Codas in Leadership:
An Exploration of Emic Perceptions within the American Deaf Community

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ABSTRACT

In the Deaf community, hearing children of deaf adults (Codas) often find themselves in a dichotomy of difference and belonging. It is estimated that nearly 90% of children born to deaf parents are hearing (CACDP, 2006); furthermore, it is often assumed these children do not inherit the cultural identity of their parents based on their biosociality due to physical differences (Rabinow, 1996) and a binary framework of being either Deaf or hearing (Brueggemann, 2008). As adults, Codas may find professional opportunities related to the Deaf community such as interpreting, education, business, and advocacy. A recent flashpoint involving Coda leaders has revealed a growing divide between the American Deaf community and Coda leaders surrounding ethics, identity politics, and allyship. This study explores the perceptions of Codas in leadership positions within the Deaf community. Through a critical ethnographic study, I collected quantitative data through a questionnaire and qualitative data through semi-structured interviews to explore the perceptions of two groups: Deaf individuals and Coda individuals. The data revealed highly varied perceptions from the participants, including negative, positive, and divided perceptions of Coda leaders. Moreover, underlying factors such as ableism, capitalism, education, and other social factors may be contributing to these perceptions. Ultimately, this research provides data and recommendations for leaders in the Deaf community to achieve a praxis of common humanity, where Deaf people and their children unite and collaborate and find a way, as Humphries (2008) proposes, “...to move on from ‘How are we different?’ to ‘How are we being?’ (p. 41)”

Keywords: Coda, deaf, identity politics, biosociality, leadership ethics, binary framework
EMIC PERCEPTIONS OF CODAS IN LEADERSHIP

Introduction

Background

As an American Sign Language (ASL) interpreter, I have often seen the model of allyship utilized to examine issues of power, privilege, and oppression, as well as foster collaboration with the Deaf community. However, I had not previously considered my experience as a hearing child of Deaf adults, commonly known as “Coda,” and how allyship aligns with my place in the Deaf community. According to Nieto, Boyer, Goodwin, Johnson, & Smith (2010) allyship has been defined as “awareness plus action” (p. 127). In March 2018, I brought up the concept of allyship on Facebook, various people’s comments made me pause and wonder about the concept of allyship. It appeared that some Codas were offended when they thought I was referring to the idea of being an ally, which Merriam-Webster (2018) defines as “a person who is not a member of a marginalized or mistreated group but who expresses or gives support to that group.” I assumed being an ally and allyship were interchangeable, yet I was referring to “awareness plus action” as a model for partnering with the Deaf community. I began to wonder why some Codas would not agree with this model of allyship, especially when it appears to be a frequently used paradigm between the Deaf community and hearing interpreters. However, after further observations, the differences between the above definitions of being an ally versus allyship became accentuated.

After further discussions with some Codas and consideration of comments observed on Facebook, I discovered that the term “ally” is often associated with someone who is an outsider.

1 For the purposes of this study, the term “Deaf” is used to be inclusive of deaf, deafblind, hard of hearing, late deafened within the Deaf community; the term Deaf is used whether someone identifies with Deaf culture, hearing culture, or somewhere in-between. Also, this study focuses on the American Deaf community located in the United States, therefore, I utilize “Deaf” not to exclude others, but as a means to strategic essentialism. In addition, it is used in recognition of how capitalized “D” to refer to the Deaf community was constructed and formulated from biopower (Friedner, 2010).
Yet, several Codas expressed that they were born to Deaf parents and do not identify as outsiders of the Deaf community. As a hearing person and a daughter of two Deaf parents with a total of nine Deaf family members, I (a Coda) began to wonder where do Codas fit in when it comes to the Deaf community? What do Codas and Deaf people believe about Codas with respect to group membership? An emic perspective is “the insider’s or native’s perspective of reality” (Fetterman, 2006, p. 984). By using an emic approach, I explore the perceptions of two native groups associated with the Deaf community: Deaf and Coda individuals. How do perceptions of Codas, specifically Codas in leadership positions in the United States, relate to vocational pursuits, representation, and equity in the Deaf community?

