Audism and Racism: The Hidden Curriculum Impacting Black d/Deaf College Students in the Classroom

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Abstract

There is a historical legacy of dual discrimination and institutional oppression against Black d/Deaf students within the educational system. This oppression has manifested itself in many ways including in the classroom as the hidden curriculum (i.e., the unattended outcomes of the schooling process). The purpose of this hermeneutic phenomenological study is to understand the ways in which racism and audism might still contribute to the hidden curriculum in the college classroom and how Black d/Deaf college students resist this oppression. The theoretical frameworks of Critical Race Theory and Critical Deaf Theory along with the analytical frameworks, theory of microaggressions and Black Deaf Community Cultural Wealth guide the data collection and analysis. The findings are presented as an inverted counternarrative showing how students experience issues of audism and racism through faculty's non-diverse curriculum, hearing-centric evaluation methods, and racist and audist faculty-student interactions. The study concludes with practical recommendations for faculty.

Keywords: Audism, d/Deaf College Students, Racism

"No, 'We are all deaf,' but 'We're White deaf and you are Black deaf, and there is a difference.' A lot of these African American deaf students are not prepared for that, not so much the academics. You are not able to be Black at Gallaudet. You can be deaf, but you can't be Black." (Borum, 2012, p. 12).

In their book, *Black and Deaf in America: Are We That Different?*, Hairston and Smith (1983) stated that there are approximately two million Black people with some form of hearing loss, and of those, 22,000 are profoundly deaf. This number has changed since the 1980s, and as of 2011 Black d/Deaf[2] (Bd/Deaf) people made up approximately 8% or 3 million of the total Black population (National Technical Institute for the Deaf, 2011; Rastogi, Johnson, Hoeffel, & Drewery, 2011). The question of how different are White and Bd/Deaf students or Black hearing and Bd/Deaf students greatly depends on the individual

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[2] "d/Deaf" acknowledges multiple identities within and across d/Deaf communities including hard of hearing and Deaf (Paul & Moores, 2012).

student and him, her, or zir[1] lived experiences. Bd/Deaf students share characteristics and values specific to the d/Deaf community, such as hearing loss, communication barriers, and audism[2], as well as facing issues that are unique to the plight of the Black community, such as historical and systemic racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Scholars have stated that Bd/Deaf students are multicultural (Humphries, 1993) and must "undergo a dual socialization process…learn[ing] the cultures, attitudes, and beliefs of each group" (Wolbers, 2005, p. 185).

Focusing on Black and d/Deaf identities along with the range of oppressions connected to these identities is an example of how social identities come together at an axis and create a new combined identity and lived experience called intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; McCall, 2005). Racism does not overshadow audism, but the intersection of race and the d/Deaf experience (and other identities), "compound[s] the hardship and increase[s] the barriers to success" (Aramburo, 2005, p. 16). It is critical to examine the intersectionality of Bd/Deaf students because it impacts educational success (Awad, 2007). Although challenged by racist and audist educational practices, Bd/Deaf students' ability to resist oppression is a conscious act. Williamson (2007) found that Bd/Deaf students not only valued education, but were willing to do whatever it took to make it to graduation. This quality of never giving up, also called resistance, is a lifelong process that can be taught (Williamson, 2007). With 30% of d/Deaf students graduating from four-year institutions (Destler & Buckley, 2013) and limited demographic information on these students, there is a need to better understand Bd/Deaf students' college academic experiences, what challenges they overcame, and most importantly, share their path of success with pre-college Bd/Deaf students.

Using a strength-based approach, this study is a portion of a larger study (Stapleton, 2014) that examined Bd/Deaf students' experiences and resistance of racist and audist microaggressions in college by asking the following two guiding questions: (a) How did Bd/Deaf alumni experience racist and audist microaggressions in the classroom as undergraduate students, and (b) How did Bd/Deaf alumni use aspects of Bd/Deaf community cultural wealth (BDCCW) to resist racist and audist microaggressions in the classroom as undergraduates? In exploring the answers to these questions, this article specifically looks at the ways racism and audism were manifested through the hidden curriculum within college classrooms and how Bd/Deaf students resisted.

[1] Zir is a gender-neutral pronoun. It is used in addition to him and her to be inclusive of all genders.

[2] Tom Humphries (1977), a Deaf scholar, coined the word audism (audist) and defined it as "the notion that one is superior based on one's ability to hear or behave in a manner of one who hears" (p. 12).

