Special Section on Deaf Studies

Toward a Theory of Deaf Ethnos: Deafnicity ≈ *D*/deaf (Hómaemon . Homóglosson . Homóthreskon)

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Should ethnicity be used to interpret relations between the Deaf community and the hearing people? Recent scholarship questioning the merits of Deaf ethnicity suggests a need to reexamine the use of ethnicity when describing Deaf identity and culture. This article provides an overview of key contributions to race and ethnicity discourse in the 20th century, identifies epistemological and ontological errors to avoid, suggests adherence to the classical Greek concept of *ethnos* as an alternative to *ethnie*, and argues for the continuing significance of Deaf ethnicity. Specifically, I propose that Deaf ethnicity is a triadic relational nexus that approximates communities of origin, language, and religion. This is expressed as Deafnicity ≈ *D*/deaf (Hómaemon ● Homóglosson ● Homóthreskon). Deafnicity offers a promising alternative for examining relations between Deaf and hearing communities, exploring variance between nationalized Deaf communities, and expanding our understanding of audism.

What is ethnicity? Sociologists have been defining ethnicity for almost a century. Ethnicity is an expression of self and community (Weber, 1922/1978). Ethnicity is a negotiated product of dialectical tensions between internal self-identification and external ascriptions, who we say we are in a set of relations with who others say we are (Nagel, 1996). It is an emergent process (Yancey, Ericksen, & Juliani, 1976) and situational (Gans, 1979). Ethnicity is a strategic and adaptive process of reorganizing identity boundaries and the cultural content within those boundaries (Nagel & Snipp,

1993). Ethnicity is a rationale choice (Nagel, 1996). Should the concept of Deaf ethnicity be used to describe the set of relations between the Deaf community and those who are hearing?[1]

In this article, I retrace the social scientific understanding of ethnicity. I attempt to expose some of the misunderstandings that accompany recent discussions about Deaf ethnicity. I call for a return to how the ancient Greeks applied the concept of *ethnos*. In ancient Greece, *ethnos* included a wide range of concepts involving identity boundaries (Smith, 1986, p. 21). I argue that if Deaf *ethnos* is viewed as a triadic relational nexus of *Hómaemon* (community of common origin), *Homóglosson* (linguistic community), *Homóthreskon* (community of religion),[2] it has greater explanatory power than the modern concept *ethnie* (collective name, myth of common descent, a shared history, a shared culture, an association with a specific territory, and a sense of solidarity; Smith, 1986, pp. 22–31).

Stokoe's (1960/2005) recognition of sign language, Woodward's (1972)[3] distinguishing cultural constructions (Deaf) from medical circumstance (deaf), and Humphries' (1977) coinage of the term "audism" imply or infer Deaf ethnicity.[4] However, recognition of the ethnic processes of constructing, maintaining, and reorganizing Deaf identity boundaries is relatively recent (Erting, 1978; Markowicz & Woodward, 1982). Lane, Pillard, & Hedberg (in press), Lane (2005), and Eckert (2005) argue the merits of Deaf ethnicity using modified versions of Smith's (1986) dimensions of *ethnie*. Lane et al. (in press) and Lane (2005) rely on

historical comparative data to demonstrate the presence of all six dimensions in the Deaf community. Eckert (2005) hypothesized a nationalized concept of Deaf American ethnicity,[5] or what he called *Deafnicity*,[6] as a counter hegemonic response to audism.

Lane's (2005) and Eckert's (2005) usage of Smith's (1986) dimensions of *ethnie* illuminates a few problems with the model when applied to the Deaf community. First, Smith (p. 27) deemphasizes the relevance of language. Smith writes, "Examples could be multiplied to show that language, long held to be the main, if not sole, mark of ethnicity, is often irrelevant or divisive in the sense of ethnic community" (p. 27). Sign language is a critical component of Deaf identity and culture. Lane et al. (in press), Lane (2005), and Eckert (2005) do emphasize the importance of sign language in their modifications to *ethnie*.

Second, the Smith model of *ethnie* lacks precision when defining the myth of common descent. On the one hand, there is a "self-same ancestor" (Smith, 1986, p. 24). On the other hand, the sense of tribal belonging is something based on "common family ties, rather than any sense of genetic and blood ties" (Smith, 1986, p. 24). Although Smith does not appear to treat *ethnie* as biologically determined, there is a need to amend the *ethnie* model in a way that clearly identifies kinship ties as an effort to organize human interdependence through rules of relatedness (see Macintyre, 1993). Fictive kinship, as understood by anthropologists, provides an avenue to go beyond the idea of Deaf identity being one generation thick as argued by Davis (2008).[7] Eckert (2005, pp. 108–110) asked Deaf respondents to compare meeting a Deaf person for the first time with meeting a hearing person for the first time. Respondents described Deaf people as being those they felt instantly connected to and could be their real self around. The lack of connection to hearing people was also highlighted. One respondent (Jim) said, "It is different because the Deaf person feels like family" (Eckert 2005, p. 110).[8] The Deaf self-same ancestor, sometimes signed as "DEAF-SAME," is not a matter of genetics.[9]

The Smith model of *ethnie* also fails to account for what Nagel (2003) calls the sexualized boundaries of ethnicity or ethnosexual frontiers. These "are the borderlands on either side of ethnic divides; they skirt the edges of ethnic communities; they constitute symbolic and physical sensual spaces where sexual imaginings and sexual contact occur between members of different racial, ethnic, and national groups" (Nagel, 2003, p. 14). Nagel (2003) defines ethnosexuality as "the intersection between ethnicity and sexuality and the ways in which each defines and depends on the other for its meaning and power" (p. 10). Padden and Humphries (2005) describe a set of power relations that includes sexual domination of the Deaf community in America from as far back as the early 1800s. Padden and Humphries (2005, chapter 1) description of "silenced bodies" illuminates the need to consider the ethnosexualized boundaries of Deaf identity and culture. Stereotypes used to describe the Deaf population offer some of the more extreme examples of sexualizing Deaf identity and culture. *The Peoples Common Sense Medical Advisor* published in 1890 provides a list of causes for the "paralysis of the auditory nerve" (Pierce, 1890, p. 681). The list includes masturbation, excessive sexual excitement, and debauchery (Pierce, 1890, p. 681).

Smith's *ethnie* does not account for sexualized stereotypes nor does it include important cultural aspects of selective mating habits, sexualized stereotypes, abuse, and exploitation. Lane et al. (in press) includes a wealth of information about Deaf ancestry that implies selective mating habits.[10] Eckert (2005) provides narrative descriptions told by Deaf previously married to hearing individuals. However, neither Eckert (2005) nor Lane et al. (in press) provide an analysis that includes ethnosexual settlers, sojourners, adventurers, invaders (Nagel, 2003) in the context of the sexualized relations between the dominant hearing majority and the Deaf community that Padden and Humphries (2005) highlight.[11]

Finally, Smith's idea of *ethnie* conflates a number of Greek definitions of *ethnos*. The synthesis of different types of *ethnos* is a useful starting point. Though, without language, a clear distinction of kinship, or recognition of the sexualized borders of ethnicity, the explanatory powers of the Smith model are inadequate when addressing the continuing significance of Deaf ethnicity in contemporary society. As such, one is compelled to ask if the classical Greek concept of *ethnos* has greater explanatory powers than Smith's

(1986) model of *ethnie*. Does *ethnos* include language? Does *ethnos* clarify the role of fictive kinship? Does it account for the sexualized borders of ethnicity?