**Statement of Problem**

In professions tied to the Deaf community, identity politics related to the issues of social justice, equity, and representation have come to the forefront of leadership concerns. In the Fall of 2017, the National Association of the Deaf (NAD) identified six provisions to be addressed to safeguard against harm and ensure justice for the Deaf community: a) public advocacy, b) self-promotion, c) employment competition, d) adverse expert witness testimony, e) adverse consultations, and f) business practices (NAD, 2017). In the past year, Codas in leadership positions have been criticized for not aligning themselves with some of these provisions, such as employment competition and adverse expert witness testimony, to promote social justice (Draganac-Hawk & Rosenblum, 2018; Fox-Redux, 2018). Lee (2007) defines social justice as the following:

Social justice involves promoting access and equity to ensure full participation in the life of a society, particularly for those who have been systematically excluded on the basis of race/ethnicity, gender, age, physical or mental disability, education, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, or other characteristics of background or group membership. Social justice is based on a belief that all people have a right to equitable treatment, support for their human rights, and a fair allocation of societal resources (p. 1).
In consideration of social justice and full participation in the life of a society, there has been underlying tension between Deaf and Coda communities. According to Mindness (2006), culture largely consists of unseen attitudes, beliefs, and values. She elaborates that ignorance of cultural differences can lead to tension and possibly destructive consequences. Yet, this tension is multifaceted and appears to go beyond cultural, linguistic, or physical differences.

Codas are in a unique position when it comes to group membership; they have been placed at the border of the Deaf and hearing communities based on their cultural and linguistic imprinting during their formative years, as well as their auditory status (Hoffmeister, 2008). From birth, Codas are automatically placed in a different category than their Deaf parent/s due to their able-bodied status, where systematically they have had access and opportunities that their parents did not have. Systems, such as capitalism and ableism, in American society may be the underlying culprits that have contributed to this tension. Considering their position on the border of the Deaf and hearing communities and the tension between Deaf and Coda communities, where do Codas belong when it comes to leadership?

Leadership, as defined by Northouse (2013), is a “process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal” (p. 16). Leadership is often associated with designated power, power that is associated with a position, one that is easily seen (Hocker, 2014). To effectively promote social justice, individuals in leadership positions within the Deaf community need to consider how their identity and status intersects with power, privilege, and oppression. Able-bodied status comes with access to resources and power that are often denied to those who are considered disabled within American society. When it comes to leadership and the identity politics of Deaf and Coda individuals, social justice might be an
ambitious goal, yet it is a goal worth pursuing to ensure equitable treatment and full participation in society.

Research and scholarship pertaining to identity, positionality, and leadership in relation to Codas are scarce. Research related to the Coda population has focused on linguistics (Pyers & Emmorey, 2008), language acquisition (Pizer, Walters, & Meier, 2013), or the need for appropriate training and education of heritage signers (Isakson, 2018; Williamson, 2015). Adams’ (2008) study of Codas speaks of professional expectations and of a glass ceiling for Codas, however the data in this category is not extensive. To date, I have found little to no research specifically in regard to Codas in leadership positions and professions related to the Deaf community. The lack of literature pertaining to Codas in Deaf studies, Disability studies, and Interpreting Studies is a cogent point in consideration of the inclusion or exclusion of Codas in society. This scarcity of literature and research may also be contributing to the issues of power relations, ambiguous cultural affiliations, and justice work for Codas, as well as Deaf individuals.

**Purpose of Study**

This study is an exploration of perceptions of Codas in leadership positions within the American Deaf community as described by Deaf people and Codas. In other words, this study explores Deaf people’s perceptions of Codas, Codas’ perceptions of themselves, and of each other. I investigate the ways in which these perceptions impact Deaf individuals and Codas. My intention is to determine which perceptions of Codas in leadership positions have caused conflict within the Deaf community and seek positive change. If there is indeed underlying tension regarding identity politics, representation, and job competition, I aim to gather recommendations for equitable approaches from participants for Codas in leadership positions. The findings
include themes regarding cultural attitudes, beliefs, and/or values associated with identity, group membership, and equity.

This exploration of the emic perceptions of Codas in leadership positions has significant implications not only for the interpreting field, but also for Deaf cultural studies, Deaf education, Disability studies, and professionals who work with the Deaf community to achieve common goals. Through this study, the researcher may uncover the reasons behind the growing divide and distrust in the American hearing and Deaf communities (NAD, 2017). When it comes to belonging, otherness, and embodiment, Coda ontologies and epistemologies have often been lost or unacknowledged within Deaf studies. This study has significant implications for Deaf communities and Coda communities, where the researcher seeks to create space for collaboration, inclusion, and awareness plus action for equitable leadership.

Review of the Literature

Who are Codas?