Brief Literature Review

We live in an inherently racist and audist society (Tate, 1997), and many Black and d/Deaf Americans experience similar challenges within education, such as a lack of coalition building within the community, the need for role models (Foster & Kinuthia, 2003; Parasnis & Fischer, 2005), continued barriers to success in employment, and interpretations of legislation that seem to undermine intended outcomes (Foster & Kinuthia, 2003; Tate, 1997). Understanding these challenges in the college classroom, this study addresses microaggressions, audism, and racism as elements of the hidden curriculum, as well as the resistance to oppression in the classroom.

Microaggressions

Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) stated, "Understanding and analyzing the collegiate racial climate is an important part of examining college access, persistence, graduation, and transfer to and through graduate and professional school for African American students" (p. 62). Issues and experiences with racism (i.e., the belief in racial inferiority and superiority) have become more covert over the years. Black students are experiencing more subtle verbal, nonverbal, and/or visual insults that seem unconscious, pervasive, and hard to prove. These are called microaggressions (Solórzano et al., 2000; Sue, Capodilupo & Holder, 2008), and they can be experienced on a micro or macro level. Microaggressions, which have historically only been seen as race related, are more broadly defined as unintentional behavioral and environmental slights and indignities toward any marginalized group (Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, & Bucceri, 2007). Thus, it is possible when taking into account intersectionality, that Black students with a variety of social identities are experiencing varying types of microaggressions including those that are audist.

The Hidden Curriculum

These racist and audist microaggressions can play out in the classroom as a part of the hidden curriculum. The hidden curriculum is the "unintended outcomes of the schooling process… schools shape students through standardized learning situations and through other agendas including rules of conduct, classroom organization, and informal pedagogical procedures used by teachers with specific groups of students" (Giroux, 1983, p. 29). Simms, Rusher, Andrews, and Coryell (2008) stated, "The politics of authority structures, racism, audism, and oppressive language and academic policies often work against deaf students …to acquire language, an academic foundation, and a healthy cultural identity" (p. 394). The physical and instructional environment, governance of structures, teacher expectations, and grading procedures can all be a part of the hidden curriculum (Giroux, 1983). They can contribute to d/Deaf students experiencing racist and audist microaggressions through audiocentric teaching styles and learning expectations, privileging the written word over visual communications, and a lack of culturally sensitive language used within the class. The hidden curriculum is not only *what happens* in the class, but it is also *what does not happen* in the class (Lane, 1999). There is a history of arranging classroom seating in stationary rows,

erasing Bd/Deaf and most marginalized people from the curriculum, and not intentionally seeking out diverse material for the classroom.

The literature on the experiences of d/Deaf students in mainstream college settings shows that feelings of inclusivity in the classroom did not necessarily occur because support services (e.g., note takers and interpreters) were provided, but because of other factors such as student interactions, informal conversations, and faculty teaching styles that were critical to creating an inclusive space (Foster & Brown, 1988; Foster, Long, & Snell, 1999). In Foster et al.'s (1999) study, faculty were asked who is responsible for d/Deaf students feeling connected and learning in the classroom. Most felt that it was a team effort to help d/Deaf students learn in the class, including the faculty member, the student, the interpreter, the note taker, and the tutor. However, faculty members' opinions varied, with some believing that it was the students' and resource providers' responsibility to help the student learn and that in no way did their teaching approach or style need to change (Foster et al., 1999). As it relates to d/Deaf students of color, Dunn (2005) stated, "What we learn is not necessarily a problem; it's how we are taught that often determines what or how much we learn" (p. 167). These subtle and informal moments in a classroom are a part of the hidden curriculum that d/Deaf students must navigate.

Resistance

The literature presents one set of truths and perspectives regarding the challenges and inequities faced by Bd/Deaf students within the college classroom, but the challenges are not the full picture. Williamson (2007) found, there is "no evidence on improved educational achievement of African American Deaf and hard of hearing students based on recommendations from deficit research" (p. 3), thus understanding Bd/Deaf resistance is important. Historically and today, the Black and d/Deaf Community has resisted microaggressions and direct oppression by relying on community cultural wealth, which is defined as the knowledge, skills, and abilities possessed and utilized by marginalized people to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression (Yosso, 2005).

On a micro level, d/Deaf students have succeeded in spite of audism. This is accomplished in various ways, including relying on families and friends for support and encouragement, taking advantage of support services such as tutoring, and fully engaging in all the opportunities that college has to offer. On a macro level, there are several examples of this resistance, such as fighting for educational justice through the courts (e.g., *1952 Miller v. The Board of Education of the District of Columbia*), participating in demonstrations and protests for the right to choose one's educational leaders (e.g., Gallaudet Deaf President Now in 1988; Jordan, 2008), openly living a life that is counter to societal stereotypes (e.g., Fries-Britt & Griffin, 2007), and creating cultural enclaves (e.g., Black Student Unions and Deaf Greek organizations; Kuh & Love, 2004). Through the eyes of Bd/Deaf alumni, this study examines how Bd/Deaf students have confronted and resisted racist and audist microaggressions in the classroom.

