interesting ....

10.49 No 3 – at A (**?) Hospital there were no problems at all. Both Deaf and hearing people worked together fine. But it's different at xxxx and I don't know why.

11.01: It's interesting to think why that is.

52. Extract: 6: HBSLU 6
Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Signing Environment
Discussion: Using two languages in the workplace.

11:05 – No 6– In my work when I'm having a chat with the manager and were the only two people there then were speaking but as soon as a Deaf person enters the room we immediately begin signing. If we are talking about something private, then we stop talking about start signing and involve the Deaf person in our conversation. We would never deliberately leave them out and continue speaking. Never.

53. Extract: 7: HBSLU 3, 5 & 6
Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Signing Environment
Discussion: The Dynamic effect because people no skills at signing. Not fully engaged with the language environment and therefore the culture environment (mean both).

11:19 –No 3 – I think also that it can have a lot to do with confidence too. Some people are not just going to walk up to a Deaf person and break into conversation in sign language, they haven't got the confidence. Some people would rather sit and say nothing. Some people can also forget about signing and once reminded will quickly apologise and start signing.

11:35 –No 5- Well, I've grown up hearing and in my unconscious of course I'm still a hearing person. But sometimes I don't know it's hard to explain if you haven't experienced it but when I've worked in xxxx within a completely signing environment it just becomes so natural that you don't even think twice about it. It was not a conscious decision as I walked to work that from 9-5 I would be using sign language it was just completely intuitive.

12:11 – No 6– That's because you felt it in your heart. You were doing it from a place of love rather than anything else. It's like some interpreters see this just as a job but I see it more as something I do for love. I just love it.

54. Extract: 8: HBSLU 5
Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Signing Environment

Discussion: Practice and behaviours was shape by the language of the sign language environment.

12:18 – No 5 – In fact the only time I ever spoke in the office was when I was supervising the other interpreter but we would close the door when that happened. But almost all of the time was spent using sign language. There was a rule that if your door was open then you had to sign. Regardless of whether you were Deaf or hearing. My boss grew up hearing. Basically she went Deaf at the age of 15. When she started work which was about 10 years before I started working there when she arrived she believed that learning and using xxxx was the right way to act. So she went on a xxxx course and over time she went from giving lectures using speech to gradually moving to using xxxx with an interpreter. Some Deaf people teased her by saying that actually she wasn't really Deaf. She would respond stridently that she was Deaf and felt just the same as they did. But of course it wasn't about having perfect sign language but about her passion and love for the language and Deaf culture, and empowering Deaf people to advance. The attitude was such…you know it's interesting your experiences seem to be one of actively encouraging splitting Deaf and hearing people.

55. Extract: 62: HBSLU 3, 5 & 6

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude towards Deaf People
Discussion: Deliberate dividing people based on their deafness and not on their ability to do the job and stigmatizing all deaf people treated as the same.

13:37 No 3 – Do you know I even asked, " If I were to ask for a separate meeting based on gender would you allow it?! OR on being black or white?" They would never allow it.

13:45 No 5 – Or small and tall people or tall and small people or under 40 or over 40 (laughing)!!

13.54 No 5 – That the point, did you inform them?

13:48 –No 3 –Well, I did challenge it and ask them about would the separate based on gender? Or on race?

14:04 – No 6 – Now are ALL the meetings held separately?

14:05 3– No 3. Just the one meeting, that's it. But they're now trying to sort out the problems. I'm not sure it's going to work but if it'll work..

14:14 – No 5 – Well, It may create more problems!

14:18 – No 3 – I think it was wrong to separate the two groups of people. (R: That's true!) If one person had a problem that person should have been able to meet and address the issues as an individual, not segregate the entire team. That just encouraged the divide.

14:34 – No 5 – It just encourages people to suspect what the other group is up to and vice versa.

14:38 – No 3 – Oh YES. When we would all come back together the first thing I would do is ask my Deaf friend what did you talk about in the meeting? Likewise they would ask me and we would tell each other everything that went on.

56. Extract: 60: HBSLU 3, 5 & 6

Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Acceptance
Discussion: Deliberate dividing people based on their deafness and not on their ability to do the job and stigmatizing all deaf people treated as the same.

14:50 –No 6 – At lunchtime and break time do the Deaf and hearing get together and chat or do they keep themselves apart?

14:54 – No 3 – Oh yes. The real problem is not about whether someone is Deaf or hearing. It's actually about some people like this person and not another and vice versa. RL: It's the Individuals! Yeah That's the issue...It's individual problems.

15:10 – No 5 – It's interesting isn't it? As I've said I've spent many years mixing within a Deaf/hearing environment. When I've seen a problems occur...they been labelled as a 'Cultural problem'. People would dismiss it as a "Deaf hearing thing". Which just wasn't the case. Often the issue was down to one solitary person and their own attitude. That was the issue.

15:32 – No 3 – It's more a hearing vs. Deaf excuse for what is happening.

15:35 – No 5 – exactly. That's exactly what was happening. I remember one time in work there was a woman who had written a book, she was hard of hearing, her signing was not that good. So much so that when she was talking to Deaf people she would ask them to wait until an interpreter arrived saying that she would speak rather than sign. Her attitude was one of defiant indifference. That she had her right to a language. But she'd missed the point that we had rules and policies in the workplace.

16:07 – No 3 – Yeah, That's like the policy in xxxxxxx that you must sign at all times. That's a policy, that is good, No 5:BUT! but people still ignore it and furtively speak to one another.

57. Extract: 9: HBSLU 5

Theme: Transition   Sub-theme: Policy
Discussion: People not accepting 'differences' and refusing to change their behaviour & language.

16:19 – No 5 – Again it's actually problems to do with the individual rather than a 'Hearing' problem. What about pausing and looking at your own attitude instead of blaming 'hearing' problems. It's interesting how different hearing people cope within this environment. Some people are indifferent to the change and get on with it whilst others take exception to the rules and start to exert their notion of their right to use their own language. It's interesting, one person said to me, "Well I have the right to use MY language" and I though yeah you do and I have the right to tell you to fuck off! But unfortunately in the work environment rules say that I can't exercise that right so I have to keep my counsel. We all have to be submissive to certain rules in work but that's the same for all of us. I'd like to sit down in work absolutely naked and let it all hang out but unfortunately it's such that the work place does not permit this to happen. Unfortunately, that's what following rules is all about. I think that unfortunately when one group becomes the dominant in an environment then there's always another group that feels disempowered and will try to rebalance the equation. Be it women or men the power becomes the issue who has it and who doesn't have it. If the women have it and feels empowered then the man feels disempowered and unconfident making them then want the power.

58. Extract: 10: HBLSU 3 & 5

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude and reaction
Discussion: Practice and behaviours was shape by the language of the sign language environment

Reaction to oppression is the oppress become the 'oppressor' . Result both groups become disenfranchised.

No 5- Yeah exactly to 3: If D try communicate then accept it that you try

No 3 – I think, what happens at xxxxxxx is that the hearing staff persistently use speech to communicate and this really upsets the Deaf staff. So the Deaf staff make a conscious decision to start using ASL, one handed sign language, then the hearing staff don't know what they're saying and start complaining that it is the Deaf staff who are excluding them from conversation. Saying "It's not fair. Tell me what you're saying". So the arguing continues with both camps!...WAR!!

No 5 – Looking back working in that team between 1992-95 I can recall once or twice when we hired an outside person to come in and focus on team building or take us all on an 'away day'. Not that there was a problem but just to try to engender a better team spirit and working together. But it was interesting that when we had a hearing person come in as the team builder an interpreter would be provided but the staff followed the rules of that person. So the Deaf staff would say to us hearing people that if we wanted to speak we could do so but it felt very strange. We had an interpreter there but that

felt even stranger as I'm looking at the Deaf person I work with every day and I'm trying to use speech instead of doing what comes natural and using sign language directly. The problem was my own, that I just found it hard to talk in front of Deaf people using an interpreter.

59. Extract: 11: HBSLU 3 & 6
Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude towards Sign Language

Discussion: Hearing staff could have signs but they didn't appreciate why they shouldn't led to clearly discrimination and language suppression

18:48 No 6 – I think you're right, attitude is what it's ultimately about. Where I work we recently recruited some new staff both deaf and hearing, some of the hearing staff had no sign language skills at all. The Deaf staff tried their best to accommodate these people and make themselves understood as best as possible but some of the hearing staff just could not communicate at all, it was a matter of their attitude. Some of the hearing staff didn't feel it was something they were obliged to do and just made no effort whatsoever.

19:10 No 3 – Yes but do you think it was apathy or embarrassment?

19:12 – No 6– I think they could have made an effort. They didn't even make an effort some of them and for some Deaf people that means they don't want to and they will no longer engage with them again.

60. Extract: 77: HBSLU 5, 3, 6
Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude towards Sign Language

Discussion: Hearing staff could have signs but they didn't appreciate why they shouldn't led to clearly discrimination and language suppression

19:21 No 5 – I remember once when I saw a cleaner, she worked very early in the morning, 7 – 9 am so most staff didn't get to see her. But when the odd time she did come into our area she absolutely refused to sign. All she had to sign was "can you move over there" or something to that effect but she just refused and would only use speech with no gesture. Her answer was always "I don't know sign language". I would tell her that you don't need to know sign language to gesture to someone if they could please move here or there The Deaf staff used to be totally exasperated by here. But her position was "Hey, look. I'm just the cleaner." She was just the cleaner but this was their environment, our environment and these were the rules we had in our space. Follow our rules. Just try to point and gesture. But instead of some basic, easy gesture she would only use an aural/oral method of communication… (Lucy – it isn't hard to use some pointing)..yes I know but she lacked any common sense!! Oh, yes she may have been feeling embarrassed but why?!

20:28 – No 6- It could have been laziness but could also have been embarrassment.

20:30 No 5- Ok but then why work within a Deaf environment? That's the question…Ok I know that for many people it's hard to find work but all the same.

20:42 No 6 – Try. It's about trying.