In the Deaf community, hearing children of Deaf adults often find themselves in a space of difference, otherness, and belonging. It is estimated that 80% to 95% of children born to Deaf parents are hearing (Bishop & Hicks, 2008; Mitchell, Young, Bachleda, & Karchmer, 2006; Preston, 1994; Shein & Delk, 1974). As adults, these individuals are commonly referred to as ‘Codas’, which have been defined as hearing offspring of Deaf parents (Brother, 1983), or a hearing individual who has at least one Deaf parent (Bull, 1998). Bishop (2008) asserts, “Codas have a separate and unique cultural linguistic identity” (p. xvii), which has been delineated as part of an identity debate among the American Deaf community (Davis, 2007). Identity debates involving Codas with their unique cultural linguistic identity and auditory status often include whether Codas are perceived as culturally Deaf and insiders of the Deaf community, culturally
hearing and outsiders of the Deaf community, on the border of the Deaf and hearing communities, or non-members of Deaf culture due to their physiology and auditory status (Bishop, 2008; Hoffmeister, 2008; Johnson & Erting, 1989). These debates also bring up questions regarding power, privileges, and oppression, as they intersect with ability and access.

According to Hocker (2014) people often do not like to discuss power because it can make people uncomfortable, yet power and the use of it has benefits. Hocker suggests, “the productive exercise of personal power is crucial to your self-concept. Without some exercise of power in your interpersonal relationships, you would feel worthless as a person” (Hocker, p. 116). In the examination of power and the Deaf community, Friedner (2010) examines Paul Rabinow’s (1996) work on biosociality, where relationships and communities are formed based on shared biological characteristics. Friedner suggests, “The medical diagnosis of deafness ultimately serves as a ticket of entry into the Deaf community” (p. 339). Friedner argues that the framework of the medical pathological view of deafness provided the grounds for resistance to oppression and out of that came power, also known as biopower, which was utilized to formulate the Deaf community.

In the last half of the twentieth century, many models have been created where the Deaf community entered into active rhetoric to define the boundaries of authentic Deaf identity (Bauman, 2008) in an attempt to define who is Deaf and a member of Deaf culture (Humphries, 2008). These models and boundaries of Deaf identity that have emerged from Deaf studies are significant to Codas as they determine their identity, cultural affiliations, and where they belong. At the center of this debate are rigid boundaries or a binary framework, one of being either Deaf or hearing (Brueggemann, 2008; Hoffmeister, 2008; Preston, 1994; Preston, 1995). Preston (1995) explains how Codas challenge the dichotomy of whether one is either Deaf or hearing and
how the polarization of these categories does not align with the Coda population. Deaf culture consists of attitudes, beliefs, and values that go beyond hearing loss, yet Codas are still not considered Deaf due to their auditory and able-bodied status.

This auditory and able-bodied status comes with power and privileges in a world where ableism often flourishes. Linton (1998) defines ableism as “the idea that a person’s abilities or characteristics are determined by disability or that people with disabilities as a group are inferior to non-disabled people” (p. 9). Ableism often results in structural violence and systematic oppression for Deaf individuals and can be seen through language deprivation, communication barriers, and/or limited economic opportunities (National Deaf Center on Postsecondary Outcomes, 2018). Codas do indeed have access to spoken English and the hearing world, yet given Codas’ able-bodied/auditory status, it may be assumed that they do not experience ableism first hand.

Witteborg (2016) suggests C/kodas\(^2\) experience direct and primary trauma, structural violence, and systematic oppression. While not based on academic research rather on lived experience, Witteborg, a Coda author, proposes that reduced economic opportunities or access for Deaf parents have a direct impact on their children. When Deaf parents are denied interpreters and communication access at the doctor’s office or schools where the concern is the child’s health or education, the Koda is the primary receiver of harm. There have been medical professionals who have instructed Deaf parents not to sign with their hearing children, for fear of its use impacting the child’s ability to learn spoken languages. This can result in language delay or deprivation for the child (Singleton & Tittle, 2000). A Koda’s able-bodied status, where a child is considered nondeaf, means educational placement in a public hearing school, where

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\(^2\) Coda refers to an adult, someone who is 18 years of age or older and has one or more Deaf parent. Koda refers to a “kid” of a Deaf adult, or someone who is 17 years of age or younger and has one or more Deaf parent.
Koda children are assimilated and acculturated into hearing society. In conclusion, while it has not been researched, it is unlikely that the effects of this oppression ends once a Koda becomes 18 and becomes an adult in American society. The issue is not with deafness, or Deaf parents, it is with ableism and how ableism, audism, and linguicism intersect in multiple oppressions for the Deaf community and their children.