Theoretical & Analytical Frameworks

The philosophical paradigm and epistemological underpinnings are constructivism (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) and Deaf epistemology (Holcomb, 2010), respectively. Deaf epistemology centers d/Deaf ways of knowing, yet continues to build on constructivism as knowledge is socially constructed within the d/Deaf community by d/Deaf people (Holcomb, 2010; Paul & Moores, 2012). Building on principles of constructivism and Deaf epistemology, this section will address the theoretical and analytical frameworks.

Theoretical Frameworks

Critical Race Theory (CRT; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012) grew out of critical legal theory in the 1970s and is an interdisciplinary movement that centers race as a socially constructed phenomenon and assumes that racism is endemic. It contests color-blindness and meritocracy by honoring counternarratives to help deconstruct masternarratives, and believes in the notions of intersectionality and anti-essentialism. Critical Deaf Theory (Deaf Crit; Gertz, 2003) centers issues of audism, is a framework in which d/Deaf identity is centered, and has been defined as a branch of CRT. Because of the historical context of both racism and audism, CRT and Deaf Crit were useful to acknowledge the racialized and d/Deaf identities of the participants as well as the systemic influence of racism and audism within higher education.

Analytical Frameworks

The analytical frameworks are the theory of microaggressions and Bd/Deaf Community Cultural Wealth (BDCCW), which were used to identify microaggressions and resistance behavior within the participants' narratives, respectively. Having already addressed microaggressions, BDCCW is influenced by and builds on the work of Community Cultural Wealth (CCW; Yosso, 2005), Deaf Community Cultural Wealth (DCCW; Garrow, Fleischer, Eugster, & Love, 2014), and Jayakumar, Vue, and Allen's (2013) work with Black students and cultural capital. BDCCW is defined as "an array of knowledge, skills, abilities, and contacts possessed and utilized by [Bd/Deaf people] to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression" (Garrow et al., 2014, p. 5) to navigate systems of oppression within education. Using the same six capitals, the Bd/Deaf community teaches, passes down, and shares skills on how to resist racist and audist microaggressions and all forms of oppression. **Aspirational Capital** is having the aspiration to succeed and achieve despite societal barriers and beyond limiting expectations, and having the gumption to seek out, find, and act on alternative paths if barriers are unable to be broken. **Linguistic Capital** is having language or access to learn a first or second language, including English and/or American Sign Language, as well as having the ability to name and critique inequity and differential treatment. **Navigational Capital** is having the ability to maneuver through oppressive educational systems and spaces that were not created for or by Bd/Deaf people. **Social Capital** is having a network (i.e., interpreters, professors, advisors) on- or off-campus to assist with emotional support, obtain educational resources, and counter negative social stereotypes about Black and

d/Deaf people. **Familial Capital** is having kin and chosen family (i.e., close friends) who offer emotional and moral support, pass down cultural values (e.g., importance of education), and create a space in which oppression resistance behavior could be observed. **Resistant Capital** is having the awareness that oppression is real and directly affects Bd/Deaf people in unique ways, as well as the desire and ability to learn and use oppositional skills to challenge and change social inequities (Garrow et al., 2014; Jayakumar et al., 2013; Yosso, 2005).

Method

I come to this work as a Black hearing feminist, a critical scholar-practitioner, and Deaf Studies assistant professor. The wellbeing of Bd/Deaf students and their educational experiences are important because Bd/Deaf students matter. Even though they are often invisible within the larger Black community and deemed raceless in the Deaf community, I believe that their perspectives are vital to understanding the complexities of Black and Deaf communities. With this in mind, this study was guided by hermeneutic phenomenological methodology. This methodology guides inquiry that is looking to uncover the obscure aspects of the lived experience (e.g., microaggressions), taking into account historicality (Laverty, 2003), co-reflecting for participants and researcher as a method to construct truths (Guba & Lincoln, 1994), and the belief that "meaning is multi-dimensional and multi-layered" (Van Manen, 1990, p. 78). In addition, Patton (2002) stated, "Phenomenological reflection is not *introspective* but *retrospective*" (p. 104); thus, in this study I relied on the reflection of alumni participants to better understand their college experiences.

Participants and Recruitment

This study focused on the undergraduate experiences of six Bd/Deaf collegiate alumni. Participants identified in the following ways: two men, four women, multiple Black identities, all are culturally Deaf (three auditorily hard of hearing), preferred language ASL, and one was born internationally and five were born in the U.S. Participants attended four different 4-year institutions and graduated between 2007-2013. They were recruited through purposeful snowball sampling (Patton, 2002) with the help of the National Black Deaf Advocates (NBDA). A flyer was posted on NBDA's website and an email was sent through their membership listserv. In addition, I reached out to d/Deaf and hearing colleagues to advertise through Facebook. This process yielded six participants committed to the study.