20:25 No 5 – it's interesting going back to your point about embarrassment, do you notice a difference between hearing men and women? Are hearing women more flexible or are men more flexible?

20:59 –No 6 – Personally I find that men are more flexible, well…erm both. You see I work with men. Recently there was a hearing man who joined our team. He had no previous signing experience whatsoever, he'd worked in the building trade as a joiner. He's been fabulous with the Deaf staff chatting away with them and cracking jokes. It's all about attitude really. If a person is easy to get on with then it's fine. Now he's practising his sign language but on the first day he knew nothing at all…he's just brilliant.

21:36 –No 3 – My thoughts are that men will definitely try more than women. I think women are more self-conscious whilst men will have a go.

21.39 – No 6 I think women more defensive than men

21.42 – No 5 That's interesting

21.43 No 3-Yeah, women are more embarrassed or shy in trying, definitely

21:48 No 5 – I would have expected it to be different, it's surprising. You know the stereotypes that women are more open to communication and men more guarded. But both of your personal; experiences are completely opposite of that stereotype.

22:00 – No 3 – Men will definitely try harder…definitely. R: That's interesting!

22:02 – No 6 – My boyfriend I tried to teach to sign but nothing was going in, then when we started going to Leeds Deaf club together every Monday evening after he'd had a couple of drinks he seemed to loosen up a lot more (RL - may be the drink worked!) My friend who's a girl is really uptight about signing and just hasn't been able to get it, whilst my boyfriend will be talking away once he's had a drink or two.

22:35 –No 3 – Men will try to manage.

22:37 – No 5 – It's interesting looking at not just the gender but whether age groups would show a variance? Whether perhaps someone who's worked all their life and is older may not bother learning to sign at the end of their career but someone young may be more keen to learn?

22:49 – No 6 – My grandparents wanted to learn to sign. They needed something fixing on their house so my colleague who is a joiner said he'd go and do it for them. So I went with him to interpret for him about the date and time etc. of when he'd do the job. When he came back to do the job I was away on holiday. Whilst he was working on the door my grandma asked him if he fancied a salad sandwich. I asked my grandma, rather bemused, "How did you ask him?" My grandma replied, "I don't know how I just did and he said yes". So I don't know how they communicated. But when I came back from holiday I went to see my grandma and granddad they were both really enthused and said they wanted to learn sign language. By the way my grandma is 72 and my granddad is 76!

23:38 – No 5 – Wow! That's interesting. My first encounter with ASL was being taught sign language from a hearing woman. Deaf people sign differently and they're wrong. That was the attitude of some people back then. I was 16 years of age and I went with my father who would have been about 60 years old at the time. He went for 2 weeks and then pulled out. He just couldn't get to grips with it at all so he gave up. (Lucy – Your dad wanted to learn ASL too??) Yeah but he just found it all too hard and gave up on it. I suppose he gave it a go. I stuck with it and ended up in the career I am.

24:20 –No 6 – The young seems so much more mentally able for taking on sign language and new learning.

24:21 – No 5 – Or maybe it's that the young are less stressed about whether they get it wrong or now. They don't have the same hang ups about being embarrassed by making a mistake.

24:24 – No 6 – You know it does seem there is a difference between my boyfriend who I was telling you about before and my mum. My mum is just incapable of using her hands to sign and stands paralysed not knowing what to do. I tell my mother to give it a go and sign. Last week for example my friend who's Deaf, was coming to my house. So my Mum asked me, "What time is your friend coming and how do I sign time?". I looked incredulously and said mother! What are you asking me! So I said to her come on think about it!" How would you sign TIME" To which she eventually pointed to her watch! Yet my boyfriend naturally uses gesture and has a more intuitive sense of where to sign certain words. So my boyfriend seems more capable of using sign language than my mum, who's a very clever lady, but just cannot sign at all.

25:11 –No 5 – It's interesting with me. My boyfriend doesn't sign. He isn't Deaf, never been involved with the Deaf community previously. Although he appreciates being Deaf as he's slightly deafened himself. (I have to get his attention before talking with him!). But my friends always say to me, "Why don't you teach him how to sign?" I always answer that it's not for me to teach him, if he wants to learn sign language he can do

that himself. Also I'm not a teacher of sign language anyway. But like your partner when were out anywhere with friends once he's had a couple of drinks he's more relaxed and then he starts signing. But otherwise I have to keep trying to encourage him to sign, if were out with staff here I say to him, "Look, I'm not your interpreter. You go talk for yourself". Once he actually starts signing with people he's absolutely fine it's just that reticence to start. For him, I know it's embarrassment. When we went over to the states to visit my family we went to see my old director of studies from my Interpreting course.

61. Extract: <mark>12: HBSLU3, 5 & 6</mark>

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude towards Sign Language

Discussion: Practice and behaviours was shaped by the language of the sign language environment/If the hearing group has one leader with bad attitude that can affect the dynamic, so obviously will rise above.

No 5 - We've built up a great friendship now over the years. But when we were there visiting her, her partner was hearing. We were all signing together and my partner is ok when it's a conversation on a one-to-one level but he's not able to cope with a large group of people watching him sign, perhaps his embarrassment issue. (excuse me, just to finish) thing is one person's attitude can have an effect on the dynamics in the group. So if one person has a negative attitude towards using sign language and decides to speak then that can quickly spread to others encouraging them to speak to and that has a big effect on the language used in the group. Also one dominant person can also have the same effect.

26:41 – No 6 - My grandparents were the same. Before I started working with as Deaf field their notion of Deaf people was one of people who were stupid, disabled. Now their opinions have changed completely to a positive perception of Deaf people, from meeting my friends, they can see how wonderful the language is and how well the deaf people are able to do. Really they have been saddled with some very old-fashioned views of Deafness and they need to be shown that their old views were just not reflective of Deaf people today. From seeing Deaf people my grandparents realise now that their opinions were wrong.

27:08 – No 5 – Hey but your grandfather and grandmother seem to have a much better attitude than some of your work colleagues!! (DM..that's true, yep) For the life of me, I don't understand why some people continue working within a working environment that they feel so negative towards…

27:24 – No 3– Well they have a home to keep and bills to pay...they need the money.

27:27 – No 5 – They're lazy. "Well, I have a job, so never mind I'll just stay here".

27:31 –No 6 – Altogether, how many staff do you have there?

27:36 – No 3– I've no idea but quite a lot. (Lucy- In the hundreds or 50?) No...Actually, I'm guessing that it's about 50! (RL Full-time and part time staff?) I'd say about a hundred, oh and there's bank staff too.

28:00 No 6 - At work seem work together positively nothing like bad atmosphere or anything…

28:27 No 3: I think that really, the problem is few people, that create it. H few D few 'war' R: Create the bubbles, the individuals, each dynamic in the group (mm interesting D: Yeah, encourage you know, who start it.

9.4 Individual Self Testimonies

<u>**IST1**</u>

I'm going to talk about my experience in the workplace and what it's been like working with deaf and hearing people. In my working life I've not worked within a hearing organisation. Well except once. My first job when I was 18 was as a disability information officer. I was the only Deaf person within a hearing team. But back then I was very young and wouldn't have said I was very strong on Deaf issues. I don't actually remember that much of my experience then. So let's leave that early experience and look at my other work experiences which have been within Deaf organisations.

62. Extract: 71: IST 1
Theme: Paternalism   Sub-theme: Authority
Discussion:

I couldn't say I've had any bad experiences with the Deaf organisations. At xxxx, where I work all of the management team is Deaf. I have also worked for another organisation where the head of the organisation was hearing but my immediate line-manager was Deaf. I could see that there were problems between my line-manager and the head of the organisation which were due to hearing and Deaf issues but it didn't directly affect me so I wasn't that interested in it. I got on with my manager and was able to get on with my clients well so I just got on with my job without any problems. Then when I moved to xxxxxx my job was as a manager, managing the community team who were all Deaf and my line manager was also Deaf. Also there were two other managers who were hearing but I didn't have any issues with them at all. They could both sign fluently/ So there were no Deaf vs. Hearing issues. It's difficult for me to talk about issues as all my experiences have been positive. The only issues I've had have been with Deaf people not with hearing people, to do with rights in work. Yes, people have rights in work but there's a place...for example, some people go on and on about their rights but were in work and all signing. The rights campaign is something that should be conducted outside of work.

63. Extract: 72: IST 1
Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude towards Sign Language
Discussion: A positive attitude as a result of working within a healthy Deaf/hearing environment. Shows a real sense of accepting other languages and cultures within the workplace

I think Deaf people banging on about their rights too much can have a detrimental effect in work and can actually put hearing people off. When in work communication seems

to be good and most people sign very well. But if hearing people were to sign then personally it really doesn't bother me at all. But if other Deaf people were present then I'd expect them to sign so all could be involved in the conversation and if it was something private then I'd expect them to go and finds somewhere private to talk like outside. I'd also expect the same to be done with deaf people. I have the same problem with some Deaf people when you walk into a room and they immediately stop signing. So really I see no difference between the two. So personally I like signing all day in work but when I go home I like to switch off as Deaf culture all the time can be hard work. When we were talking in the Deaf group about our work experiences some people had said that they had been a part of a hearing team where people would continually speak and not sign and they found that a problem. I agree with that because in that situation they were supposed to be working with Deaf clients.

64. Extract: 73: IST 1
Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude towards Sign Language
Discussion:

It's important that everyone signs in that setting. Some hearing people thinks it's ok just to speak so may be there needs to be a policy and if there is a policy then people need to think how they can encourage everyone to sign all the time. One person was adamant that everything should be all Deaf led which is fine but we need to show the world that Deaf and hearing people can mix together. There is a time and a place when Deaf people can be by themselves but in work I think we need Deaf and hearing people working together.