In his book, *Exile and Pride: Disability, Queerness, and Liberation*, Eli Clare (2015) explores themes of ableism, otherness, belonging, and pride as a transgender man with cerebral palsy from a rural logging town in Oregon. In resistance to the idea of medical cures, Clare (2015) asserts, “In short, it is ableism that needs the cure, not our bodies” (p. 122). In a world where ableism flourishes, what are the conditions and forces that have led to Codas being considered as the “other?” What could possibly influence some Deaf parents to resent or exile their own hearing children? Friedner (2010) critically considers, “the economic, political, and social conditions that have led to this [the Deaf community asserting itself as a cultural and linguistic group of people] and what it means in this current moment” (p. 345). In consideration of Codas, there are many forces and conditions at play that determine their status when it comes to the Deaf community.

In conjunction with ableism, Clare (2015) points to capitalism as a primary system that drives power imbalances and competition over resources. In a perfect world, where everyone had a fair allocation of society resources and no communication barriers, would exclusion and job competition still exist? According to Goodley (2014), “Any conception of the dis/abled body in the social must attend to the body’s materialisation in and through capitalism” (p. 91). Capitalism is an economic condition or system that pits laborers against each other, where some individuals are valued more than others, alienated, and where they risk being “endlessly impaired and
disabled by the economy” (Goodley, 2014, p. 93). Capitalism creates the environment where the value of one’s labor stems from their productivity and able-bodied status. Harvey (2000) shares that the body and its worth is a social construct and he argues, “The sense of self and of personhood is relational and socially constructed” (Harvey, 2000, p. 119). As able-bodied individuals who do not have a medical diagnosis as their ticket into the Deaf Community, some Codas have shared that they are culturally Deaf beings in hearing bodies (Preston, 1994). In addition to economic conditions, constructions of one being Deaf or hearing form a social condition that impacts personhood and interrelations.

Hoffmeister (2008), a Coda author, suggests Codas live on the border of the Deaf world and hearing world and that the binary relationship of “Deaf or Hearing must be depolarized” (p. 193). Rigid boundaries related to cultural identity need to be lifted so that people who are “one generation thick,” individuals who do not share their cultural identity with their parents and/or children, can find commonality (Davis, 2007, p. B6). Specifically, this applies to disabled, queer, and/or Coda individuals. Hoffmeister (2008) describes Codas as people who are “one generation thick” (OGT) because they often marry hearing individuals and have hearing children, which makes Codas the last link or generation to the Deaf community (p. 213). Yet if the binary relationship of being either Deaf or hearing was redefined, transmission of culture and identity from parent to child could result in bolstering the Deaf community. However, this phase of redefining identity can often “produce conflict within a group rather than unity” (Davis, 2002, p.11). Hoffmeister also shares that if Codas choose to work in the Deaf community, a great number of conflicts may arise for them as they attempt to balance their cultural affiliations and identity. Codas also have to balance being an abled-bodied individual with hearing privilege within an ableist society. This literature review will examine previous publications related to
Codas and elaborate on how perceptions of their cultural affiliations and able-bodied status may transcend duality and shape their role in the American Deaf community, especially when it comes to positions of leadership.

**Group membership: insiders and outsiders.** Whether one is an American Deaf community insider or outsider can shift based on two things: a) one’s own perspectives and b) how the Deaf community perceives you (Corker, 1996; Drolsbaugh, 2008). Regarding nondeaf individuals who are not Codas and their status as insiders or outsiders, Napier & Leeson (2016) state

> If someone is not a Coda, he or she is typically considered an ‘outsider’, a second language learner, and notions of reciprocity from the signing community in exchange for sharing language and culture have to be learned and demonstrably valued (p. 65).

However, Codas are hearing individuals with a cultural heritage, and often are also native sign language users, and as such, have been considered both insiders and outsiders (Shield, 2004). Preston (1995) explores the alignment and cultural identity of Codas as a population who are considered insiders and outsiders. Messages from the Deaf perspective about the hearing world and how hearing people cannot be trusted often leave Codas sorting out their identity and membership in relation to the Deaf community (Adams, 2008; Hoffmeister, 2008; Napier & Leeson, 2016; Preston, 1994). Society also dictates placement as insiders and outsiders when it comes to our perceived abilities.