Critics of Deaf ethnicity include Davis (2008), Sabatello (2005), and Tucker (2004). Davis' objections to the idea of Deaf ethnicity appear to be with both the broader concept of ethnicity and the narrower dimensions of *ethnie*. Davis (2008) seeks to replace Deaf ethnicity with what he calls postdeafness. For example, Davis (2008) asks, "Why use, outdated, outmoded, and potentially dangerous categories of ethnicity, minority status, nationhood (including 'world' and 'culture'), when one might do better to use the category of 'one-generation' identities to redefine the nature of social identity?" (p. 323).

Sabatello (2005) argues, "The Deaf community is arguably a linguistic minority based on fluency in sign language that is different from the majority language, or alternatively, an ethnic minority based predominantly on common history and culture" (p. 1036). Sabatello asserts a need to differentiate "between those who are legally recognized as ethnic, linguistic, and religious communities, and other sorts of 'life-styles cleavages, social movements and voluntary associations,' notwithstanding their internal claims for shared linguistic and cultural systems" (pp. 1048–1049). The arguments of Sabatello highlight the importance of establishing the Deaf community as an ethnic community.

Tucker (2004) argues that Deaf identity, in the context of a deviant medical minority, needs to be rehabilitated and conform to the cultural hegemonic goals of the dominant hearing majority. Tucker argues, "deaf people with cochlear implants, particularly children, have a wealth of opportunities and potential life experiences available to them" (p. 186). Tucker goes on to say, "To deny such opportunities based on theories of segregation is indeed illogical" (p. 186). Tucker's argument is framed first by identifying Deaf people as second-class citizens using a Washington Post article[12] as proof of second-class citizenship and then claiming that cochlear implant technology will "alleviate the ramifications of deafness" (p. 186).

Sabatello (2005) and Tucker (2004) each suggest that the Deaf community is attempting to impose a Deaf centric view on families with Deaf children and in the process deny Deaf children the ability to successfully assimilate into the dominant hearing majority. Sabatello argues, "Thus, rejecting cochlear implants for a deaf child, as advocated by members of the Deaf community, coerces the Deaf culture on the child" (p. 1033).

Davis, Sabatello, and Tucker each express major misunderstandings of Deaf identity and culture. As such, demystification of ethnicity must accompany discussion of whether Deaf Americans are an ethnic population. The larger problem with the assertions of Davis (2008) and Sabatello (2005) is their pretension of recognizing Deaf human identity while perpetuating negative stereotypes that challenge that humanity. For Tucker, assimilation provides human identity. This differs greatly from those advocating Deaf ethnicity who do not view assimilation as a prerequisite of human identity.

The Sociological Meaning of Ethnicity

The inventor Alexander Graham Bell (1883/1969) presented his "Memoir Upon the Formation of a Deaf Variety of the Human Race" to the National Academy of Sciences in November 1883. His use of the term race was consistent with his time. Prior to the 1890s, a number of minority cultures and nationalities were identified as races (Baynton 2008). Grant (1916) gave specific interpretations of the Caucasian race, Aryan race, Indo-European race, Nordic race, and Latin race (pp. 52–67). The pseudoscientific foundations of the concept of race were exposed by Boas (1911), the father of modern anthropology. Boas asked whether or not cultural achievements depend on hereditary aptitudes (p. 5).

Not long after Boas' groundbreaking work, German sociologist Weber (1922/1978) broadly defined an ethnic group as having, "a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs, or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration" (p. 389).[13] Weber saw ethnicity in the context of a community, not necessarily in a biological context. Weber's use of the term *Gemeinsamkeit* approximates the classical Greek meaning of *ethnos*. However, "there is absolutely no etymological connection between the German term *Gemeinsamkeit* and the Greek term *ethnos*"

(C. Papaspyrou, personal communication, May 18, 2009). The concept of race is not a workable tool of science. Yet, the idea of race points to a social reality (Blauner, 1992). Here, I retrace some of the dominant theories of race and ethnicity of the 20th century.

Park sought to explain the relations between the dominant majority and the immigrant minority populations. Park (1950) developed a race relations cycle that was about the processes of assimilating immigrants. The model centered on the experiences of immigrants seeking to access opportunity in America. Park's model of race relations consisted of a process of contact, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. The cycle was applied primarily to European and Asian immigrant populations.

There are three fundamental problems with Park's model. Park defines assimilation as a one-way freight train. The process of assimilation cannot be reversed neither temporarily or permanently. Park (1950) noted, "Customs, regulations, immigration restrictions, and racial barriers may slacken the tempo of the movement, may perhaps halt it [assimilation] altogether for a time but cannot change its direction, cannot at any rate reverse it" (p. 150). Park recognizes different speeds of assimilation, as well as different experiences, but not different processes of assimilation. Park was convinced of the inevitability of assimilation for all. However, Park does not say when assimilation will occur. There is no time frame assigned by Park (Healey, 2004). The theory cannot be proven or disproven so long as observers still wait for assimilation to proceed.

Finally, Park assumes that assimilation is not only beneficial but also desirable. Park (1950) argues, "The breaking up of the isolation of smaller groups had the effect of emancipating the individual man, giving him room and freedom for the expansion and development of his individual aptitudes" (p. 205). Assimilation is presumed to liberate a person from alleged cultural deficiencies. Assimilation also supposedly opens the door for upward social mobility.

Still, the Park model is important because it emphasizes a process that occurs when two different populations come into contact with each other. It sheds light on the divisive underpinnings of public policies that focus on dispersing populations in
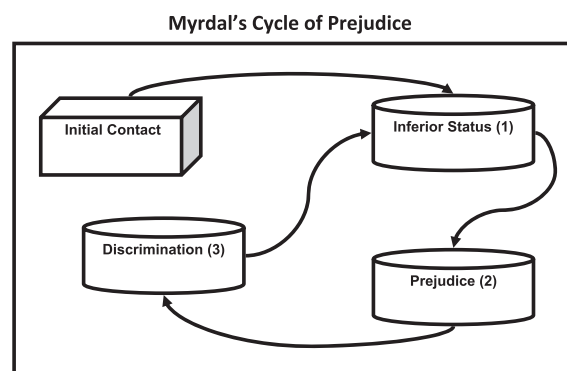

Figure 1. Myrdal's cycle of prejudice. This figure slightly modifies Healey (2004 p. 18).

order to promote a common American identity (see Schlesinger, 1999/2009; Walzer 1990/2009). The Park model also gives notice of the origins of the belief that assimilation produces happiness.