Data Collection and Management

I collected data using a participant survey, rapport videophone meeting, and three semi-structured interviews. The participant survey was completed during the building rapport video meetings. It was used as a way to get to know participants in addition to screening to ensure a diverse sample. The three interviews focused on life history, details of their college experiences, and reflections on the meaning they made from their experiences, respectively (Seidman, 2013). All three semi-structured Skype-recorded interviews lasted between 90 and 120 minutes and were conducted in American Sign Language (ASL), the participants'

preferred language. Once the interviews were completed, I translated them, created summary transcriptions, and applied hermeneutic analysis (Patterson & Williams, 2002). The hermeneutic analysis consisted of four fluid analytical phases, using the hermeneutic circle as the foundation. The four phases included (a) organizing system, (b) identifying meaning units, (c) thematic labeling, and (d) creative synthesis. This study used the five criteria for authenticity to evaluate goodness (Jones, Torres, & Arminio, 2006): (a) fairness, (b) ontological authenticity, (c) educative authenticity, (d) catalytic authenticity, and (e) tactical authenticity (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Liao, 2003).

Findings

The absence of Bd/Deaf people from the masternarrative has allowed them to develop their resistance and write a story that is *for* them and *by* them. With this in mind, the findings of this study were written as a composite counternarrative or a story that is a blend of marginalized people's lives, symbolism, and various data sources (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002. In collaboration with the participants, an inverted counternarrative was written and vetted by all the participants for accuracy. To invert the narrative means the composite was created to center, normalize, and privilege Bd/Deaf people and place hearing White people within the margins. The goal is never to privilege White and hearing perspectives, so the participants' voices are bracketed throughout the composite as a gentle reminder of the reality of the story being told. The findings were written this way to protect the identities of the participants (because the Bd/Deaf community is small) and to honor the storytelling and folklore aspects of Black and Deaf culture. In addition, this method of data sharing is aligned with CRT values (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Within the composite, I present three themes of how microaggressions manifested as the hidden curriculum in the classroom: distorted expectations, invisibility, and trivialization as well as how the participants confronted the microaggressions using BDCCW. Microaggressions that resulted in lower, limiting, or negative views of Bd/Deaf students or audiocentric expectations (i.e., privileging or centering hearing values or ways of being) were labeled as distorted expectations. These microaggressions were typically experienced because of faculty's assessment practices in the classroom. Incidents of microaggressions fit within the theme of invisibility if the aggression resulted in Bd/Deaf students' experiences, culture, or voices being intentionally or unintentionally ignored, unnoticed, excluded, or neglected. Invisibility was experienced when working with classmates, within the curriculum, and in the process of obtaining academic accommodations. Lastly, trivialization was identified when microaggressions resulted in Bd/Deaf students' experiences, culture, or voices being intentionally or unintentionally recognized, but still rendered as unimportant, minimized, or belittled. This was most commonly identified through experiences with faculty interactions and within their curriculum. The inverted counternarrative or findings, start with an introduction to McCaskill College.

Welcome to McCaskill College!

McCaskill College (MC) is located on the Island of Eyeth. In the 1900s, the topmost educated and wealthy Bd/Deaf families moved onto the island and slowly started creating a Bd/Deaf homeland. MC was established in 1924 with the mission of educating Bd/Deaf students; thus, today the student population is still mostly Black, Deaf, and hard of hearing. In a desire to diversify the 10,000-person campus, MC started reaching out to the small hearing community on the island. Over time, the institution has recruited and enrolled more hearing students into the university.

There has been a history of intentional and unintentional oppression against White or hearing people because to be hearing or a race other than Black is unusual as the dominant gene is d/Deaf and Black. Hearing people are unable to learn ASL because of a damaged occipital lobe, which controls vision in the brain. Over the years, science and technology have found ways to aid hearing people through the creation of ocular glasses. These glasses correct the ocular issue allowing hearing people to learn sign language over time. Unfortunately, not all hearing people are medically eligible for the glasses, and health insurance does not cover everyone. For those who are medically ineligible or cannot afford the glasses, they must use English interpreters or find other ways to navigate their lives.

MC is aware that hearing students must face different challenges in college and has noticed that hearing student matriculation numbers are down. The college has started a variety of academic success initiatives for hearing students. One initiative is a hearing student support group entitled Listen UP facilitated by the counseling center. To get a closer look at students' concerns specifically regarding their academics, you will now observe a group session already in progress.