In *Passport Without a Country* (1992), Davie (a Coda) produced the first documentary about Australian Codas, where issues such as cultural identity, belonging, self-image, and representation were examined. One Coda in the film poignantly sums the unique struggle of membership to a country, in this case the Deaf world, that is not recognized by the authorities of that country (Davie, 1992). When it comes to Codas and their professions and leadership in the
Deaf community, one can only be what the Deaf world dictates (Adams, 2008; Hoffmeister, 2008). In other words, Codas are members, but are not granted full membership power within the Deaf community because they are perceived as outsiders based on their auditory and able-bodied status. The reluctance of some Deaf people in giving Codas full membership status may be driven by systems and individuals in conjunction with ableism granting more access, privilege, and authority to able-bodied children than to their disabled parents (O. Robinson, personal communication, April 3, 2019).

Being a cultural insider is often associated with belonging, whereas being an outsider is often associated with exclusion, being out of place, or a foreigner. Singleton (a Coda) & Tittle (a non-Coda) propose that “Deaf parents are essentially raising foreign children” (2000, p. 227), which aligns with Codas not inheriting their parent’s cultural identity (Hoffmeister, 2008). However, similar to Preston’s (1994) assertion of being both Deaf and hearing, Singleton and Tittle also share that the Coda experience has complex communication and identity issues both as an insider and an outsider of the Deaf world. In conclusion, Preston asks Codas to consider the dichotomy of cultural identity wherein people are simultaneously different and the same. In consideration of Codas, many scholars have taken to evaluating their cultural status and affiliations.

**Codas: Deaf, hearing, or somewhere in-between?** Within American culture, Preston (1994) suggests, “identities are inextricably linked to our families of origin” (p. 283). Yet among both the Coda population and the Deaf population, Codas and their cultural affiliations with the Deaf community have been highly debated (Ladd, 2003; Lane, Hoffmeister, & Bahan, 1996). Hearing children of Deaf parents grow up in two different worlds and cultures (Lane et al., 1996), where they often experience the tension of being audiologically hearing and culturally
Deaf (Bishop, 2008; Preston, 1994; Preston, 1995). While the native language and identities of Codas highly vary (Isakson, 2016), the formative years of the lives of Codas represent a heritage, an imprinted familial bond, and a birthright (Bishop & Hicks, 2008) where “Codas are often more culturally Deaf than the deaf 3 children born to hearing parents” (Bishop, 2008, p. xx). Yet this is debatable and can be contested. Who controls the narrative, definition, and construction of what it means to be culturally Deaf?

In the author’s note of his dissertation, Humphries (1977), a man who was born to hearing parents and became deaf at six years-old, discloses what he describes as an interesting conflict, “When I say that I was a deaf hearing person, I mean simply that my culture, values, behavior, and mannerisms were that of a hearing person who happened to be physically deaf” (para. 1). This conflict exemplifies the multifaceted complexity of identifying as a hearing person, a Deaf person, or a full-fledged member of the Deaf community. By altering the word order of Humphries’ disclosure, another facet regarding cultural identity in the Deaf community may be unveiled: When I say that I was a hearing (dea)f person, I mean simply that my culture, values, behavior, and mannerisms were that of a deaf person who happened to be physically hearing. While this description could possibly apply to individuals who are Codas, Codas are not considered Deaf because of their “hearingness” (Higgins, 1980; Padden & Humphries, 1988). When considering who is and is not Deaf, there are various labels, models and constructions that have been used to determine these boundaries.

Baker-Shenk and Cokely (1991) created a model to demonstrate four attributes of being culturally Deaf: audiological, social, linguistic, and political. Padden and Humphries (1988) state

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3 Within American Deaf studies, the term “deaf” has been used to refer to someone who is audiologically deaf and may not identify with Deaf culture or the Deaf community (Davis, 2007; Friedner, 2010; Skelton & Valentine, 2003).
that individuals who use sign language and do not rely on sound are at the center of Deaf culture. The model of Deaf ethnicity (Erting, 1978) or Deafnicty (Eckert, 2005) refers to culturally Deaf people as an ethnic group, who constitute bodily features, genetic inheritance, and social identity (Eckert, 2010; Ladd & Lane, 2013; Lane, Pillard, & Hedberg, 2011). Similarly, Johnson & Erting (1989) discuss a social, linguistic, and cultural framework for viewing the Deaf community. Friedner (2010) and Mellett (2016) both describe the Deaf community as a biosociality (Rabinow, 1996), which Mellett describes as “a process that rearranges social relations based upon biology” (p.65). Each of these models and labels reflect a specific lens of identity construction within a context of human rights and often unequal power-relations (Bauman, 2008). Each lens reveals aspects of how bodily difference can include or exclude individuals from Deaf identity.