65. Extract: 32: IST1
Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude towards Sign Language
Discussion:

It should not be a one-way street by where hearing people always have to change for Deaf people. Sometimes Deaf people need to be trained and learn to change for hearing people. In my organisation we have a Deaf Apprentice officer who helps people who may be finding it hard to get a job because they have low qualifications, or they are applying for jobs that there not suitably qualified for, or they apply for a job but the interview goes terribly wrong. So they fail in getting a job. We invite them to our organisation we were teaching them how to behave in the workplace. For example, they may have thought it was ok to...for example, talking about sexual issues and teasing people inappropriately. They need to learn about the work ethics and that they can't behave like that in work. Having a Deaf teacher is important as it's someone who understands their culture and understands why they do something then better able to explain to them why they can't do it and how they need to change. Also we can act as a role-model showing them someone who already operates within a hearing world. So I

think a lot of Deaf people who are in the workplace really don't know how to get on with hearing colleagues and that may cause a lot of frustrations. Also having the right attitude is really important. Hearing people who have the right attitude can be great and Deaf people can work well together. But if Deaf people have a bad attitude towards hearing people then they can't expect hearing people to work well with them. It's a two-way thing and it's about working together.

66. Extract: 74: IST 1
Theme: Resolution   Sub-theme: Allies
Discussion:

When we came together as the hearing and deaf group it's not that I felt people changed but more that the information we talked about was different. People talked about their experiences one Deaf person had said they had had positive experiences of working with hearing people. Some of the hearing people had noted that other hearing people they work with could behave a lot better. So in conclusion my overall experience of working with Deaf and hearing people is that they work well together and I haven't had any problems. But it has to be built on a firm foundation of understanding each other's culture and how each other thinks. Then it works well.

IST2

Hello, your question that you posed was how do hearing and Deaf people work together? Is it successful or not? My experiences have shown me they are not successful. I have been with education authorities and it certainly hasn't been successful.

67. Extract: 33: IST2
Theme: Audism   Sub-theme: Assimilation
Discussion:

I feel that the hearing people that I work alongside, namely TODs (teachers of the Deaf) have a terrible attitude towards Deaf people and have big attitude problems. My job is as a Deaf role model. The job is great I like it and get on well with the families I have to deal with who have children in the early years range, so babies. But now the structure has all changed and I go into schools working with children from 10 – 19, which is a completely different experience but again one I enjoy. But when I leave the classroom and go back to the office that is when I encounter lots of problems with relationships with the rest of the team. There are many incidents of discrimination occurring. I can cite many examples of when it has happened to me. Some of them verbal, others written down on paper. At the moment it's happening with my line-manager who is using language to discriminate against me. Why should this be allowed to happen. It is not

right to discriminate against me. It's not allowed and is unacceptable. I feel that the education authority is audist. There is a lack of understanding of what it means to be Deaf. Being Deaf isn't something you measure.

It's not labelling people on a level or scale. They only see hearing loss levels and think everything can be remedied by giving a hearing aid, or a cochlear implant to solve any issues. It's such an old-fashioned perspective of Deaf people and it really upsets me. Really nothing has changed. I did my degree here and learnt all about Deaf issues and assumed that when I left university things would change and people would be better but nothing has changed. I'm both disappointed and upset. I feel that if TODs find it so hard to treat me equally then how are they going to offer equality to babies that are Deaf and their families? I feel the information they are giving to families is not clear and confusing. The issues merit much more time and depth to explain fully to families. For example, information on …Makaton???… What purpose does that serve? Why spend time on that?

68. Extract: 34: IST 2
Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitudes towards sign language
Discussion: Not fully understanding the need of the BSL people/ CP: Deliberate giving one side information

Deaf children need a language, not a gesture system. Once they have a language they can learn everything through it. Also why are they pushing SSE? What's the purpose of that? Yes, it's much easier for them to function in SSE because they're hearing people with English, but for a baby that's Deaf..? A baby doesn't need SSE it needs a full language. BSL. That's absolutely fundamental and I feel very strongly about it. I recently recommended a friend to support a Deaf boy in a nursery setting. The boy was going to nursery where there was no BSL being used at all. He was a beautiful little boy who loved interacting with Deaf people and felt very happy around Deaf people. In nursery he was just not being stimulated. The staff were lovely and they had gone and learnt Level 1 but this was not nearly enough for this little boy. He was aged 3 and need full language exposure. So I persuaded a friend of mine to apply for a post in the nursery as a support worker part-time. Going into the nursery from 9:30-11:30, every morning to supporting the children's language development. I then passed this information on to the TOD and informed them how I had persuaded a friend to apply for the post so to help this little boy. But the reaction of the TOD was one of discouragement asking how my friend was going to communicate in the nursery? I answered they'd be great as she was a Deaf BSL user and the boy and her will sign fluently with each other...but she answered that her worry was how my friend was going to communicate with other people in the nursery. I didn't understand what she meant and she went on to say well there are lots of hearing staff. I challenged that attitude and told her that was discriminatory and you're not allowed to say that but she just replied with, "oh you know what I mean." But it's

unacceptable to behave like that and it's simply wrong. Anyway in the end the whole process to get the job proved to be too difficult requiring phone calls to make an appointment for the interview. In the end I told my friend to forget about it. It was just too difficult to work through. The result was this little boy was left totally isolated in nursery with no one to support him. That's awful and is certainly not giving him equality.

69. Extract: 35: IST2
Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitudes towards Deaf people
Discussion: Not thinking about the needs of the deaf child or the Deaf adult/ CSP/CB: Expecting Deaf to change for the majority way of learning.

Another example is emails and the language that has been used towards me. It's been awful, like, "that nice lady has kindly offered to make phone calls for you". What? Am I thick? Am I stupid? Does Deaf mean dumb too? I know how to make a phone call. I can speak for myself. I just need the use of an interpreter. But there's always problems erected when I want to book an interpreter. I'm asked why, what for? It shouldn't matter to them what for. If I feel I need an interpreter to do things, then that should be sufficient enough. I could go on with countless examples of discrimination but in the end I just don't feel like I've been included in the team at all. The Teachers tell the TAs there's no budget for BSL. The TAs are always telling me how they'd love to learn sign language but work won't pay. Well tough. If you want to learn sign language, go and learn it. Save up. Pay for it yourself.

70. Extract: 48: IST 2
Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitudes towards hearing people
Discussion: Refuse to recognise sign language and grateful language of Deaf people.

There's me and another person who both work as Deaf role-models but besides her there's no one who signs to us in the office at all. I feel totally isolated and detached from the team. I don't feel included at all. It makes me very angry and this shouldn't be still happening in today's age. Here we are in 2012. It really makes my blood boil and should not be happening. For that reason, I'm very happy to see this research being undertaken and I hope it identifies lots of places were the situation is not right. Definitely the education authority is one of those weak areas where discrimination is happening every day. It really concerns me that if they're not able to give me equality in the workplace then how will they give equality to the children we support. Or is it just a pretence that isn't genuine. If the TODs truly wanted to learn BSL to talk with Deaf children that would be great but it doesn't happen. Why? Why are they not interested in learning to sign fluently? Which would then be treating Deaf people with equality...but they don't and I just can't understand it. I just don't understand it. May be I am different to TODs, may be that's the issue. The formal training of TODs is fundamentally wrong as it's based on a oral education and anything BSL is seen

negatively. They view Deaf people negatively. I don't know what will happen but I suppose it's your job to find out. I think I could go o and on and on but hopefully that's enough. Bye-bye.

<u>IST3</u>

My name is xxxx. I used to work with deaf people in a mental health hospital in xxxx. Then I worked at xxxxxx in xxxx where I've worked for 6 months. I like working with Deaf people but I have seen discrimination happen lots of times, e.g., in the hospital they normally have a staff xxxxx working of a day time sorting out the xxxxxx plans about their own plan. One group was a mess, deaf and hearing staff working with the patients. A woman who was deaf who was a nurse should have been involved in the care plan but because deaf people can sign if they're short staffed they will use a support worker to communicate between staff and patients which is very unfair because they go to university and study for years to become a qualified nurse and eventually they're fed up and they look for a new job. A man who was deaf who worked there looked for another job. When I started 6 months ago all the staff had to write information when they finished their shift about the clients.

71. Extract: <mark>39: IST3</mark>

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude towards Deaf people
Discussion: Unable to change for a different linguistic group. Extremely negative values towards BSL, CSP Seeing only through the eyes of English as the only method to log information.

One manager decided that this deaf man's English was not good enough. He wanted him to always use an interpreter but I think it's unfair because I've read his English and it's fine; it's the same as other deaf staff. We also have agency staff who come in and even though they've only worked one time on that shift they're allowed to fill in the log book. Well how does the boss know that their English is good enough if they've not worked there before? Another time the team that I'd worked in for a lot of the time, the manager decided that there was overtime that we could take working in the other teams. So the first day I went to work there doing overtime, I was working in the kitchen, helping the clients make their food when one of the permanent deaf female members of staff and another permanent female who worked there came into the kitchen and asked *me* to hand over the information to the deaf member of staff. So I said to her, "you can sign right?" She said "yes but I can't be bothered and your skills are better than mine" and I thought well you must know her better. I didn't mind signing it and communicating it but I'd have thought the deaf staff member would have found that rude. It was really ignoring her and not involving her. The deaf woman felt the same

way and I said "I'm sorry but she asked me to tell you". The deaf woman went mad and went to the office to make a formal complaint saying that she was unhappy which I agreed with.

72. Extract: 56: IST 3

Theme: Transition   Sub-theme: Incongruence
Discussion: Refusal to change for other linguistic groups. Making hostility and aggression between groups, isolationism, conflict and division.

Other problems we have is that hearing staff will speak constantly and not sign. We do have a policy at work that everybody must always sign but a few staff will continue to ignore that policy and constantly speak in work. Deaf staff are fed up repeatedly reminding them of the policy and constantly asking them to sign. Eventually deaf people came up with a way of solving the problem themselves. They all went to learn sign language between themselves. Then the hearing staff started making complaints saying it was unfair that the deaf staff were using xxxx and that maybe they were talking about them and that they wanted to know what they were saying. But it made the hearing staff know how it felt for the deaf staff when they would speak and not sign but it actually created more problems and it became like a war. Eventually the boss decided to have a staff meeting but I think it was a bad decision when he decided to separate the hearing people and the deaf people. When I realised he was separating them I asked him why because I think if I personally have a problem with one other person then that should be discussed between me, the manager and that one other person in private. If you talk about a problem in a group, then it should be all of the people together. It is not fair like it would not be fair to ask for there to be a male group or a female group or a black group or a white group, that isn't allowed so I asked what was the difference in this case. But the boss thought this would sort out the problems.