Another important contribution to the study of race and ethnicity was conducted by Myrdal (1944). The cycle of prejudice and violence described by Myrdal (see Figure 1) is important for understanding the Deaf experience as a subordinated minority population. During initial contact, many healthcare providers identify Deaf Americans as medically deviant. For example, Harmer (1999) notes, "Doctors tend to view disabilities as deviations from the mainstream norm that should be corrected if possible" (p. 90). According to Harmer, physicians "tend to medicalize deaf patients in a way that can be interpreted as paternalistic" (p. 91). Harmer notes, "Many of these professionals will focus on the child's 'broken ears,' and few are likely to give much thought to a child as a whole" (p. 85).

The ascription of an inferior status gives the non-Deaf public, including hard-of-hearing individuals, a false consciousness of having a superior status. This is similar to Goffman's (1963) observations of hard-of-hearing people stratifying themselves above those who are deaf (p. 107). This false consciousness is prejudicial and reinforces non-Deaf observations of perceived Deaf inferior status. This leads to increased levels of discrimination. Deaf people are then denied access to opportunity structures. The denial is discriminatory. This discrimination reinforces non-Deaf people's perceptions of Deaf people having an inferior status. This

creates a need for specialists to further define the inferior status.

As members of the Deaf community are denied equal access to opportunity structures (education, employment, and healthcare), stereotypes about Deaf intelligence, demeanor, and sexuality are invented. This leads to increased discrimination and further denial of access to opportunity structures in America. The process is viciously recycled. Prejudice perpetuates discrimination which in turn perpetuates lower status, continued prejudice, and even greater discrimination.

If teachers and parents prejudicially believe that Deaf adults read at a third-grade level,[14] then they are less likely to assign challenging reading material for Deaf children. This results in lower reading scores, more prejudice, and further discrimination. Although applying Myrdal's vicious cycle to Deaf education oversimplifies complex pedagogical decisions made by teachers for individuals based on aggregate data, Myrdal's cycle of prejudice is important to Deaf studies because it informs us of the "cumulative causation" that reinforces and perpetuates individual, institutional, and metaphysical expressions of audism.[15]

Another important theorist is Gordon (1961) who informs us of different modes of assimilation: the "melting pot theory" and "Anglo conformity" (Americanization). The melting pot theory was later described by Gordon (1988) as a process "in which all groups contribute equally or proportionally toward the final amalgam" (p. 132). Anglo conformity is viewed by Gordon (1988) as a process "in which minority groups or less powerful groups move in the direction of conformity with the social institutional order created by a majority or dominant group" (pp. 132–133).

Two other important theorists are Donald Noel and Robert Blauner. Noel focuses on the contact situation between two populations. Noel (1968) notes, "If two or more groups come together in a contact situation characterized by ethnocentrism, competition, and differential in power, then some form of racial or ethnic stratification will result" (p. 163). Noel questions why some minority groups are exposed to a more violent subordination than others. He concludes that the contact situation between the majority and the minority is important to understanding dominant structures. Ethnocentrism explains who the participants are. Competition explains why they come into conflict. Power differentials explain how that conflict occurs.

The Noel hypothesis lays the groundwork to reconsider the different points of entry into the Deaf American community of culture and how relations with hearing and with other Deaf may be influenced. Although residential schools play an important role in the transmission of culture from one Deaf generation to the next, the residential schools are not the only point of entrance into the Deaf community (Padden & Humphries, 1988). A deaf person learns to be Deaf (Padden & Humphries, 1988, chapter 1). Like other physical traits, such as skin pigmentation, medical circumstances can have a constraining influence on cultural constructions. However, physical traits are not the sole basis of membership, nor do physical traits determine Deaf ethnicity. Padden & Humphries (1988) point out, "The fact of not hearing is not itself a determinant of group identity" (p. 4). Being Deaf is more than being deaf.

Blauner (1969) explained the dynamics of racial–ethnic oppression and argued that those who are colonized and conquered experience a more intense level of discrimination than immigrant populations. Blauner's thesis builds on the works of Cruse's (1968) concept of domestic colonization, Clark's (1965) description of Harlem as a colony, and Carmichael and Hamilton's (1967) concept of *Black Power*. The concept of internal colonialism is important to the examination of Deaf ethnicity because it raises the question as to whether deaf oralists assimilating into the dominant hearing majority experience less intense discrimination than what the signing Deaf community experiences. Internal colonization of the Deaf community includes exploitation of the human body by specialists who are served by the existence of a medical circumstance of hearing loss.[16]

Park, Myrdal, Gordon, Noel, and Blauner share common ground when it comes to contact being a starting point. Contact implies the presence or ongoing construction of identity boundaries. Barth (1969/1998) is credited with directing the focus to ethnic boundaries and how material conditions influence the construction, reconstruction, or destruction of ethnic identity boundaries. Markowicz and

Woodward (1982) apply Barth's work to the construction and maintenance of Deaf ethnic boundaries.

From Barth's work, a number of theories important to the examination of Deaf ethnicity developed, including emergent ethnicity (Yancey et al., 1976), situational identities (Gans, 1979), ethnic reorganization (Nagel & Snipp, 1993), portfolios and multiple layers of ethnic identities (Nagel, 1994, 1996, 2003), variables that bind ethnic communities (Cornell, 1996), and ethnosexuality (Nagel, 2003). Their contributions are key to understanding that the concept of ethnicity is misunderstood more than it is "antiquated and outmoded" as Davis (2008, p. 317) suggests.

Theoretical Incoherence

In this section, I outline seven major misunderstandings about ethnicity that those examining the merits of Deaf ethnicity should be aware of. Each misunderstanding complicates public understanding of Deaf ethnicity. The intent is to offer guideposts or caution signs, which identify specific errors to avoid. The seven misunderstandings discussed in this section are conflation of terms, treating ethnicity as a categorical variable, treating ethnicity as static, assuming that all characteristics of ethnicity must be fully and equally present, failure to consider postmodern advancements in ethnicity theory, misinterpretation of the processes of assimilation and pluralism, and biased belief that assimilation leads to upward mobility. Some of these misunderstandings concern the concept of ethnicity in general, whereas others are more specific to the concept of Deaf ethnicity.

First, there is the common mistake of conflating race, ethnicity, and nationality.[17] Davis acknowledges problems with the conflation of terms but does not recognize how the very problems he identifies are being resolved in the field of ethnic studies. For example, Davis (2008) uses dictionary definitions, one journal, and the U.S. Census form to conclude, "that the confusion is inherent in the idea of ethnicity, which itself seems fraught with the inherited baggage of racial categorizations" (p. 316).