One Academic Experience Fits All…Negotiating and Resisting the Hidden Curriculum

Counselor: *[Tall thin Black hearing woman]* Hello everyone. Thank you for coming to our first meeting of Listen UP. My name is Dr. Olivia Karen and you can call me Dr. OK if you'd like. I thought we might start with quick introductions and why you came to the group.

Icantay: *[White woman with a faded haircut]* My name is Icantay HearU. I am a second year student in engineering. I came to MC because it has a strong engineering program. I am hearing and I don't qualify for oculars, so I use English interpreters in all of my classes. I joined the group because...well...I just wanted to be around other hearing people that might understand my experiences.

VOice: *[Latino tall guy with dark curly hair]* Hi, my name is Razer V. Oice. You can call me VOice for short. I am hearing, and I'm a senior Culinary Arts major. I just got my ocular glasses last semester. This whole thing is new for me. I am attending this group because this campus is not set up for me. I struggle with ASL and interacting with my peers.

Hardo: *[A short White guy with tan skin]* Hi my name is Hardo Fhearing, but call

me Hardo. I'm hard of hearing and an anthropology major. I joined this group because I'm angry about some things and my advisor thought this group would help.

Dea: *[Black woman with a short afro…nervous laughter]* Ha... I guess it's my turn. So...my name is Dea F. Black. Being a hearing person is all I really know. All of my family is hearing. I got my ocular glasses the summer before starting college my first year. I am a third year Biology major, and I'm still having a hard time adjusting to MC culture, and I'm always anxious about participating in class without an interpreter and signing in front of people. I guess that's all. Thanks for having me!

Dr. OK: Great! It's so good to have everyone here. I'd like to open the floor for any thoughts, feelings, issues, or stories that anyone might want to start us off with today.

Icantay: Well, yes! I would like to share really quick that my HC 100 Hearing Culture class is going really well. I have never had the opportunity to learn about hearing people, our history, the English language, or the ways that we have resisted oppression. The class primarily talks about Black hearing people. I wish the professor would include more about my racial group, so I could see myself in the readings and class but that's not how things work around here. It's mostly about Black people—Deaf and hearing. It's frustrating! I'm not just a hearing person. I'm a White hearing person.

VOice: You know, I decided to take an ES 100 Contemporary Caucasian People course last semester. I thought it would be important that I learned more about White people and our history since this is rarely taught, but the class mostly focuses on d/Deaf White people, and I'm having a hard time relating to the stories and experiences. I'm hearing, so the way I've navigated, and see the world has been different.

Icantay: That's interesting because when I took that class I could relate to material and found it really helpful as well. Maybe it's the teacher? *[Icantay shrugs her shoulders, unable to figure out why their experiences have been so different]*.

Hardo: WELL… at least you're not completely invisible! *[Sarcastic with big signing motions]* "Black Deaf culture is the dominant and primary culture influencing, inspiring, and leading this nation," said Dr. Knowitall, in my anthropology class. He continued on to say "There are many subcultures such as White culture but these cultures have had very little influence on the shaping of our society or why we are a great nation today." He just said that being White isn't as important as being Black in this nation. I stopped listening to the interpreter at this point. I mean I'm biracial and I'm not interested in choosing a side. I started feeling uncomfortable and uneasy in my own skin as each word fell off of Dr. Knowitall's hands. I started thinking, "I can't believe he thinks my culture is a subculture to Black culture." White people have done a lot to shape our world. I tried talking to the teacher with no luck, so I stormed to my advisor, Dr. Anderson's [*one of the few hard of hearing faculty on campus*], office. With some mixture of sign and English, I said, 'Dr. Knowitall is an awful discriminatory teacher, and I just can't stay in his class. All the students who have ever taken him have complained about his negative views of White people. I'm dropping! I'm tired of being told in subtle ways that I'm not enough."

Dea: What'd she say… *[leaning forward a bit in her chair]*

Hardo: Well…she said I needed the class and I couldn't drop it. We went back and forth, and she finally said if I drop it he wins. I've been thinking about it, and she is right. *[Deep sigh]* I guess in this moment, I've decided to keep the class…and write my final

research paper about the ways White people have contributed in meaningful ways to our society. Hmm… yeah that feels good. It feels like I'm pushing back in my own way.

Dr. OK: Good Hardo, I'm glad you were able to work that out with the group. Other frustrations folks want to share?

VOice: Yeah... I got an issue… I have a teacher who just ignores me half the time. I don't know if it's because I'm White or hearing or both, but I have to wave really big in the air for him to call on me.-

Dea: *[Slowly raising her hand]* Well, I had a similar situation last semester with the whole captionist versus interpreter request. There were about seven hearing students in this class. We tried to use the captionist for about two weeks, but it wasn't effective. It took forever to read the notes on our screens, and by the time you read it, the class had already moved on before we had a chance to ask our questions or offer our thoughts. All the hearing students came together to talk about it, and we decided that we needed to confront the teacher and ask for an interpreter, so that's what we did. We collectively asked for what we needed, and the teacher requested one for the next class.