IST4

We talked in the Deaf group which was lovely, all expressing our views.

73. Extract: 42: IST4

Theme: Audism   Sub-theme: Assimilation
Discussion: Refusal to change for other linguistic groups. Making hostility and aggression between groups, isolationism, conflict and division.

But when we went into the larger group with the hearing people things were very different. I don't know why they were different…I was upset by one specific comment, when someone said that Deaf people don't know who to behave in the workplace. I'm not sure about a comment like that. After all I know of a lot of hearing people who don't

know how to behave in the workplace. I thought that a rather strange was to phrase what they wanted to say. I think there are some Deaf people who have been through a Deaf school and deaf college environment so are totally immersed in a Deaf cultural way of behaving and then find the workplace a completely alien culture. Does that mean we can say they don't know how to behave? I don't think so maybe we need to have more awareness of who they are.

I've worked in 2 different places: one a school and the other a xxxxxxxxxxxx providing residential care. Both have had a mixture of both Deaf and hearing within the workplace. I did feel that in the school there was oppression against Deaf people, for example if we saw people persistently speaking and asked them please could you sign it would be met with indignation and exasperation. That would provoke the thought in me that they shouldn't work in an organisation that they can't be bothered to communicate within what was a signing environment. The other place I worked again if people were just speaking when I said to them please can you Sign they would look indignantly and say it was private. I would have to inform them that they could go into another room if it was private. That was my main bug bear that within a Deaf environment the least you can expect is everyone would be signing. The other issue is that when they did sign it was to the most minimal of standards. To such a degree that the children couldn't understand them in the school and the Deaf adults can't understand them in the Mental Health unit. Which makes me think that if you are going to sing to such a minimal standard then you are not actually providing access for either group. If I challenged the staff both at the school and at the unit or if I was seen to rebel against their ways, then I was marked out as being a trouble-maker. Or I would be the one who would be disciplined. Which would make me question should I continue to challenge these people but I would reach the conclusion that if I didn't challenge them then where were my rights. The children and the vulnerable adults both can't fight for themselves so someone has to stand-up for them. Also if I'm challenging then it means I'm doing my job.

74. Extract: 40: IST4

Theme: Paternalism   Sub-theme: Cultural Awareness
Discussion:

In the xxxx there have been times when the hearing people have wanted to go out and socialise by themselves so they can all speak to each other. We understand that if you've been at work all day signing then in the night you want to relax without having to sign. Likewise, Deaf people who've been in a hearing environment all day like it when they can relax and sign with other native signers. So we thought it a good idea for the Deaf staff to go out together. But a number of the hearing staff were upset by this. They said they were not invited and felt left out. They were being rather childish about it. Another time when they were going out they invited some Deaf colleagues to go to but two of

us couldn't make it and just 1 Deaf person went out with 3 hearing colleagues. The hearing staff spoke to each other all night and ignored the Deaf person just as had happened within the workplace…I also feel that in both work environments there was not an adequate amount of cultural awareness. For example, I waved to gain the attention of a hearing colleague, a colleague next to her saw me waving but didn't feel it appropriate to tap and tell the person next to them. So I had to walk over and tap them on the shoulder myself. A real lack of cultural appreciation. Also within the Mental Health unit they don't seem to appreciate that Deaf people have grown up all their lives watching hearing people speak between themselves but not able to access what they're talking about. They don't appreciate the impact of that upon the Deaf client. If they were to sign their conversation it would put the Deaf person at great ease to see they were talking about something not to do with them. After all if it really is that private and they need to speak then go into another room and do it. So I have felt a lot of oppression in the workplace.

75. Extract: 58: IST 4
Theme: Empathy   **Sub-theme: Equality**
Discussion:

In school there would be equal opportunity in terms of applying for jobs. There were Deaf teachers, Deaf heads of school, Deaf heads of department, so there was a whole mixture of Deaf people up and down the career ladder, in contrast to the mental health unit where the entire management structure was hearing people, not one Deaf manager. Deaf people only occupied the most basic of jobs. I feel that I the unit there is just no room for promotion unlike in the school where the possibility exists to move up the ladder but not in the unit. When I was promoted in the school it was the first time in my life that I had been given that opportunity. There's very little opportunity for promotion within the hearing world. Also for me I often feel unequal to hearing people, often I feel it. Also I feel that hearing people create their own signs. For example the sign for name will be wrongly located but when I tried to help them by correcting the sign they retaliate with, well that's how I was taught to sign it. I try to explain to them it's wrong but they won't listen. They get rather offended and I don't know why. If I spelt something wrong sand someone was good enough to point it out to me I would be grateful to them. I think when I correct them they feel threatened.

76. Extract: 41: IST4
Theme: Attitude   **Sub-theme: Attitudes towards Deaf people**
Discussion:

Another example is the clients always like to approach the Deaf staff. They know that we share the language and the culture and feel that we'll have a better understanding. Hearing people will interrupt the client and try to intervene because they feel threatened. It does make me feel disturbed that they can't let the client talk to whomever they wish to. I don't know why they feel the need to interrupt. I wouldn't interrupt them if it was the other way around. I have challenged one member of staff when a Deaf client became very frustrated and I had engaged with him and sat him down. I was talking to him which had had the effect of calming him down. But a hearing staff member came over and intervened. Them coming over actually made the situation worse. Later on I challenged them and said "Do you think I can't do my job??" To which they replied they thought I could do my job. So I said, "So why did you come over and intervene then?" They didn't have an answer. I said to them that you must think you could have done a better job than me. I did fine with the client. If it had been the other way around they would have reported me. I think the underlying problem is that hearing staff see that Deaf staff have this bond with the clients and they're then unsure of where their place is within the dynamic. They should actually be glad when they see it working and the bonds between Deaf staff and clients but they're not.

Also there are some areas of work that Deaf people are not allowed to do. Well, they will allow them to do it but very limited just because it's easier for 2 hearing staff to do it by speaking to each other. I don't feel that's right and hearing and staff should be able to meet and work together by using sign language. It's a difficult one. For example, when I was at the school they never passed over Deaf people just for a matter of expediency. Everyone signed so all were involved in the dialogues. But at the Mental Health unit things are very much different. They seem to be relieved when it's hearing people talking together as it's easier for them. I think that's the most fundamental problem in the unit, speaking openly in front of the Deaf clients. But I do feel that if these people really wish to speak and really don't want to sign then what are they doing working there. I suspect they see at as a job and nothing else therefore feel okay about oppressing the clients. Also when I see Deaf clients who are residential clients being oppressed by hearing staff it makes my blood boil. I want to fight for them because I know what it's like to be oppressed. I've been through those experiences myself. But you come up against people who are resistant to change and worse will spread lies and rumours about me. I ask myself how am I supposed to do my job and help to push forward with their rights. It's very difficult so that's why I often feel rather unequal to hearing people. They are in the majority and we Deaf people are in the tiny minority. They, as the larger group, can support each other and back each other up. So really it doesn't matter where a person works, whether it be hearing led or not.. In a hearing led organisation it is worse than a Deaf led organisation because a hearing led organisation will listen to other hearing people much more and will be inclined to discipline Deaf people more. In a Deaf led organisation they will have a more balanced approach. I have

been in both. The hearing led organisation was a government school but the head was Deaf. Which mean that although not perfect there was definitely a greater sense of empathy.

 Well I'll stop now.

77. Extract: 66: IST5
Theme: Paternalism   Sub-theme: Benevolence
Discussion:

What was interesting was that the first group was all hearing and the second group was Deaf and hearing. We were sharing our experiences of working within a Deaf/hearing workplace. I shared lots of my personal experiences. I think what is most important is the attitude that an individual has, irrespective of whether they are Deaf or hearing, if people want to work together and share the same aim then that's what's important. There are instances of hearing people who have an awful attitude, refuse to use sign language that this can be incredibly frustrating at the same time there are deaf people who want to talk between themselves. Therefore, I think it's important to see people as individuals. If an individual does not want to communicate with others, then it begs the question why are they working with Deaf people. It's analogous with someone who really doesn't like children or being around them choosing to work in a school. So it's all about an individual's attitude to what they do. What's interesting is when I have experienced the really best of attitudes from people working within a Deaf/sign language organisation there have not been any policies about sign language and people have just instinctively worked together, communicating to achieve their common goals. Ultimately, to improve the lives of Deaf people. So for me there's nothing vastly different between hearing and Deaf people it's more to do with individuals and the attitude of that individual. It's important that people are able to analyse their own feelings and attitudes and recognise why they feel a certain way or have an attitude towards certain people. Also for them to ask themselves what is they want from work and why have they chosen to work with Deaf people. I think that sums up what's important for me.

IST6

We were discussing about deaf and hearing people working together.

78. Extract: 54: IST 6

Theme: Transition   Sub-theme: Incongruence
Discussion:

My experience has been great because I personally work with deaf and hearing people every single day. I'm learning deaf language from deaf people every day. Two years ago I worked in Leeds and it was the same there. I was learning all the time from the staff and the students. I was learning new words all of the time so both my experiences have been good. I don't feel any oppression at all at work. Most of the time now I work with deaf people. I very infrequently work with hearing people but I don't feel any oppression from deaf people; we have very good connections, we get on well, everything's really smooth, just lovely. I know myself that other deaf people I work with feel very happy to work with me, there are no arguments or hostilities between us at all; it's just really nice. I do feel if people want to become interpreters then it's up to them to become really involved, to learn the language properly, to learn deaf culture because if they're just signing without any understanding of culture then it's not very good. You need to do a lot of voluntary work or have lots of deaf friends on a social level to be able to really pick up the language so I think deaf and hearing people mix very well. The group talked about deaf people working by themselves and they didn't feel any oppression from hearing people. One funny incident was when xxxxxxxx said that his mother worked in a factory and she used to tell him it was lovely and she got on really well with everybody until I said, "it was because it was very loud in there and therefore everybody was able to lip read" then xxxxxxx realised it was funny. But it true, the old fashioned way in a factory was for people to use lots of gestures and lip-reading, you know they would gesture "do you want a cup of tea?" but now attitudes have really changed. I feel that I'd rather be back in that old time where people were really open. Now things have changed. But my grandma and granddad are both over 70 and they've asked me does deaf mean disabled and I've had to say no, deaf people can work, deaf people can have relationships, and they can have children. Now my grandparents are amazed because they met my deaf friend and they've learnt to sign. So attitudes have changed, because my grandma and granddad have changed. So really on a personal level, deaf or hearing, black or white, Chinese, man or woman if the attitude is right then they can work together fine. That's my opinion.