Skillful and precise application of the concept of ethnicity can be problematic. Most of us check boxes to indicate our racial–ethnic category. We fill out admission forms and grant applications. We may have even spent years trying to figure out who we think we are and influence how others view our ethnic performance. We need to know which category describes us best. We are socialized with a census process that treats ethnicity as a statistical artifact rather than a collective process toward an achieved status. The result is a biased conflation of ethnicity with nationalized and racialized experiences.

Gordon (1988) says, "An ethnic group is simply a population entity that considers itself to have historical ancestry and identity—a sense of peoplehood, of constituting a 'people'—and is so regarded by others" (p. 129). That peoplehood or "Deafhood" as Ladd (2003, 2008) calls it can be based on a common language, but it can also be based on a nationality, religion, race, or some combination thereof. Nationality and religion can sometimes, but not always, be synonymous with ethnicity. The combinations make conflations of terms difficult, but not impossible, to avoid.

Second, checking boxes to indicate ethnic identity forces the public to experience a deconstructed and categorical ethnicity. Yet, scholars debate which characteristics make up an ethnic community and which do not. Parillo (2008) points out that an American Roman Catholic, who is white, is part of a minority and a majority at the same time (p. 16). Further complications arise if the American Roman Catholic is of Irish ancestry and male (national majority, religious minority, ethnic minority with implied racial majority, and gender majority). There is also the issue that self-identification can conflict with how others see the individual. People can be of the same race or nationality (citizenship) but of a different ethnicity. The United States is composed of numerous ethnic populations.

A third problem is treating ethnicity as something static. If one considers ethnicity as static, then the alleged demise of Deaf residential schools challenges Deaf ethnicity (Davis, 2008, p. 320). Recognition of ethnicity as a dynamic process can lead to a different conclusion. For example, the Deaf community has adapted to the decline of Deaf clubs by using temporary spatial territories, such as parks, coffee shops, bowling alleys, ski slopes, cruise liners, campgrounds, and just about anywhere that two or more Deaf people meet, including the Internet.[18] As a result of the

decline of Deaf clubs, some club functions have relocated to other institutions. For example, the showing of open captioned movies in public theaters has reduced the need for movies with subtitles to be shown at Deaf clubs. When the spatial territory is modified, expression of Deaf ethnicity is reorganized but not eliminated.[19]

Another common misunderstanding is rooted in the assumption that all the characteristics of ethnicity must be present and expressed equally in order to assert ethnicity. Less emphasis on or less visibility of any dimension of ethnicity does not impeach ethnic assertions. Exclusive focus on specific characteristics leads to inaccurate interpretations by outsiders. Unfortunately, this can also lead to the creation or self-appointment of cultural police who seek to patrol and maintain identity boundaries. This can also lead to cultural anxieties over whether one is "deaf enough" or "hearing enough." Padden and Humphries (2005) in their chapter on "Anxiety of Culture" articulate the issue when they note, "The collective experience of Deaf people is not necessarily one that every Deaf person shares or even knows directly, but the residue of this history permeates the experience of Deaf people" (p. 142).

Fifth, theories of race and ethnicity continue to evolve in postmodern times. Theoretical advancements that have been made by Gans (1979) and Nagel (1996) make it clear that individuals can and do identify themselves in numerous ways without contradiction. For example, Gans (1979) articulated an idea of "situational identity" that frees ethnicity from rigid roles that do not permit a person to be multidimensional. Building on the work of Gans, Nagel (1994) identified what she calls a "portfolio of identities" (p. 154). For example, a person can be Deaf and Ojibwe without having to give up one or the other. When around other Deaf people being Deaf has greater salience. When around Ojibwe being Ojibwe has greater salience.[20] Situational identity is also important to Deaf studies because it offers resolution to the issue of whether a person can claim a Deaf ethnic identity and also apply for disability benefits (Social Security Disability Insurance [SSDI]) without contradiction.

Criticisms of Deaf individuals claiming an ethnic identity while collecting SSDI payments are similar to criticisms of Native Americans claiming to be "traditional" while collecting Relief for Needy Indian People payments from the government.[21] Can a Deaf person be both Deaf and deaf? Padden & Humphries (1988) note, "Deaf people are both Deaf and deaf, and their discussions, even arguments, over issues of identity show that these two categories are often interrelated in complex ways" (p. 3). Deafness is most commonly defined according to medical circumstance, administrative decisions, and cultural values (Eckert, 2005; Foster, 1996).[22] The three types of definitions are neither mutually exclusive nor synonymous. This compares closely with Snipp's (1987, p. 28) observation of Native Americans being defined: biologically, administratively, and mystically (Eckert, 2005).

Another problem with the misinterpretation of the process of ethnicity emerges from misunderstandings of assimilation and pluralism. Failure to recognize assimilation and pluralism as a dual reality can lead to profound misinterpretations of the processes and products of ethnicity. Assimilation is about minority conformance to majority culture, whereas pluralism is about a minorities' assertion of their own distinct culture. For pluralism to progress, the majority must come to accept the minority culture. One can have greater emphasis than the other, but both assimilation and pluralism can and do exist simultaneously. This is different from, but not completely separate from, being Deaf and deaf at the same time. Parillo (2008) reminds us, "Although proponents of one position may decry the other, pluralism and assimilation have always been dual realities within U.S. society" (pp. 50–51). This is important to the Deaf ethnicity hypothesis because so much of Deaf history is framed in the context of push and pulls between oralism and manualism, residential schools versus mainstreaming, and medical circumstance versus social construction.

Finally, Gans (2007) urges social scientists to question assumptions that equate assimilation with upward mobility. It is important that those critiquing the concept of Deaf ethnicity question whether assimilation offers upward mobility for Deaf populations. Sabatello (2005) and Tucker (2004) infer that discrimination against Deaf people will diminish if the Deaf population would agree to cochlear implantation surgery. Tucker goes so far as to suggest that the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) should not apply to Deaf people who refuse to undergo that surgical procedure

(pp. 185–186).[23] Supposedly, the ADA offers an avenue for structural assimilation while maintaining cultural pluralism by guaranteeing equal access to opportunity structures. Tucker infers that avenue be closed for those who do not get an implant (pp. 185–186).[24]

So far, discussion focuses on some of the theoretical foundations of ethnic studies and potential vulnerabilities in the critique of Deaf ethnicity. In the next section, I address how the concept of Deaf ethnicity has been considered in Deaf studies and then focus on redefining the Deaf ethnicity hypothesis in response to a few of the criticisms of Deaf ethnicity leveled by Davis (2007, 2008).

Deafnicity ≈ D/deaf (Hómaemon • Homóglosson • Homóthreskon)

Deaf ethnicity has been treated in at least four ways in the literature. First, Deaf ethnicity has been asserted for public consumption without providing scholarly evidence (Dolnick, 1993). Second, there are those who have provided an abundance of evidence but did not openly assert that the concept of ethnicity can be applied to the Deaf community (Lane, 1992/1999; Padden & Humphries, 1988, 2005). Third, there are those who provide evidence to support Deaf ethnicity, such as Erting (1978), Lane (2005), Eckert (2005), and Lane et al. (in press). Finally, there are those who oppose the idea of Deaf ethnicity, such as Davis (2007, 2008), Sabatello (2005), and Tucker (2004).