In consideration of Codas’ identity and their ethnic heritage, Johnson & Erting (1989) allege, “Hearing children of ethnically Deaf parents, whose socialization into Deaf ethnic patrimony may be extensive, may never be considered as members, no matter how ‘Deaf’ they are able to act” (p. 48). Since this claim, there have been others who disagree and assert Codas are members of the Deaf community and Deaf culture. Davis (2007) describes how limiting Deaf identity to an ethnic group can be problematic because this only supports an estimated 5% of the population of the community who are auditorily Deaf, born to Deaf parents, and use sign language. Davis (2007; 2008) argues that the ethnic model excludes and marginalizes hard-of-hearing individuals, lip-readers, deaf people with impairments that prevent them from signing, and Codas. These cultural models and constructions of Deaf identity do not appear to apply to Codas and leaves one searching for a more suitable paradigm applicable to the Coda population.
Heritage members/signers as owners of culture. Sarah Hafer, a fourth-generation Deaf person, illustrated cultural boundaries as an outsider through a comparison of her journeys around the world. In her presentation at Street Leverage 2017, in St. Paul, Minnesota, Hafer shared a video of Swanhilda Lily, a sixth-generation Deaf person, who differentiates heritage and culture: culture can be adopted by late Deafened, linguistically delayed, and Deaf children who are born to hearing parents, whereas heritage member refers to those who are born and raised in the community such as Deaf children of Deaf parents and Cogas. Lily shares that it is both heritage members and cultural members who make up the owners of Deaf culture (Hafer, 2018, para. 9 & 18). In other words, Cogas are heritage members of the Deaf community and, consequently, cultural owners. However, this is a relatively new concept and Cogas’ ownership of Deaf culture has not been widely accepted.

According to Napier and Leeson (2016),

Cogas could be considered as automatic members of signing communities because of their native sign language use, but the situation for Cogas is not as simple as that. Their ‘hearingness’ does in fact influence perceptions of their identity and status of signing community membership (pg. 64).

This may be in part because vertical transmission of language and culture from Deaf parent to a hearing child does not always take place; acculturation into the dominant hearing society is almost inevitable (Hoffmeister, 2008). Hoffmeister suggests Cogas are OGT due to this lack of vertical transmission of culture from parent to child. He explains how Cogas can become fully acculturated or removed from their parents’ world in one generation. Since the majority of Cogas spend the majority of their developmental years and education within the hearing community, some individuals may question whether Cogas are culturally “Deaf enough.” As a result, Cogas’ ownership of Deaf culture and membership to the Deaf community is often not constructed, permitted, or recognized (Davie, 1992; Ladd, 2003; Hoffmeister, 2008; Preston, 1994).
**Binary framework: Deaf or hearing?** Examining both sides of the border, we see that some deaf individuals are not seen as “Deaf enough” and similarly to Shield (2004), Davis (2007) argues that some Codas are often polarized as not “Deaf enough” (p. B6). Davis (2007) highlights the “not Deaf enough” issue that Jane Fernandes, a previous administrator at Gallaudet University who was selected to be president, faced as a non-native signer of ASL. Deaf people are not all the same (Kusters & Friedner, 2015) and likewise, Codas are not all the same (Isakson, 2016). Internal conflict and identity construction of being deaf or hearing are themes among both Deaf and Coda populations (Bruggeman, 2008; Bishop, 2008). Skelton and Valentine (2003) outline the challenges of Deaf identity construction, stating that “the binary categories of D/deaf/hearing, Deaf/deaf are not really very useful in capturing the complexities and ‘in-betweenness’ of young D/deaf people’s identities. Their identities are deeper than these binaries allow space for” (p. 464). Likewise, the identities of Codas also go deeper than the binary framework of Deaf or hearing.