IST7

Like I said in the large group, I'm not sure it is a deaf and hearing issue, I think it's liked to a person's attitude. But at the same time there does seem to be a divide between what hearing staff and deaf staff are allowed to do and likewise, some deaf staff dismiss

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all hearing staff as not knowing how to do anything. So in a deaf environment some deaf people think they are the experts and they know what to do. Consequently, then, hearing people then feel threatened and I think that's how the hostility starts between the 2 groups. Because, before I used to work for the employment service for 2 different departments. One was for the employment service and the other was for the xxxx employment service.

79. Extract: 70: IST 7

Theme: Empathy   Sub-theme: Recognition
Discussion:

The xxxx team was hearing led and the other job was deaf-led, yet I enjoyed the xxxxx job more and found it a more positive experience. That was because in the xxxxx although there were issues there, there was very healthy dialogue; the hearing people all had a very good attitude and they really made me feel part of the team. . also everybody signed and I was always asked my opinion about things and my input so I felt like I made some really big contributions to the work of the team. Because although they were all hearing they recognised my experience. So when we were in a meeting talking about how to support deaf people everyone would ask me how to do it which made me feel very good. So as for the other service team, that was an awful experience because there was so much back-stabbing and pulling each other down. Everybody felt threatened and therefore responded with hostility always competing to be better than everyone else. Also people felt very vulnerable there because it was easy to lose your job and they had a very high staff turnover. So everyone was very fearful that they would be the next one out the door or be made redundant which was understandable; I felt the same way. After 2 years of being in that team I was the last person to still be there from the original team that started. The rest had all left. In the end the company folded and I was made redundant anyway. So in a way I would have been better off staying in the first time, the xxxx because they had an HR structure and everything was there but it's difficult to say which one would be right and which one would be wrong, I don't know. But I have had a bad experience with a hearing team in the education service called xxxx. That really was an awful experience, I don't know if they've made a lot of redundancies or not. At the same time, I was doing some other work at a deaf school under someone who behaved more like a dictator and for any deaf person who tried to do well for themselves they were pulled down ruthlessly. It became very tiring.

80. Extract: 43: IST7

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitudes towards Deaf people
Discussion:

Now I'm a project worker and my experiences are very positive and there are hearing people who feel threatened by me and I can see them looking suspiciously and asking

me questions about who I am and what I've come in for. I feel that it was like being at war sometimes and I would constantly say I've come here to work with you, not against you.

81. Extract: 44: IST7

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitudes towards Deaf people
Discussion: Strong traditional/religious-paternalistic attitude which pervaded the school

But I think they just felt very suspicious, it was psychological. They had a very strong missionary culture there based on religious lay people who had worked there before. Because of their religion their attitude was very paternalistic; they were there to help THE DEAF. Also I was the first deaf person to work there who had an MA and I just think they didn't know how to handle me, they were just suspicious of me. At the same time there were deaf people who were trying to lobby for change in the organisation but they were receiving no support from other deaf people. All the other deaf people felt it was better to say nothing as they were frightened for the future. When I would ask them why are you frightened they would explain how they were used to hearing people oppressing them. So all the deaf people felt frightened and didn't' want to say anything so they could keep their job. As much as I tried to tell them it's ok you can stand up to these people they would not. There were deaf bullies there as well. It was all very messy but a very interesting situation to look at because as was said today in the large deaf and hearing group one of the hearing people said maybe deaf people need to look at hearing people as allies to which I agreed. Having hearing allies is important because hearing allies can help deaf people to climb the ladder and do well in work but at the same time who truly reaps the rewards at the end of the day, is it deaf or hearing people? Sometimes hearing people may feel that they are owed the reward because of all the support they give.

82. Extract: 69: IST7

Theme: Attitude   Sub-theme: Attitude towards hearing people
Discussion: The Deaf perspective was of hearing people taking the glory and success from Deaf people

It's interesting that when we were in the large group, I feel awful to say this, but xxxx was talking about how they interpreted for one woman for 2 years non-stop and xxxx was telling us how they would tell her which hearing people were bad. xxxx informed her all about hearing culture and then she was able to be successful, to which I said, "was it her achievement or your achievement"? …and xxxx said "because of me I saved that deaf person". So xxxx still has a typical 'hearing' attitude. Maybe the deaf woman saved herself, I don't know; it's debatable, I'd like to look more into that. I do feel the

deaf people talked a lot more but I do think that deaf people have a lot more to say.

83. Extract: <mark>45: IST7</mark>

Theme: Audism   Sub-theme: Assimilation

Discussion: The sensitivity of speaking from the Deaf perspective or from a hearing perspective. Hearing people seemed less inclined to talk...Deaf people had more confidence in talking.

So the hearing people didn't say that much because I think they felt ashamed. They knew what happens to deaf people and they didn't want to admit the truth that hearing people are oppressors of deaf people. So we had an open discussion that there are deaf people have a bad attitude too but why is it that we are comfortable saying that but hearing people aren't comfortable saying that about themselves, maybe it's historical, I don't know. So this whole process has been really interesting and it seems to me that it's incredibly sensitive this issue but I've felt good that deaf people have been able to express themselves but on a personal level there's a lot of frustration in those deaf people and I think they need counselling because they have a lot of frustrations. Some Deaf people are strong and can cope with it better. It's been an interesting process and let's see what happens in the future.

Thank you.

EXP   Cause

1 Policy/ values
2 Sign environ/Communic
3 Sign environ/Communic
4 att 2 signL/Structure
5 Policy/structure
6 Sign environ/Communication
7 Sign environ/Communication
8 Sign environ/Structure
9 Policy/Values
10 att+react/Communication
11 att 2 SignL/Communic
12 att 2 SignL/History
13 Isolation/Emotion
14 Isolation/History (Communication)
15 Cult aware/Structure
16 Policy/Structure
17 Oppression/Communication
18 att+reaction/Values
19 att 2 SignL/Values
20 att 2 SignL/Communic
21 Identity/Structure
22 Policy/Structure
23 proximity/History
24 Isolation/Emotion
25 Isolation/Emotion (Communic)
26 att 2 SignL/Communication
27 att 2 SignL/Values
28 att+reaction/Values
29 Cultural Aware/Emotion
30 assimilation/Communication
31 att 2Deaf P/Communication

32 Assimilation/Values
33 E Assimilation/Communic
34 att 2 signL/Communication
35 att 2Deaf P/Values
36 Policy/History
37 att 2 SignL/Communication
38 Assimilation/Emotion
39 att 2Deaf P/Values
40 Cultural Aware/Communication
41 att 2Deaf P/Structure
42 assimilation/Values
43 att 2 Deaf P/Structure
44 att 2 Deaf P/History
45 assimilation/Emotion
46 att 2 hear P/Structure
47 att 2 hear P/Values
48 att 2 hear P/Emotion
49 Respect/Structure
50 Authority/Values
51 Respect/History
52 Respect/Values
53 Respect/Values
54 Incongruence/Structure
55 Incongruence/Structure
56 Incongruence/Structure
57 Equality/Emotion
58 Equality/Structure
59 Acceptance/Structure
60 acceptance/History
61 acceptance/Communic
62 att 2 Deaf P/Structure

am not orange

63 att 2 Deaf P / structure
64 att 2 Deaf P / Communic
65 Benevolence / structure
66 Benevolence / values   Pol / val   1   — (44)
67 att 2 Deaf P / structure   SEnv / comm   3   — (49)
68 att 2 sign L / Communic   SEnv / comm   7   — (53)
69 att 2 hear P / values   att+R Komm   10   — (58)
70 recognition / structure   ========
71 authority / structure   Cult Aw / struc 15   — (79)
72 att 2 sign L / values   Pol / struc   22   — (41)
73 att 2 sign L / Communic   Isol / Emot   25   — (5)
74 allies / communication   A2SL / val   27   — (9)
75 att 2 sign L / values   A2SL / comm   37   — (20)
76 acceptance / communication A2DP / hist   44   — (81)
77 att 2 sign L / structure   Resp / val   52   — (43)
78 att 2 sign L / values   Resp / val   53   — (1)
79 acceptance / communic   aclep / Komm   61   — (42)
80 att 2 hear P / history   A2SL / Gmm   73   — (64)
81 att 2 hear P / structure   A2SL / struc   77   — (60)
82 att 2 hear P / structure   A2DP / hist   80   — (76)
83 att 2 sign L / values   A2DP / struc   82   — (4)

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Extracts for peer debriefing

Themes	Sub-themes			
Audism	**Assimilation**	**Oppression**	**Isolation**	
	Extract 32: IST 1	Extract 17: DBSLU 4,7	Extract 13: DBSLU 2	☒
Attitude	**Deaf people**	**Sign Language**	**Hearing people**	**Reaction**
	Extract 39: IST 3	Extract 12: HBSLU 5,6	Extract 46: D/HBSLU 7	Extract 10: D/HBSLU 2,5
Paternalism	**Authority**	**Passivity**	**Cultural Awareness**	**Benevolence**
	Extract 71: IST 1	Extract 23: DBSLU7	Extract 15: DBSLU 7	Extract: 65 D/HBSLU 1,7,4
Transition	**Identity**	**Policy**	**Incongruence**	
	Extract 21: DBSLU 4	Extract 5: HBSLU 6	Extract 54: IST 6	☒
Resolution	**Acceptance**	**Respect**	**Allies**	**Sign Environment**
	Extract 59: HBSLU 3 & 6	Extract 49: DBSLU 2	Extract 74: IST 1	Extract 2: HBSLU 5
Empathy	**Equality**	**Recognition**		
	Extract 57: H/DBLSU 2	Extract 70: IST 7	☒	☒

11.1 Theme 1 Audism

Generally, audism in academic literature is perceived as any extreme form of discriminatory behaviour against Deaf, deaf and hard of hearing people (Humphries, 1977; 2008). There is scholarly discussion in the deaf studies field regarding the lack of attention to audism in sociology and cultural studies (Bauman, 2008). Feelings of superiority over the conversational partner, or lack of acceptance of the partner's differences, can lead to the audist behaviour that is at the core of acute interrelationship conflict. The phonocentric society in which BSL users live and work contributes to this continuing pathological perspective (Lane, 1992) and reinforces the notion that Deaf people should be as much like hearing people as possible (Humphrey, 1977). A hearing person's behaviour in relation to Deaf people may be affected by a lack of exposure to Deaf culture and by a lack of understanding of the need for equality. Zak (1996) notes that "one is superior in one's ability to hear or behave in the manner of one who hears" and it is beliefs such as this that lead to ideas about eugenics, such as those culturally destructive plans put forward to eradicate races such as the Maoris and American Indians.