Deafnicity is a proposition that frames Deaf American identity and culture in a context that can be historically compared with other ethnic populations (Eckert, 2005). The framework is conceptualized as a dynamic process and a product of structural and schematic transformations mitigated by praxis. Specifically, ethnicity concerns the interactions between a cultural lens and the social structures that shape and are shaped by that lens. Returning to the classical Greek understanding of *ethnos* provides Deaf studies with valuable insights. *D/deaf* is used in lieu of d/Deaf in the proposed model so as to indicate that the culturally Deaf population is a statistical fraction of the larger population with a medical circumstance labeled as deafness. The ancient Greek concept of *ethnos* had three prerequisites: *Hómaemon*, *Homóglosson*, and *Homóthreskon* (Papaspyrou, 2007a, para 3).[25]

Ethnos is a triadic relational nexus of those multivariate prerequisites. Deaf *ethnos* concerns a process of the D/deaf community's expression of that nexus. The approximate translation of this model is Deafnicity ≈ D/deaf (community of origin • community of language • community of religion).

Hómaemon (Origin)

The Greeks considered *Hómaemon* as a community of common origin. However, there is no biological requirement for membership. Isocrates, in *Panegyrikos*, informs us that Hellénes (Greeks) were identifiable by education and culture, not necessarily by blood relation. C. Papaspyrou's (personal communication, April 16, 2009) translation is as follows:

> Thus our Pólis [city-state of ancient Athens] has so much abandoned the issues of viewing other people and making assertions about them, that its students have themselves turned to be teachers for other people, and the name of the Hellénes [Greeks] has evolved as the outcome of reason rather than of race, so that we should call Hellénes all those who rather participate in our education and culture than those emerging from our common origin.[26]

The writing of Isocrates has important implications for the Deaf ethnicity hypothesis. The alleged demise of residential schools is used by Davis (2008) as proof that the concept of Deaf ethnicity is outdated and outmoded. Starting with alumni of the American Asylum (students of Clerc) spreading out and establishing residential schools around the United States, we find a continuity of identity based on common pedagogical origin. Today, there are faculty, alumni, and staff from Gallaudet University, National Technical Institute for the Deaf, California State University at Northridge, and residential schools providing cultural tutelage to "ex-oralists" (Padden & Humphries, 1988) and "cultural converts" (Bechter, 2008). The National Association of the Deaf and various state associations also serve in this capacity. Moreover, the Internet can allow ex-oralists and cultural converts to ask questions about Deaf culture while they are still developing their signing skills and/or in the absence of face-to-face contact with other members of the signing Deaf American community of culture.

Homóglosson (Language)

The second prerequisite of *ethnos* is *Homóglosson*, a community of language. Here, rests a fundamental difference between *ethnie* and *ethnos*. In the context of Deaf ethnicity, *Homóglosson* concerns a signing community of interests. This community of interests does not need to be exclusively composed of Deaf individuals. Sign language interpreters, hearing parents and siblings, ex-oralists, and possibly non-Deaf who are Deaf educators, and signing Deaf are likely to be members of the community of signing interest. Although sign language fluency is preferred, it is not required. Anyone with an interest in sign language can be a member for the duration of their interest. The signing community of interest is not synonymous with the Deaf American community of culture. Members of the Deaf community of culture are members of the signing community of interest, but not all members of the community of signing interest are members of the Deaf community of culture. Not being a member does not mean nonassociation.

The signing community of interest does not exclude children of Deaf adults (CODAs; Children of Deaf Adults International, Inc., 2009). Deaf parents frequently bring their hearing children into space in which Deaf ethnic associations take place (see endnote 19). Indeed, the Deaf home is an ethnic spatial territory in which language, norms, values, beliefs, and traditions specific to the Deaf community are transmitted from Deaf adults to children. Because of this, it is not unusual for some CODAs to sign more fluently than many ex-oralists or cultural converts. CODAs are usually members of the signing community of interests. It might be possible that on a case-by-case basis, some CODAs would also be Deaf ethnics. This is possible because ethnicity is not based on medical circumstance or physical traits. It is also possible because ethnicity is not static. Ethnicity is a dynamic process that occurs over time. The distance between an individual CODA and the Deaf community is likely to vary over time. A CODA could marry into the Deaf community and possibly have Deaf children themselves.[27]

Hearing parents are not excluded from associating with the Deaf community of culture. Learning sign language is a key factor in sojourning across ethnic boundaries. Some hearing parents of Deaf children do learn sign language. For example, the state of Wisconsin has a Deaf mentor program that assists hearing parents to teach their children sign language (Wisconsin Educational Services Program Deaf and Hard of Hearing, 2009). Although parents learning to sign fluently is rare (Eckert, 2005), these individuals can and do participate in the signing community of interest.[28] They may have contact with members of the Deaf community of culture. Yet, it would be highly unusual for a hearing person to be considered a member of the Deaf community.

The signing Deaf American community of culture may share legal interests with oralists and hard-of-hearing people. How? Advocacy for the ADA represents a shared legal interest. Davis would have us believe that oralists and hard of hearing are excluded from associating with the Deaf community. Oralist and hard-of-hearing populations are not excluded from associating with the Deaf. The Deaf, deaf, and hard-of-hearing populations have a common interest in many forms of assistive listening technologies. Internet lists devoted to those interests are virtual communities of similar interests. For example, Telecommunications for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing Inc. and the Coalition of Organizations for Accessible Technologies are communities of interest that include Deaf, deaf, and hard-of-hearing populations.[29]

As such, there are at least three actual and virtual spaces (signing, legal, and technological) where signing Deaf, ex-oralists and cultural converts, hard of hearing, CODAs, hearing parents and siblings, and anyone with an interest in signing, assistive listening technologies, or the ADA, interact as communities of common interests. Although participating in those spaces does not by itself make one a Deaf ethnic, it is factually incorrect to argue that the Deaf ethnicity hypothesis isolates the Deaf community by excluding outsiders. Although boundaries of ethnicity identify members in relationship to "others," there are numerous avenues in which "outsiders" can share space with the Deaf community of culture. Based on Gan's (1979) symbolic ethnicity and Nagel's (1994, 1996, 2003) portfolio of multilayered identities, we can assert that

structural separation is not a prerequisite of Deaf cultural pluralism.

The argument of Deaf excluding non-Deaf requires further discussion. Irish Americans (ethnics) attending an African American place of worship may be exposed to aspects of African American ethnicity that they were previously naive about. However, sharing that time and space does not transform an ethnic Irish American individual into an ethnic African American. What does happen is the person is included in worship and participates in a community of religious interests. They are not prevented from entering the place of worship but are restricted in terms of access beyond ethnic boundaries. The restrictions are not racial.