Dr. OK: Good for both of you and good examples to share with the group. Using alternative paths, relying on each other, coming together, and pushing back when your needs aren't met are all really great suggestions. Thanks for sharing! We are coming close to an hour, so are there any final issues anyone wants to put on the table?

Dea: Well, if we have time. The biggest issues I have been navigating are teachers' expectations, grading methods, and assignments. I often feel like I'm being judged based on Deaf expectations. I didn't grow up signing, so when I do class presentations, my words don't always come out as clear. I have a hard time transferring my written thoughts into signed thoughts. I get up in front of people and I freeze. I get my grade back with comments, and I don't necessarily know how to fix it. I'm told to go to the Presentation Practice Center, but I'm tutored by Deaf people who give me similar feedback that just isn't helpful. I love school, but I hate assignments. I just wish I could show the teacher what I know in a different way, like writing a paper or speaking my presentation with an interpreter. I'm not dumb, but my mind just works differently than Deaf students.

[The culture on campus is that learning and understanding is measured by how well you can communicate thoughts and ideas in ASL. Writing papers is not valued and is used sparingly to access learning.]

VOice: Hmm… yeah... I feel you. When you get a teacher who really understands…who takes time to learn more about hearing culture and is flexible enough to meet you where you're at... Man…those are good experiences! I had one teacher who let me speak instead of using ASL in my presentation. She was totally shocked at how much I knew. I've been in college a while, and in the beginning, I just didn't have the confidence to confront a teacher and ask for what I needed.

Icantay: Yep! Me too!! You're not alone. Can you imagine if everyone in the class used English? I would want to really show what I knew. I would be super engaged in conversations and debates. Now, I have an interpreter. Sometimes they translate what I'm saying right, and other times I can tell by the professor's face and the questions they ask me that something got lost in translation. It can be embarrassing!

Dr. OK: Wow! Well, it seems we have found more common ground. How does it

feel to know you're not alone? *[Everyone replies with a head nod and looks a little less anxious than when they walked into the door]*. Well okay, we are at time. We may not have gotten all the solutions to your frustrations today, but I think you all were able to share some meaningful strategies with each other, and we clearly have a good place to pick up next week. I hope to see everyone again.

Discussion

Mostly, the participants were able to identify racist and audist discriminatory incidents, but there were also times when participants were not sure if they were being mistreated because of their race and/or because they are d/Deaf. However, all six capitals of BDCCW were used by participants and in some situations, multiple capitals were used to resist racist and audist microaggressions. In regard to the incidents in which participants did not resist, often they did not possess the capital needed, as some capitals were gained prior to entering college while other forms of capital were gained throughout college. The students in the *Listen UP* support group represented the varying struggles and resistance of the hidden curriculum by participants in the classroom. The discussion will use the three themes, *invisibility*, *trivialization*, and *distorted expectations* to make meaning of the inverted counternarrative and the ways racist and audist microaggressions were a part of the hidden curriculum for the participants.

Invisibility

Invisibility was the most common way that racial and audist microaggressions were experienced. Participants experienced isolation and biased curriculum. This exclusion is often the case since Bd/Deaf culture is not taught in schools and Bd/Deaf people must learn about themselves on their own (Aramburo, 2005). Faculty's inability to speak to or educate from a multicultural place leaves students feeling invisible and continues to dishonor intersectional experiences. Deaf Studies scholars (Foster & Brown, 1988; Foster et al., 1999; Kavin & Botto, 2009) stated that d/Deaf students need a variety of support services, but they did not speak to the ways in which d/Deaf students' other social identities, such as race, might impact their feelings of inclusion in the classroom as a result of whether the curriculum is taught through a multicultural and race conscious lens. This study illuminates the importance of considering the impact of racial microaggressions and intersectionality within the classroom.

When it came to feeling invisible within the curriculum, participants used resistant capital and leaned on their familial capital for support. Invisibility within the curriculum was not internalized, but these moments further insinuated that racism and audism was real and that it impacted them differently as people with multi-intersecting identities (Garrow et al., 2014). They blamed faculty's lack of cultural competence as the problem, and not who they were as people. As a form of opposition, the participants also created counterspaces or cultural enclaves (Kuh & Love, 2004) outside of the classroom with chosen family and Bd/Deaf peers (i.e., familial capital) that allowed them to be themselves and reaffirmed that Bd/Deaf culture is real (Garrow et al., 2014; Yosso, 2005). This space was where their resistant capital was

nurtured because it was here where they could honor, build, and support who they were as Bd/Deaf students.