11.1.1 Subtheme definition - Assimilation

Deaf culture, in this environment, is not acknowledged and IST1 feels that Deaf people are not valued for the different cultural insights that they bring to the workforce. This leads to frustration felt by Deaf people who are expected to assimilate to hearing ways, which Durr (1999) informs us "seeks to restore the Deaf person to hearing society by making them as hearing-like as possible, has long deprived Deaf people of their own voice and self-determination" (p. 47). This is recognised as a result of assimilation, a common experience for BSL users that leads conflict. According to Knight (1998) such approaches "minimise the effect of deafness... which it views as deviation from the hearing norm...and aim for the 'assimilation' of a deaf person into the hearing society" (p. 217).

Audism – Assimilation extract:

It should not be a one way street where hearing people always have to change for Deaf people. Sometimes Deaf people need to be trained and learn to change for hearing people. In my organisation we have a Deaf Apprentice officer who helps people who may be finding it hard to get a job…We invite them to our organisation where we we're teaching them how to behave in the workplace…Having a Deaf teacher is important, as it's someone who understands their culture and understands why they do something then are better able to explain to them why they can't do it and how they need to change…So I think a lot of Deaf people who are in the workplace really don't know how to get on with hearing colleagues and that may cause a lot of frustrations…if Deaf people have a bad attitude towards hearing people then they can't expect hearing people to work well with them.

Example 32: IST1

11.1.2 Subtheme definition – oppression

Lane provides a thorough illustration of the comparisons we can make between the oppressive experiences of colonised people and of Deaf sign language users. Lane's description of his journey to Africa leaves us with a clear understanding of how Deaf sign language users can be viewed as having experienced the negative consequences of being controlled and undermined by a larger and more powerful majority group. Lane states: "I had come to know the struggle of deaf people, and I naturally saw in Africa's colonial history (and its aftermath) a term of comparison for the oppression of deaf communities" (p. 32).

Audism – Oppression extract:

DBSLU4 *– Imagine, if it wasn't for you that poor boy would have grown up without acquiring language and he would have been stuffed!*

DBSLU7 *– You're right. But that same boy…one day I turned up at the school, I always arrived by greeting everyone with 'good morning' and he usually signed it back to me. But this day I said good morning to him and I just had a nervous silence; he just looked very reticent to say anything. I asked the teaching assistant what was wrong. She told me to come outside and she would explain. So we went out of the room and she said that new rules had been imposed upon the boy meaning people must speak to him and if he doesn't respond they speak it again and again and only after 3 attempts, if he doesn't understand, then sign language may be permitted, but not before. I went ballistic. I absolutely lost it!*

Extract 17: DBSLU4 and DBSLU7

11.1.3 Subtheme – Isolation

Changes in perspective towards inclusion for Deaf people have led to Deaf people being expected to integrate and make use of mainstream services and this change in social and political perspective has led to experiences of isolation across all ages and in many sectors of mainstream society. As the results of this study indicate, isolating Deaf BSL users in the workplace can lead to conflict.

Audism – Isolation extract:

> *My experience has been horrendous when working alongside hearing people. At first I was very optimistic and looking forward to the challenge. I felt like I could change the world. You warned me not to go into education and what an awful experience it could be but I felt I would be alright. But how wrong I was. The attitude of the TOD Teacher of the Deaf was outrageous…Some of the TODs were good signers, others not. Their skills varied immensely…They were very eager and were getting a positive message regarding BSL and the rich visuality of the language. But then about 5 years ago when the course finished their sign language skills declined. They were not using the language and were not mixing with the Deaf community. Their attitudes were awful.*

Example 13: DBSLU2

11.2 Theme 2 Attitude

Attitude, in essence, is a culmination of the ideas and concepts that are invoked when we think about a certain object or entity, or person or group, and the emotions that we feel towards them (Fauconnier & Turner 2008). Certain aspects and views that are formed about people and these 'attitudes' may change over time. Several approaches to understanding attitude have been put forward by theorists, covering the evaluations, judgements and feelings involved. Hogg and Vaughan (2008: 149) provide an account of attitude based on several components that are of relevance to this study:

One-component attitude model: consists of 'affect' towards or evaluation of the object;

Two- component attitude model: consists of mental readiness to act. It also guides evaluative (judgemental) responses;

Three-component attitude model: consists of cognitive, affective and behavioural components.

11.2.1 Subtheme definition: Attitude towards Deaf people

Deaf BSL users approach interaction feeling that they should be on an equal footing and that they should have full and complete access to all discourse at all times, i.e. through establishing and maintaining a signing environment; hearing BSL users often approach the interaction with the attitude that they are there to help the Deaf BSL user, and that they only need to use sign language when they feel it is necessary (Scheetz, 2004). Attitudes may be considered negative or positive and the use of BSL as a first language compared to the use of BSL as a subsequent language may be an underlying factor in the conflict that results from attitudinal variance.

Attitude - Attitude towards Deaf people extract:
> *One manager decided that this deaf man's English was not good enough. We also have agency staff who come in and even though they've only worked one time on that shift they're allowed to fill in the log book. Well how does the boss know that their English is good enough if they've not worked there before? Another time…I was working in the kitchen, helping the clients make their food, when one of the permanent deaf female members of staff and a hearing permanent female who worked there came into the kitchen. The hearing person asked me to tell the deaf woman something so I said to her, "but you can sign yourself, right?" She said "yes, but I can't be bothered and your skills are better than mine"…I didn't mind signing it and communicating but I'd have thought the deaf staff member would have found that rude. It was really ignoring her and not involving her.*

Example 39: IST3

11.2.2 Subtheme definition - Attitude towards Sign Language

When people approach communication with different attitudes, the communication is underpinned by different values and beliefs. First language BSL users have a different attitude towards interrelationships, with Deaf BSL users valuing sign language as an equal right and a necessity, and some hearing BSL users treating sign language as a hobby. Understanding aspects of language use is important in a study of Deaf and hearing BSL users, and attitudes towards language are particularly relevant. When participants reflect on their experiences, attitude is a primary factor in the discourse.

Attitude - Attitude towards Sign Language extract:

HBSLU5 –So if one person has a negative attitude towards using sign language and decides to speak then that can quickly spread to others encouraging them to speak to and that has a big effect on the language used in the group.

HBSL6 – My grandparents were the same. Before I started working in the Deaf field their notion of Deaf people was one of people who were stupid, disabled. Now their opinions have changed completely to a positive perception of Deaf people; from meeting my friends they can see how wonderful the language is and how well the Deaf people are able to do. Really they have been saddled with some very old-fashioned views of deafness and they need to be shown that their old views were just not reflective of Deaf people today. From seeing Deaf people my grandparents realise now that their opinions were wrong.

HBSLU5 – Hey but your grandfather and grandmother seem to have a much better attitude than some of your work colleagues!!...For the life of me I don't understand why some people continue working in a working environment that they feel so negative towards.

Example 12: HBSLU5 & 6

11.2.3 Subtheme definition: Attitude toward Hearing People

Deaf BSL users are culturally different to hearing BSL users, and come together as a collective community with shared values, norms and cultural behaviours. Within the Deaf world, there is a tendency for Deaf people to label some hearing people as a 'hearing signer', to place them in contrast to hearing people who have no knowledge of the language and culture and function according to what I would coin here as 'Hearism' principles (i.e. the belief that Deaf people are not equal and less capable of achievement).

Attitude - Attitudes towards Hearing People extract:

H/DBSLU 7 – In one instance, my immediate line-manager was Deaf but the manager above that person was hearing. The hearing head manager was fantastic. They had a wonderful attitude and extremely fluent signing skills. When I met the head manager they had been very clear with me and told me that I would work flexibly, which I agreed to. But then one day the train was late and I arrived

slightly late into the office. But then the manager came over to me questioning me as to the reason I had arrived a little late. I informed them that the train had been delayed and carried on with my work. But my manager went back to their computer and went on-line to verify if the train really was delayed. After that our relationship was finished. There was no trust, no valuing me as an individual…The reason for his mistrust is that he had known other Deaf people who had said to him in social situations that they would just turn up late for work the next day. He then believed that I was like the 'others' he had met and was just out socialising too much and that's why I was late…I think the upshot is…it's not what they are, it's seeing them as people. Seeing them for their qualities, for their skills irrespective of whether they are deaf or hearing, black, white or Asian it really doesn't matter. I think the problem is labelling people into these categories.

Example 46: H/DBSLU 7

11.2.4 Subtheme definition – *Attitude and Reaction*

As Deaf and hearing BSL users work together, there is a tendency in this environment to react to other people's behaviours and attitudes. Reactions that BSL users have towards cultural differences result in a good level of understanding, but when the reactions lead to misunderstanding, they may lead to workplace conflict. Individual attitudes and interrelationship conflict may come from the individual.