This also works in reverse. An African American attending an Irish American place of worship may enter into a community of religious interests, but participating in the space occupied primarily by Irish Americans does not by itself ethnically convert an African American into an Irish American. In the context of Deaf/non-Deaf patterns of inclusion and exclusion, a hearing person who attends a Deaf church may share religious interests and in a limited way may be exposed to Deaf ethnicity, but it does not make them a Deaf ethnic. In a similar fashion, a Deaf person who attends a church filled with hearing individuals may share religious interests and in a limited way be exposed to the hearing culture, but it does not make the Deaf person a member of the dominant hearing culture.

Homóthreskon (Religion)

Finally, there is *Homóthreskon*. This concerns religion in the classical Greek sense, not in the modern sense of churches. Papaspyrou (2007a) clarifies this by saying, "religion in those distant times meant, however, something much broader than in our modern times; it encompassed the existential dimensions of the communities, determining their mentality and cultural attitude concerning the understanding of the world order" (para 3). This observation by Papaspyrou is consistent with Collins' (1982) "Sociology of God" (pp. 30–59) whereby religion mirrors structures and schema of society. Papaspyrou's (2007a) perspective is

also consistent with Durkheim's (1912/1995) views of religion in terms of collective consciousness. *Homóthreskon* is "a common way to construct world order" (Papaspyrou, 2007a, para 6). This is significant when analyzing the continuum of Deaf identity in modern society. *Homóthreskon* in the context of Deafnicity is a method or process of constructing Deaf world view. In this fashion, Deaf world is neither static nor categorical as assumed by Davis (2008, p. 322). *Homóthreskon* also facilitates reinterpretation of Tucker's (2004) presumption that when a Deaf person rejects cochlear implant technology, it is an irrational act.

Homóglosson–Homóthreskon

The relationship between *Homóglosson* and *Homóthreskon* is defined by Papaspyrou (2007a) as follows:

> Language determines ethnicity, because it triggers a certain image of the world that is cultivated through history. Genuine human communities (i.e. communities of *culture*) are in their deeper nature *language communities*. However, the objective of shaping national states has not historically been successful for all communities under consideration; some communities have settled themselves as ethnic minorities within broader national majorities that have meanwhile attained the condition of a formal state (para 3).

The three prerequisites of *ethnos*, *Hómaemon*, *Homóglosson,* and *Homóthreskon*, are not static categories. Each prerequisite is a cluster of continuous variables that interacts with the other two clusters. One can envision *ethnos* as a computer simulation with each prerequisite being a three-dimensional image and in constant motion. Ethnic reorganizations take place as strategic and adaptive responses to changes in social structures. The model of *ethnos* resembles *ethnie* as offered by Smith (1986) as applied by Lane (2005) and Eckert (2005). Smith (p. 21) includes, or merges, several interpretations of *ethnos* (Éthnos etairón, Éthnos laón, Éthnos Achaión or Lukón, Éthnos anerón or gynaikón, Thélu ethnos, and Éthnos kérukikón) into *ethnie*, creating a manifold or nexus of collective name, myth of common origin, shared history, shared culture, spatial territory, and solidarity. Most, if not all, of

the dimensions of *ethnie*, as defined by Smith, fall under the three prerequisites of *ethnos*.

There are at least seven reasons to prefer *ethnos* over *ethnie*. Focus on *ethnos* in lieu of *ethnie* provides less room to inappropriately conflate terms. Language has greater importance in *ethnos* than in *ethnie*. The concept of *ethnos* allows for greater emphasis on the dynamic nature of ethnic reorganization and renewal (Nagel & Snipp, 1993). The *ethnos* model is a triadic relational nexus that relies on clusters of continuous variables. By using the concept of *ethnos*, we steer away from troubling contradictions of relatedness based on physical traits. *Ethnos* is more easily understood as an emerging social organization or reorganization. The concept of *ethnos* helps resolve the issue of where CODAs, deaf, hard of hearing, non-Deaf parents, and others with contacts with the signing Deaf American community of culture fit in. Ladd (2003) notes, "If a Deaf Nation agenda is clearly worked through, their [hearing children of Deaf parents] place within Deaf community can be more properly understood, and the valuable contributions which these people make to both Deaf communities and hearing communities can become more focused" (p. 446).

Finally, *ethnos* allows for consideration of Nagel's (2003) concept of ethnosexuality differently than when using Smith's (1986) model of *ethnie*. It is probable that ethnosexuality, which concerns culturally defined sexual habits and beliefs about those habits, is part of *ethnos*. Inclusion of ethnosexuality in the model of *ethnos* permits us to recognize that biological interactions do exist, yet allows us to steer away from any missteps toward genetic markers of ethnicity. Furthermore, rather than simply dismissing non-Deaf sexual predators attacking members of the Deaf community as evil anomalies, *ethnos* provides a model from which to investigate the ethnosexual processes that lead to that evil.

Ethnic Critics

Lane (2005) is the only widely circulated publication that applies Smith's (1986) model of *ethnie* to the Deaf community. This section's focus is primarily on Davis' (2007, 2008) criticism of Deaf ethnicity. Unlike Tucker (2004), who focuses more on medical deviance and

cognitive enhancement, or Sabatello (2005), who argues that *ethnie* offers no precedent in international law to protect human rights, Davis (2008) claims that he has, "come to see the position made by some Deaf people that disability is not a desirable umbrella under which to group Deaf people at this point" (p. 324). Davis (2008) goes on to indicate that he also thinks "that minority status, ethnicity, or exclusive worlds don't work either" (p. 324). Considering the political baggage that inappropriately accompanies the term ethnicity, his attempts to navigate around the concept are understandable. Wrigley (1996) pointed out that focus on "linguistic or ethnic purity is a trap that operates on similar principles in both Deaf and hearing worlds" and argues that it portrays Deaf identity as static rather than something that is "actively produced" (p. 18). The Deaf ethnicity hypothesis does not advocate static interpretations of Deaf identity boundaries and cultural meaning nor does it advocate a Deaf community stratified according to Deaf paternity. *Ethnos* communicates those dynamics with greater precision than *ethnie* does. Ethnic renewals and ethnic reorganizations are expected (Nagel & Snipp, 1993).

Davis (2008) argues that an ethnic argument "sets up a model of true or 'pure' Deaf person in imitating the worst aspects of racially defining a people" (p. 320). Again, this represents a misunderstanding of the Deaf ethnicity hypothesis, which does not treat ethnicity as a categorical variable. Ethnicity is a product of dialectical tensions between internal self-identification and external ascriptions (Nagel, 1996). There are two separate but related tensions; the self and the dominant majority, which coerces assimilation, and the self and the community of culture advocating pluralism. The problem of presenting ethnicity in categorical terms, rather than clusters of continuous variables, is exacerbated by the concept of ethnicity being entangled with concepts of race and nationalism. Definitions of race are arbitrary; they change over time and vary from location to location (Khanna & Harris, 2009). As such, race is not a workable tool of science. Nationality is difficult as well since it has two meanings, one of ethnicity (*ethnikótes*) and the other in regard to citizenship (*hypekoótes*). However, the concept of "ethnicity" does not need to be abandoned.