Trivialization

Trivialization within the hidden curriculum could have been easily overlooked if a CRT and Deaf CRT lens had not been used because participants encountered moments with faculty in which they seemed open to help, but only in the way in which they saw best. There were several stories regarding how faculty felt about interpreters in their classes. Some did not mind, while others thought interpreters were distracting and pushed against having them sit up front or too close to them in class. An accommodation was provided, but one participant said he and other students wanted an interpreter so it was easier to ask questions and participate in the class. Ultimately, an interpreter was requested, but the participant and others did not think it was fair that an interpreter had not been provided from day one. Getzel and McManus (2005) are right that some faculty may not know what the campus offers to support d/Deaf students, but in situations like this, where the faculty has worked with d/Deaf students before and requested an interpreter, it becomes harder to believe this professor just did not know. These commonplace unintentional audist gestures may seem small and insignificant, but they add up quickly, and being continually put off wears on a person emotionally and cognitively, resulting in a healthy sense of paranoia (Sue et al., 2008). This can potentially deter a student from taking certain classes, remaining in specific majors, or asking for help in the future, which may already be a challenge for some students with [dis]abilities (Getzel, 2008).

Faculty not recognizing their hearing privilege, nor realizing the importance of d/Deaf people making choices for themselves was a common occurrence. There has been a history of hearing people believing they know better or more than d/Deaf people do about their own lives (Trowler & Turner, 2002). This situation must change. Throughout most of the participants' lives, their teachers, families, and other support services have made decisions on their behalf, but it is vital that faculty and support services on a college level respect what Bd/Deaf students say they need. A part of students with [dis]abilities adjusting to college is activating the self-determination and self-management skills (i.e., aspirational capital) that they learned prior to college as well as continuously developing all of the capitals in college in order to be personally and academically successful (Getzel, 2008).

Often, resistance to trivialization from faculty required the support of others. Social capital was most commonly used and it often led to gaining navigational capital because students would connect with their peers. This was exemplified in the case of getting a sign language interpreter for class, as opposed to a captionist, and collectively figuring out how to maneuver through the educational system. Using their capitals and taking action further aided the participants in fully transitioning in, adjusting to, and remaining in classroom spaces. Other times, social capital led to resistance capital, particularly when faculty mentors got involved and students were able to strategically push back against faculty within their classes.

Distorted Expectations

Unfortunately, because of audist and racist microaggressions, Bd/Deaf students' ability to academically integrate into a majority White and hearing institution lies heavily on their ability to adjust to and navigate White and hearing spaces and values (Boutin, 2008). Because of audiocentric and white dominant environments, hearing white students receive institutional advantages like having majority white and hearing faculty, the curriculum delivered in their native tongue (usually), and resources on campus that are ready and able to assist them (Eckert & Rowley, 2013; Sue et al., 2007). The same can be true for how faculty create assessment tools to evaluate student learning. The assessment tools can be a part of the hidden curriculum, and if the expectations are set too high or low, faculty members have not met students at their level. Faculty need to be prepared to give the greatest amount of access and opportunity to all students. Getzel (2008) said that students with [dis]abilities benefit most when faculty understand how to accommodate their needs. This limitation does not mean Bd/Deaf students are not smart or do not know; it just means there needs to be different and multiple ways to approach learning and different tools to be able to match Bd/Deaf students' ways of knowing and understanding (Steinfeld & Jordana, 2012). Faculty often assume that all of their students will be hearing and that they will come from backgrounds in which "traditional" teaching styles and assessments are successful. Thus, they create their class to cater to these assumed students. When this happens, they do not see any need or know how to take universal design teaching techniques into consideration, nor do they deem it necessary to adjust to different learners (Steinfeld & Jordana, 2012). This is an example of how some faculty do not believe their teaching approach or style needs to change in order meet the needs of d/Deaf students (Foster et al., 1999). We must unceasingly challenge this perception.

Unlike in Eilers-Crandall's (2009) study where participants gained the skills they needed to successfully navigate college before attending, the capital needed to resist distorted expectations was not something that most participants obtained before coming to college. The ability to resist was something that developed over time. Through struggling with audiocentric expectations, deep reflection, and a better understanding of how one learned, participants started to question assessment traditions, but they did not always know what to do about them. Positive experiences with understanding faculty (e.g., respecting d/Deaf culture and validating visual methods of learning and assessment) and support services accommodating their needs aided in bolstering the students' confidence. Over time, navigational and aspirational capital grew, which allowed participants to trust themselves more and become stronger academically.