Attitude - Attitudes and Reaction extract:

> *D/HBSLU5 – It's interesting that when we were in our hearing group we actually identified that labelling something as a hearing problem or a deaf problem was wide of the mark. It was actually a problem belonging to an individual. But that individual can infect others around them and it becomes a wider problem but it starts from an attitude of an individual. Conversely, when one person is very positive and the rest of the group is very positive you don't find any problems between Deaf and hearing people and everyone get along just great.*
>
> *D/HBSLU2 – My experience of a Deaf and hearing environment has been that when I have found one person to have an awful attitude and tackled them, then all the other hearing people quickly developed a similarly bad attitude towards me. It was as if the hearing people quickly coalesced around a fellow hearing person to close ranks and support each other. Which meant I was then having to challenge a number of people and there was a wall of negativity towards me.*

Extract 28: D/HBSLU 2, 5

11.3 Theme 3 Paternalism

Paternalism is the behaviour that results from a person acting in a helping manner towards another person because the help is deemed necessary but it is actually not required (Dworkin, 2002). Such incorrect presuppositions about Deaf people are traced back as far as Aristotelian times, where philosophers such as Pliny and Plato believed that deaf people could not think because they did not speak. The four sub-themes that occur under the theme of paternalism include authority and paternalism is also considered in relation to passivity among BSL users, and to the levels of cultural awareness that BSL users bring to the interaction. Finally, there is benevolence, which also relates to working in a mixed Deaf/hearing environment.

11.3.1 Subtheme definition – Authority

When interaction takes place between Deaf people who hold the sociocultural perspective and hearing people who interact from the disability perspective, Deaf BSL users feel in a position of unequal status in the workplace. This results in Deaf BSL users losing control and feeling disempowered, and hearing BSL users exercising inappropriate levels of authority over Deaf BSL users. Actions that result from inappropriate authority are often well-intentioned but may serve the purpose of appearing positive, rather than of a genuine desire to employ an effective and diverse workforce.

Paternalism – Authority extract:

> *I couldn't say I've had any bad experiences with the Deaf organisations. At xxxx, all of the management team is Deaf. I have also worked for another organisation where the head of the organisation was hearing but my immediate line-manager was Deaf. I could see that there were problems between my line-manager and the head of the organisation, which were due to hearing and Deaf issues but it didn't directly affect me so I wasn't that interested in it. I got on with my manager and was able to get on with my clients well so I just got on with my job without any problems. Then when I moved to xxxx, my job was as a manager, managing the community team who were all Deaf and my line manager was also Deaf. Also there were two other managers who were hearing but I didn't have any issues with them. They could both sign fluently so there were no Deaf v Hearing issues.*
>
> **Extract 71: IST 1**

11.3.2 Subtheme definition – Passivity

Passivity in the Deaf community has resulted from overwhelming control taken by religious missionaries, and later by social workers for Deaf people (Ladd, 2003: 334), and is also seen in educational settings. Dye, Hauser & Bavelier (2008) note that Deaf children often do not interact on a two-way basis in classrooms, and spend many years passively accepting that the teacher should be the one to speak. The resulting passivity is also noted by Gertz (2008). Ladd's (2003) notion of a 'traditional vs. modern deaf culture' suggests that, albeit with genuine intentions, the paternalism of missioners and their predecessors in Deaf education has resulted in a rigid power imbalance.

Paternalism – Passivity extract:

That may be a psychological reason, going back to the days of the missioners and welfare officers who were hearing. It's interesting, as part of my work I was involved in a project involving 2 centres. At the first centre all the Deaf people signed and everyone said they were unable to do a lot as they couldn't read. I looked at the Deaf people and they were passively sitting there not challenging this notion. The hearing person just kept saying Deaf people needed them to move forward. I looked at the Deaf people and it seems there is a historic influence from the missioners time that the grassroots Deaf people felt that they actually did need the hearing people to help them. My mother's attitude is the same. She's an old woman now, obviously! But when my mum sees an interpreter she immediately asks them to do everything for her because they can speak and use the phone. I realised that it's how society was when she was younger and how they used hearing people that has shaped her attitude now - that hearing were always right and Deaf people were always wrong.

Example 23: DBSLU7

11.3.3 Subtheme definition - Cultural Awareness

This reiterates the point that using BSL is not sufficient and that hearing BSL users must understand the culture, as well as the language, in order to interact successfully with Deaf BSL users. Lack of cultural awareness among BSL users leads to a significant level of workplace conflict, hence cultural awareness is identified as a sub-theme. This may not be intentional but results when language skill is achieved without appropriate

cultural use. Lack of awareness of Deaf culture is also seen in education (Rodda and Grove, 1987) and in the family home (Eleweke & Rodda, 2000).

Paternalism - Cultural Awareness extract:

I was working with the youngest pupils in the school and there was literally no language at all, no sign language and no ability to speak, nothing. So I was asked to go in and see what I could do. I started teaching them and within no time there was evidence that it was working. It was wonderful to see that they was a slight improvement taking place and they were able to express themselves with simple sentences such as saying their name, but even still for the first time there was meaningful communication. The parents asked what my background was and I told them I'd graduated from university and my many experiences of working abroad. They were really impressed and it gave a positive model of being a Deaf person which they could naturally transpose on to their own children to see what they could go on to become when they were older. The parents became keen on finding out any more information so I gave them copies of the BDN magazine...I would also mention to them the other organisations and magazines including the NDCS and the RNID...The parents continued to be curious about Deaf culture and I started sitting with them and sharing my experiences and thoughts. When I'd finished giving them such cultural insights they went away. At a later date they informed my boss how useful they had found the sessions and how they information had been very valuable. I was immediately summoned to the Head's office to be informed that I was receiving my first verbal warning and that I was not allowed to give any BDN literature out to parents and I wasn't to sit down sharing my experiences and knowledge of Deaf culture. It just wasn't to be allowed. I told the head, "...it's part of my job to ensure that all areas are covered for the benefit of the child, including identity and culture. Furthermore you stopping me is clearly discrimination as you are discriminating against my culture and your actions are not to be allowed".

Example 15: DBSLU 7

11.3.4 Subtheme definition – Benevolence

A further sub-theme related to the theme of paternalism is benevolence, the disposition to do good towards others that can result in overprotectiveness towards individuals who are perceived as inferior. The intention of benevolent behaviour may be the expression

of goodwill, revealing a caring nature, but benevolence is discussed by the participants as an aspect of the control that hearing people place over Deaf people's lives. Benevolence expressed when Deaf and hearing BSL users interact in the workplace also leads to conflict situations.

Paternalism - Benevolence extract:

> *D/HBSLU 1 – A long time ago at xxxx we used to have a policy that dictated that everyone must sign. It became extremely prescriptive and people were enslaved to the policy…everyone was doggedly following the policy and signing more because the rules said you had to.*
>
> *D/HBSLU 7– Are you implying that the policy became more important than what it was trying to achieve right?*
>
> *D/HBSLU 1– Everyone would just cite the policy and tell people to sign. It made a difficult situation and I felt it would have been better if it wasn't there.*
>
> *D/HBSLU 7– Do you mean that forcing the policy on people…made people clam up and say nothing?*
>
> *D/HBSLU 4– I think in my experience that where there isn't a policy people still keep on speaking instead of signing. If the policy is there, at least people will feel that they are compelled to sign.*
>
> *D/HBSLU 1- Yes, they have to...but it shouldn't be compelled it should be that they are signing anyway irrespective of if there is a policy or not.*

Extract 65: D/HBSLU 1, 7, 4

11.4 Theme 4 Transition

A further theme identified in the data is referred to as 'Transition', and includes the factors that enable an individual to move from a position of adding to conflicts at work, to a position of encouraging understanding of difference among colleagues, and therefore reducing conflicts. In a mixed Deaf/hearing workplace environment, being a sign language user may not automatically brings with it a positive and accepting level of interrelationship competency. Recognition of the inequalities in the workplace are an important aspect of the transition from workplace conflict to effecting working relations. Transition is discussed in this section in order to examine the way BSL users adjust during interaction. The issue that are discussed under this theme are identity, policy and incongruence.

11.4.1 Subtheme definition – identity

This study illustrate experiences of individual and of group identity among BSL users (Najarian, 2006; Obassi, 2010). Deaf BSL users become more conscious of being Deaf when working in mixed Deaf/hearing environments. The Deaf identity characteristic becomes fore-grounded and they naturally gravitate towards other Deaf people. Deaf BSL users often feel that they have to justify why they gravitate towards other Deaf people, which is referred to as "perfectly natural" by DBSLU4. On the surface, Deaf BSL users feel obliged to adjust and accommodate their behaviour in order to avoid upsetting hearing BSL users. At a deeper level, it is evident that this has an effect on the person's identity.

Transition – identity extract:

Oh yes, what's ideal for me? Ideally a Deaf led team where everyone is Deaf. That's it. If you have a team either in school or in xxxx where you have a Deaf and hearing person both doing the same job, the Deaf child/adult is going to gravitate towards the Deaf person. That's perfectly natural! You find that hearing people then feel their noses are being put out of joint. But I have to explain to them not to be offended, as it's perfectly natural…But the hearing staff feel threatened by deaf people and actually it makes them become more oppressive towards Deaf people. It's just so difficult.

Example 21: DBSLU4

11.4.2 Subtheme definition – Policy

The audism that Deaf people talk about experiencing in the workplace is often discussed in terms of policies and procedures, which may disempower Deaf people to a large extent, hence policy is also a variable in the conflict reported by BSL users. Inappropriate policies and procedures in mixed Deaf and hearing workplaces lead to a significant level of workplace conflict. This includes the deliberate suppression of policy information related to Deaf culture, and the use of sign language. Sometimes parents are only allowed to receive information related to the use of spoken and written English and are not provided with information related to the option of sign language for their child.