What is needed is for the concept of ethnicity to be more skillfully applied and free from the faulty assumptions of being based on physical traits. Davis (2007, 2008) questions how the Deaf community can benefit from seeing itself as, or being seen as, an ethnic community. What happens to the deaf folks who are not members of the Deaf community of culture? If the concept of ethnicity is applied to the Deaf community, will that diminish gains made in disability rights? Davis (2008) offers a strategic question, "Are the protections built into the law for an ethnic group effective?" (p. 322). Davis (2008) asks, "Would you rather be protected by the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504, and other protections built into the law or will you take your chances with affirmative action, hate-crime legislation, and so on?" (p. 322). Davis does not appear to consider that a Deaf person might be protected by both. A person can be Deaf and deaf (Padden & Humphries, 1988).

Disability rights are modeled toward processes of assimilation or at least integration, whereas Deaf ethnicity emphasizes processes of pluralism. However, assimilation and pluralism are not mutually exclusive processes (Parillo, 2008, p. 50). Moreover, members of the Deaf community are not prevented from maintaining a portfolio of identities (Gans, 1979; Nagel, 1994, 1996, 2003). There is nothing to prevent a Deaf person from participating in a community of legal interests with a focus on disability rights. Again, structural separation is not a prerequisite of cultural pluralism. Acceptance of either an administrative or a presumptive label of disability does not necessarily diminish a label of ethnicity because the identifications are situational. Nor does a self-ascribed label of ethnicity diminish medical circumstances.

Part of the problem with conflation of terms results from an early 20th century emphasis on selective advocacy of amalgamation or what is sometimes referred to as the melting pot theory. The melting pot theory stresses a blending of people of different biological traits (race) and cultural differences (ethnicity) into American citizens (nationality). Parillo (2008) notes that "most social scientists now believe that the melting pot theory is a myth" (p. 49). The primary problem with the melting pot theory is that the melting never occurred. The arguments raised by the opponents of the Deaf ethnicity hypothesis represent an outmoded and outdated embracement of a melting pot theory where not only is assimilation presumed to be possible but also something that benefits the assimilated individual's social mobility. The arguments also incorrectly assume that assimilation emancipates a person, much in the way Park (1950) claimed, and that greater social mobility results from the assimilation.

The Continuing Significance of Deaf Ethnicity

Two areas in which the critics of the Deaf ethnicity hypothesis have focused their arguments are the decline of Deaf residential schools and the demise of Deaf clubs. Declining state budgets combined with legislative changes (Individuals with Disabilities Education Act and the ADA) have led to Deaf ethnic renewal. These ethnic renewals are best understood as reorganizational processes. Failure to pay attention to ethnic reorganizations leads to interpretations that deny the continuing significance of Deaf ethnicity. Paying attention to the ethnic reorganizations reveals that the Deaf community has already incorporated new strategic and adaptive responses to the decline of residential schools and deaf clubs. For example, cultural adaptations have emerged in response to the decline of the Deaf club. The more permanent Deaf ethnic spatial territory of the past is now divided into numerous temporary spatial territories, coffee shops, bowling alleys, and movie theaters, for example (see endnote 19).

The assertion of Deaf ethnicity is not solely about linguistic competition in the sense of resisting what Ladd (2003) calls "linguistic colonialism" (p. 17), though it sometimes emerges in public policy discourse and certainly plays a major role in individual and collective journeys toward Deafhood (Ladd, 2003, 2008). Deaf ethnicity is not about ethnic purity, though some may be tempted to travel that slippery slope of exclusion. Deaf ethnicity is not about a static list of characteristics to be checked off or not checked off, though many of those characteristics do provide an informative view of Deaf identity and culture. Deaf ethnicity is not about diminishing legal rights of accessibility or accommodation, though it does open the door for a broader scope of civil rights advocacy. Deaf ethnicity is not

about whether some ethnic cuisine is on the menu, though silent dinners inform us of distinctive traditions and customs unique to the Deaf community. Nor is Deaf ethnicity about violence between emerging or reemerging nation states halfway around the globe, though the human rights of Deaf people around the globe might be best argued in an ethnic context.

Deaf ethnicity is a process and a product of strategic and adaptive responses to changing structures and schema. Deaf ethnicity is important because it deconstructs and reconstructs the dynamics of majority–minority relations, independent of ideas of race, and possibly nationality. Yet, success of the initiative depends a great deal on Deaf ethnicity being articulated without falling prey to the noted epistemological and methodological errors. Deaf ethnicity is a counter hegemonic initiative, which challenges what can best be described as "*laissez faire* audism" in a way comparable to *laissez faire* racism (see Bobo & Smith, 1998).

Laissez faire racism is "a view that African Americans are responsible for their own economic predicament and therefore not worthy of special government support" (Wilson, 2009, pp. 153–154).[30] *Laissez faire* audism may be defined as a postmodern perspective, where the human identity of the Deaf is acknowledged, but autonomy is denied or denigrated. *Laissez faire* audism is an attempt to extricate the dominant hearing majority of guilt. Postdeafness is a postguilt perspective. Deaf autonomy is supposedly recognized, but heteronomy continues to be imposed by the dominant hearing majority. This represents a shift away from audism based on physicality or metaphysical perceptions as less human (see Bauman, 2004) to audism based on a perception of cultural deficiency.

Conclusions

In this article, I attempted to widen the perspectives of ethnicity already present in Deaf studies. I reexamined the sociological meaning of ethnicity with emphasis on relevant theoretical models proposed in the 20th century and how those models contribute to the study of Deaf ethnicity. I noted some of the common mistakes made in ethnicity discourse and why those errors need to be avoided. I concluded that a return to how ancient Greeks used the term *ethnos* illuminates the continu-

ing significance of the Deaf ethnicity hypothesis in postmodern society. Finally, I asserted that the multivariate parameters of *ethnos* have broader explanatory power than the more narrow dimensions of *ethnie*. This conclusion was reached, at least in part, based on Smith's (1986) diminution of the importance of language, use of kinship ties that resemble race, and omission of identity boundaries being sexualized.

Ethnicity is complex, but it is not antiquated, outmoded, or outdated. The assertion of Deaf *ethnos* raises many questions. Are the dynamics of ethnosexual frontiers and the sexualized boundaries of ethnicity also part of *Homóthreskon* (Nagel, 2003)? To what degree do Deaf ethnics participate in a segmented and split labor markets (Bonacich, 1972)?[31] How well does the concept of spatial mismatches work if applied to the Deaf labor force (Wilson, 1987)?[32] Can the concept of skills mismatches be used to interpret the Deaf labor force seeking gainful employment (Wilson, 1987, 1996, 2009)?[33] To what extent is the concept of Deaf ethnicity independent of race, class, and gender? Does the concept of Deaf *ethnos* imply a Deaf diaspora?