The classroom was a place where audism and racism were deeply felt by all of the participants in a variety of ways with a handful of really positive moments. The inverted counternarrative addressed the participants' many different experiences including their in-class experiences with peers, poor classroom set ups, positive and challenging interactions with faculty, and for some, the challenge of being in predominantly hearing academic spaces. Participants used BDCCW to resist in most situations, allowing them to disrupt audist and racist classroom spaces, to create an academic experience that accommodated their needs, and to succeed in the classroom in spite of the hidden curriculum.

Implications for Faculty Praxis

Faculty can play a significant role in elevating distorted expectations, invisibility, and trivialization within the classroom's hidden curriculum through their teaching, classroom facilitation, and intentional student engagement. My recommendations for praxis—that is, the ability to reflect, act against inequity, and work in collaboration with those most oppressed (Freire, 1970)—include finding ways to work within the system while also challenging the integrity of the system. Recognizing that all institutions do not have large populations of d/Deaf students, or more specifically, Bd/Deaf students, these recommendations for praxis are influenced by the spirit of universal design (Steinfeld & Jordana, 2012), and ultimately benefit all students. In addition to my suggestions, the participants were asked to provide recommendations and these are in italics below.

First, faculty set the tone for appropriate classroom behavior and norms; thus, any mistreatment of students in class (such as ignoring d/Deaf students and not working with ASL interpreters) is toxic, problematic, and discriminatory. Faculty must do their own work in becoming more culturally competent. We must address our own biases and limitations. Most faculty are not taught how to teach, and there is no handbook on how to work with all students, so we must take a more collaborative and proactive approach through reading books, seeking out services on campus, and/or talking directly to students.

I wish teachers would become more aware and learn from their d/Deaf students. Take the time to learn about Deaf culture and history. Don't ignore Bd/Deaf people, but value them because they are important too and could become excellent students too!

Second, courses can range anywhere from just eight all the way up to several hundred students, but knowing one's student audience can help a faculty member bring cultural examples and perspectives into the classroom to which students can relate. Students bring expert knowledge into the classroom and their lived experiences can illuminate and extend course objectives if they are tapped into. Using index cards to collect personal information (e.g., cultural traditions, hometown, and interesting facts from their childhood) or using technology such as *Poll Everywhere*, a free online polling software, to assess how the class is going, can help faculty get to know students and better meet their academic needs.

They [faculty] should be prepared to give the greatest amount of access and opportunity as possible to d/Deaf students. They should think about that in their curriculum and not assume that everyone is equal and comes from the same background; I would prefer that a teacher approaches the d/Deaf student and asks questions… Just say, "Hey I know you're deaf. I'm curious about your learning style and how we can make the class work for you." Have a dialogue and then follow up with the students later to reassure them.

Third, I encourage faculty to take responsibility for educating themselves about intersectional pedagogy—that is, teaching practices that include the experiences, stories, and knowledge of diverse, intersected social identities. I would recommend that faculty assess one

class they taught last year and reflect on their pedagogical approach, the purpose of the class, how learning was assessed, and the ways in which nondominant ideas and visual aids were used and talked about within the course. If faculty recognize that their course(s) have little to no diversity, or begin to see that the ways in which marginalized groups are represented can perpetuate negative stereotypes, then they can focus on eliminating detrimental material. Implement one to two new tools that address diverse ways of thinking about the curriculum including captioned videos, pictures, theories, and more. The goal is not to take an additive approach, which means simply having a class day that only focuses on Black people or people with [dis]abilities, but really incorporating diverse and intersected ideas and examples throughout the course. Being intentional about this use of diversity can help expose students to different people, thoughts, and ideas as well as help reshape what is "normal."

They [faculty] need to try when they are planning out courses to think about being more inclusive. They can add something to be able to focus on positive aspects of other cultures. It is important to add other cultures into classes beside just Blacks such as Latinos, Asians, and other cultures too. It makes students feel more motivated because they can identify with the material. I wish departments and faculty were educated on and recognized intersectionality.

Conclusion

All of the participants were at institutions that were not envisioned with them in mind. The classroom is not a culturally neutral space and those in the majority, typically hearing and White (faculty and students), create, reproduce, and reinforce their own values (Razack, 2002). This can lead to Bd/Deaf students experiencing audist and racist microaggressions. These microaggressions are emotionally harmful and can affect Bd/Deaf students' motivation (Sue et al., 2007) if they are not exposed, taught, encouraged to understand BDCCW as a method of resistance. In addition, faculty must look more deeply at how the hidden curriculum shows up in their classrooms and practice. Being inclusive means more than not calling on the one Black student in class to represent their whole race or simply having an interpreter or note taker in class for d/Deaf students. The traditional ways of thinking about classroom dynamics and pedagogy must be transformed to be more intentional, holistic, critical, and intersectional.

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