Transition – Policy extract:

> *Also if a client goes out to lunch, it's always a hearing member of staff who escorts them, never a Deaf person. It's always the same clique of hearing staff and they leave the Deaf members of staff out of things…About one or two months ago we had a staff meeting. The manager decided to split the groups into one hearing group and one Deaf group. But I didn't agree with it. It seemed to be encouraging separation. But they said the reason was that Deaf staff had a problem with a few members of the hearing staff. I appreciated what they meant but if there is a problem between two people the manager should be bringing them together to resolve their problems, not splitting them up into two opposing groups.*

Example 5: HBSLU6

11.4.3 Subtheme definition – Incongruence

At the centre of the conflict in a mixed Deaf/hearing workplace environment is the fact that a Deaf way of being, and the cultural norms by which Deaf people live, are seen as less important and less valid than norms based on being hearing, and this is clearly a recurring issues throughout the data. There is incongruence between how a Deaf person expects to behave in the workplace, and what is expected of them from their hearing colleagues; incongruence, therefore, is identified as a factor in the conflict setting.

Transition – Incongruence extract:

> *IST 6 – My experience has been great because I personally work with deaf and hearing people every single day. I'm learning deaf language from deaf people every day. Two years ago I worked in xxxx and it was the same there. I was learning all the time from the staff and the students. I was learning new words all of the time so both my experiences have been good. I don't feel any oppression at all at work. Most of the time now I work with Deaf people. I very infrequently work with hearing people but I don't feel any oppression from Deaf people; we have very good connections and we get on well…I do feel if people want to become interpreters then it's up to them to become really involved, to learn the language properly, to learn deaf culture because if they're just signing without any understanding of culture then it's not very good. You need to do a lot of voluntary work or have lots of deaf friends on a social level to be able to really pick up the language so I think deaf and hearing people mix very well…*

Example 54: IST 6

11.5 Theme 5 Resolution

The theme of resolution is illustrated in the conflict situation in a university exclusively for deaf people in the USA in the 1980s also illustrates the need for deliberate resolution: the 'Deaf President Now!' campaign at Gallaudet University began when a new university president was appointed who was not culturally Deaf, and Deaf people clearly expressed their contempt with this and demanded a Deaf president be appointed instead (Jankowski, 1997). Here the struggle was against hearing people being in positions of central control and decision making within the Deaf community and the conflict was only resolved when a Deaf president was appointed (Gannon, 2011). Resolution is considered under the notion of acceptance firstly in this section and then in relation to respect. After this, the role that allies play in interrelationships among BSL users and the issue of the signing environment is discussed at the end of the section.

11.5.1 Subtheme definition – Acceptance

The willingness to interact and the motivation to communicate on equal terms illustrates a drive that some BSL users may have when working in a mixed environment. The drive and positive determination to develop an increasing understanding of sign language and Deaf culture, through an undulating learning curve, leads to acceptance of difference in the workplace, hence acceptance is analysed as a sub-theme in relation to the theme of resolution.

Resolution – Acceptance extract:

HBSLU 3 – When I finished my year long course at college I had completed level 1 BSL. I wasn't really that interested in anything but I was looking at the adverts in the newspaper to see what to do and there were lots of courses. That's where I saw BSL so I thought I would try it. The teacher said that every year the hospital was always looking for bank staff especially those who can sign. So I applied for the hospital job but when I started work my confidence was really low. I wanted to learn sign language and tried my best to pick up the signs every day, slowly building up my vocabulary. So I think it's better to learn within the job really.

HBSL 6 – A person needs to work in a Deaf club or where they can go every day.

11.5.2 Subtheme definition – Respect

Respect is a significant issue when working towards resolution, which is more likely to be achieved if there is a good level of respect for the different languages and cultures at play. BSL users' experiences of working together indicate that respect is an important concept and an important quality in order for successful Deaf/hearing interaction to take place. Deaf participant feels that a lack of respect for the language and culture leads to negativity and to confusion

Resolution – Respect extract:

> *DBSLU 2 - I know that when a TOD has an initial meeting with a new family after diagnosis of deafness, however old the baby/child is, they have a list of subjects to inform the parents of. The list is provided by the NDCS and is a proforma list. But when you look at how the list is structured the check list covers all the oralist organisations first and then towards the end mentions the subject of SSE and then at the very bottom, the last subject to mention is BSL. I've said to the teacher that putting it right at the end seems wrong and how it can be very confusing for parents. I told them that it should be at the top of the list and I don't really see what's so confusing for them. She has Makaton in the list!...It's the child's right to learn their own language, completely.*

11.5.3 Subtheme definition - Allies

The role of hearing BSL users is valued from the perspective of cooperation and working together as allies, a further sub-theme identified under the theme of resolution. When Deaf and hearing BSL users work effectively in the workplace, hearing BSL users are considered as allies. This is revealed in a positive attitude to working within a healthy Deaf/hearing environment and shows that people who have experience of allied interactions become more aware of the conflicts, and of how they can be resolved when people can be more reflexive.

Resolution – Allies extract:

> *IST 1 – When we came together as the hearing and deaf group, it's not that I felt people changed but more that the information we talked about was different. People talked about their experiences; one Deaf person had said they had had positive experiences of working with hearing people. Some of the hearing people had noted that other hearing people they work with could behave a lot better. So in conclusion my overall experience of working with Deaf and hearing people is that they work well together and I haven't had any problems. But it has to be built on a firm foundation of understanding each other.*

<div align="right">

Extract 74: IST 1

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11.5.4 Subtheme definition – signing environment

A signing environment is a space where sign language is used consistently and attention is paid to the cultural needs of Deaf sign language users. This includes a maximally visually arrangement, where spatial awareness and spatial orientation are maximised, and decoration is suited to a visual way of communicating. In reality, of course, this may not be a practicable solution but any move towards this would improve working relations. This potentially leads to increased access to information for Deaf BSL users, who may otherwise struggle to understand during interaction. Foster and MacLeod (2003) report that Deaf employees struggle with social aspects of the working environment, stressing the importance of this issue. An effective signing environment can lead to resolution of conflicts among BSL users, as the adapted building influences the way of thinking towards a visual orientation. Positive acceptance of a signing environment in a mixed Deaf and hearing workplace leads to positive experiences of working together for Deaf and hearing BSL users, and the signing environment is therefore considered as a sub-theme in the conflict situation.

Resolution – Signing environment extract:

> *Absolutely. I was fortunate because I worked within a Deaf team in the xxxx for over 3 years. It had a Deaf manager, Deaf staff at all levels, actually there was only me and…well there were 15 staff in all only 4 of us were hearing and two of those were interpreters. We were a completely signing team and everything was set-up visually so it worked from a Deaf perspective. The seating was such so that everyone could see each other. We would cook together, eat together and talk*

together. On every level it was a Deaf team but there wasn't a feeling of exasperation that I had to sign. It was just the natural form of communication within the team.

<div align="right">**Extract 2: HBSLU 5**</div>

11.6 Theme 6 Empathy

Empathy is the main function by which a person responds to the situation and feelings of others. As Goleman (1996: xii) notes, "The root of altruism lies in empathy, the ability to read emotions in others; lacking a sense of another's need or despair, there is no caring". Through empathy, the emotions of others, both affective and cognitive, are considered. This includes the ability to sense other people's emotion, or ability to image what someone else might be feeling or thinking. The amount and type of empathy that a person feels can reflect in their attitude and behaviour towards that person and, conversely, a lack awareness and empathy can cause friction between workers or social relationships.

11.6.1 Subtheme definition – Equality

Understanding and achieving equality in the workplace is an important aspect of empathy, and equality is analysed as a sub-theme under this theme. The ability to empathise with the cultural situation comes from the experience of being a Deaf BSL users and sharing the experiences of oppression and disempowerment that ensues. Empathy in the workplace can bring equality, and a high level of awareness and understanding of equality can be achieved. For example, D/HBSLU2 discusses empathy with a Deaf client in the workplace, and their experiences of discrimination.

Empathy – Equality extract:

D/HBSLU 2 – I feel it's very important that they have that Deaf connection. My stresses are not with my work colleagues it's with the people I work for who aren't allowed full access, are not being treated equally. I feel for them. The administration part of my job is relatively easy and straightforward, but when I come face-to-face with the clients who aren't being treated fairly that's when my stress levels rise. I have with work I keep separate from the joy I have with the

people I work with. I know what they're feeling as Deaf people. I know the discrimination they suffer. I understand the Deaf issues they have. I know how it feels. The TODS have no understanding of it at all. That where my stresses lie. Being in work is fine I can focus and get on with my work. I wish that all I had to do was go into the office and work there as I wouldn't have any problems. But when I go back to the Deaf people I work with I instantly have that connection with them and feel their frustrations. It really angers me.

Example 57: H/DBLSU 2

11.6.2 Subtheme definition – Recognition

Recognition of effective and improved performance is an important aspect of any organisation. Where employers recognise an employees' drive and commitment, positive feedback, at either the team or the individual level, has a motivating impact on the workforce (Fornes, Rocco & Wollard, 2008). When an employee is recognised, they feel appreciated and valued, and this drives employees to continue to contribute effectively. The ability of the observer to recognise achievement and dedication goes hand in hand with the ability to empathise. BSL users may demonstrate a high level of understanding of how Deaf and hearing BSL users interact in the workplace and of the issues that often arise. IST7 is clearly highly aware of the typical conflict situation, and is able to discuss issues related to the causes, the effects and to the resolution possibilities. Furthermore, the participant is aware of the linguistic and cultural divide among BSL users.

Empathy – Recognition extract:
> *IST 7 The xxxx team was hearing led and the other job was deaf-led, yet I enjoyed the xxxx job more and found it a more positive experience. That was because in the xxxx although there were issues there, there was very healthy dialogue; the hearing people all had a very good attitude and they really made me feel part of the team…also everybody signed and I was always asked my opinion about things and my input so I felt like I made some really big contributions to the work of the team. Because although they were all hearing, they recognised my experience. So when we were in a meeting talking about how to support deaf people everyone would ask me how to do it which made me feel very good.*

Extract 70: IST 7