The promise of moving toward a theory of Deaf *ethnos* rests primarily in the potential to expand our understanding of relations between Deaf and hearing communities, especially in the more specific contexts of ethnicity as a rational choice, ethnosexuality, and *laissez faire* audism. Deafnicity provides a tool to reexamine the relations between different nationalized Deaf communities. Additional research is needed. The challenge begins with the task of attempting to empirically verify the Deafnicity model applied to the Deaf community as process of intersecting and multidimensional communities of origin, language, and religion. Whether that can be accomplished without committing the epistemological and ontological errors warned about in this article remains to be seen. Research design, implementation, and interpretation of Deafnicity each require discussion and collaboration between Deaf communities, Deaf academics, and Deaf studies. Moving toward a theory of Deaf ethnos is part of that process.

Notes

1. The term "signing Deaf American community of culture" is cumbersome. For the purposes of this essay, this is often shortened to "Deaf community."

2. This is similar to but not the same as Cornell's (1996) communities of interest, institutions, and culture that Eckert (2005) combined with Smith's (1986) *ethnie* when examining whether the Deaf American community is an ethnic population.

3. *D*/deaf is used in the Deafnicity model rather than *d*/Deaf to convey that the signing Deaf population is part of the entire deaf population. The use of *D*/deaf is not meant to contend with Woodward's (1972) distinction. It is not used to represent a hierarchy of Deaf identity.

4. See Humphries (1977), Lane (1992/1999), and Bauman (2004). Also see Gertz's (2008) description of dysconscious audism. Although an unpublished 1975 paper by Humphries is often cited for the coinage of the term audism, I prefer to cite his 1977 dissertation that should be a little more accessible for interested readers.

5. Eckert used two different models to test the hypothesis that Deaf Americans exhibit enough of the characteristics of ethnicity to warrant the analogy of being like ethnic; Cornell's (1996) model based on communities and Smith's (1986) model based on dimensions of *ethnie*.

6. The term Deafnicity was first used by Eckert (1999) at a Graduate Student conference at the University of Michigan.

7. See Macintyre's (1993) description of her immersion into tribal culture on the island of Tubetube in Papua New Guinea from 1979 to 1983.

8. I thank Harlan Lane for encouraging me to further examine the issue of fictive kinship.

9. I thank Donald Grushkin for our ongoing discussion about fictive kinship and his reminding me of "DEAF-SAME."

10. Also see Nance and Kearsey (2004).

11. For more specific definitions of ethnosexual settlers, sojourners, adventurers, and invaders, see Nagel (2003, p. 14).

12. See Ward (1997).

13. Boas (1911) disputing the scientific merits of the concept of race, and Weber's (1922/1978) focus on a context of community suggests that Davis' assertion that ethnicity emerged in response to Nazi German eugenics is an oversimplification, if not a distortion, of how the concept of ethnicity developed.

14. Although a third-grade reading level is frequently noted in informal discussion, the basis of that statistic can probably be attributed to Conrad (1979). Also see Ladd (2003, pp. 28, 36) for further discussion of that number.

15. The term "cumulative causation" is taken from Parillo's (2009, p. 100) citation of Myrdal (1944).

16. See Ladd's (2003, p. 123) application of Foucault (1972, 1979).

17. There are two Greek concepts of nationality. One concerns ethnicity (*ethnikótes*) and the other concerns citizenship (*hypekoótes*). I am indebted to Dr. C. Papaspyrou for pointing out this distinction to me (personal communication received July 5, 2009).

18. This is not an argument that technology usurped Deaf clubs. See Padden (2008).

19. See Gulliver (2005, 2009) for an analysis of DEAF space.

20. Nagel's (1996) portfolio of identities is drawn from her studies of Native American Indian populations. My own membership in the Bad River Band of Lake Superior Ojibwe pro-

vides me with experiences that are consistent with Nagel's model of ethnic renewal.

21. See Tucker (2004). This argument has also been made by Balkany, Hodges, and Luntz (1996).

22. Biological or audiological terms might be used instead of medical. Legal or political might be used instead of administrative.

23. Tucker (2004) compares getting a cochlear implant with insulin and colostomies (pp. 185–186).

24. Tucker (2004, pp. 185–186) cites *Coghlan v. H. J. Deinz Co.* and *Pangalos v. Prudential Insurance* to predict future court decision that would deny accommodations to those who do not undergo cochlear implant technology.

25. Papaspyrou (2007a) was also published in German (see Papaspyrou, 2007b).

26. Dr. Papaspyrou's translation is consistent with the J. A. Freese Translation of *Panegyrikos* (Isocrates, 50, trans. 1894) that follows: "So far has Athens left the rest of mankind behind in thought and expression that her pupils have become the teachers of the world, and she has made the name of Hellas distinctive no longer of race but of intellect, and the title of Hellene a badge of education rather than of common descent."

27. A hearing spouse might approach ethnosexually settling in the Deaf ethnic community similar to what Nagel defines as an ethnosexual settler. This could also be possible by some hard of hearing, ex-oralists, cultural converts, oralist, or late deafened individuals marrying and Deaf spouse and settling into the Deaf community.

28. In Eckert's (2005) dissertation, fully 71% ($n = 141$) of respondents indicated that neither of their parents signed fluently (p. 154). Comparing these numbers with Mitchell and Karchmer's (2005, table 2), findings is not possible. In their study, they examine whether the family signs regularly with child at home. Eckert (2005) separates parental signing from sibling signing. Mitchell and Karchmer do not make that distinction. Also, Mitchell and Karchmer's focus is on deaf school-age children with less than severe hearing loss. Eckert's (2005) focus is on Deaf adults who preferred sign language as their primary mode of communication.

29. Information concerning TDI and COAT can be found at http://www.tdi-online.org/ and http://www.coataccess.org/.

30. Wilson (2009, p. 16) explains *laissez faire* racism in the context of a Euroamerican willingness to admit to past wrongs but feel or see no responsibility for working to correct the contemporary impact of the past wrongs.

31. Bonacich (1972) notes, "Ethnic antagonism first germinates in a labor market split along ethnic lines" (p. 549).

32. Spatial mismatch is sometimes referred to as geographic mismatch (Wilson, 1987, p. 158). This term is used when a labor force is qualified to fill vacancies in the labor market, but jobs are located outside of the commuting area where the qualified labor force resides.

33. Skills mismatches are usually described in term of educational distribution of the workforce in relationship to changing educational requirements of the industries that are hiring (see Wilson 1987, p. 41, and 1996, p. 38). Also see Barnartt and Christiansen (1985).

Conflict of Interest

Acknowledgement

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