For Codas, the conflict stems from “being a member of two cultures (Deaf and hearing), but accepted fully by neither [culture]” (Ladd, 2003, p. 157). It appears the binary framework of one being either Deaf or hearing does not apply to Codas. In her thesis, Williamson (2015), a Coda, asserts Codas are not Deaf or hearing, and similar to Hoffmeister, she declares Codas are in-between. In his dissertation, Preston (1994) shares a seminal study of over 150 Codas, where he (a Coda) discusses what it is to be culturally Deaf yet physically hearing. Preston’s work explores adult identity construction, what it means to have a dual heritage, and the paradox of difference and sameness that Codas face on the edge of the Deaf world. Preston paraphrases Padden and Humphries’ *Deaf in America* and says, “to be Deaf is not to be Hearing” (1995, p. 1466). Yet in relation to his own identity as a Coda, Preston declares, “We are not deaf. We are
not hearing. We are neither deaf nor hearing. We are both deaf and hearing” (1994, p. 325).

When it comes to community membership and identity, Codas are both Deaf and hearing (Hoffmeister, 2008; Napier, 2009; Preston, 1994; Williamson, 2015), which places them at the border of two cultures and associated communities as poetically summarized by Erik Witteborg (2013):

> Being a ‘10’ in a world where you were supposed to choose 1 or 0, is to reject a world that believes in a binary identity of one or the other. To be a ‘10’ is synonymous with being whole and healthy. To be ‘10’ is to be Coda with a capital C. When you choose to embody wholes instead of holes, you then manifest identities that are complementary rather than contradictory... Coda, then, as its musical origins state, is both the first and the second, yet uniquely a third (para.19 and 21).

Instead of looking at Coda identity with a binary framework, it is critical to unpack identity construction as nuanced, where both Deaf and hearing culture is embraced to honor the whole person’s cultural membership. This complementary, holistic view can be seen through people who exist in the borderland of other cultures as well.

**Borderland**

*Betweenity: On the border of the Deaf and hearing worlds.* In her groundbreaking work, Anzaldua (1987) developed the Borderlands Theory, which allowed for articulation regarding oppressions that surround the borderland that exists for those who occupy in-between spaces of identity such as sexuality, gender, and race. This concept of the borderland and in-between space may also shed light on the Coda experience. Hoffmeister (2008) examines the lives of Codas and their place at the border of the Deaf and hearing world. Hoffmeister assesses Brueggemann (2008), a Deaf author, and her idea of “betweenity” (p. 177) or Deaf people living ‘between spaces’ and how this also applies to Codas. If a deaf person can be culturally hearing (Humphries, 1977), is it possible that a hearing person could be culturally Deaf? Early in *Passport Without a Country*, one Coda shared that they felt as if they were a Deaf person except
that they could hear (Davie, 1992). Although this may be true, it is crucial to remember that while there is overlap in cultural experiences, this overlap does not mean the experiences are the same (Kaur, 2018). Being a Coda does not mean having the same experience as a Deaf person (Brother, 1983). As the rigid boundaries of one being either Deaf or hearing are lifted, a space of overlapping intersections of third culture is revealed.

Codas and their background of cross-cultural upbringing hold many parallels to the lives of third culture kids (Mellett, 2016). This is different than the ‘Third Culture’ that Bienvenu (1987) refers to when hearing sign language interpreters who come from the hearing community and learn of Deaf cultural values adopt a third culture by aligning themselves with those values. In comparison, several scholars have argued that Codas are bilingual and bicultural (Bishop & Hicks, 2008; Hale, 2001; Singleton & Tittle, 2000; Weiner & Gardner, 1997). However, the third culture that Mellett (2016) referenced in her study deals with the lack of full ownership of either culture. International and intercultural researchers Pollock & Van Reken (2009) who work with kids from multiple cultures worldwide define third culture kids (TCK) as follows:

a person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents’ culture. The TCK frequently builds relationships to all of the cultures, while not having full ownership in any. Although elements from each culture may be assimilated into the TCK’s life experience, the sense of belonging is in relationship to others of similar background (p. 13).

In her thesis, Mellett (2016) illuminates how experiences of third culture kids are parallel to the Coda experience, where they often do not have full ownership in either the Deaf world or hearing world.

A point often overlooked is that individuals residing on either side of the border such as Deaf people with Deaf parents do not need to choose their community or identity (Bishop, 2008), whereas Codas do experience this tension. As a result of being a TCK, Codas are often left
feeling as if they are in the middle of Deaf and hearing communities. Being on either side of this border has implications of being a population that has become invisible and uncategorized, which can result in feelings of powerlessness, conflicting values, and conflict (Adams, 2008; Hoffmeister, 2008; Preston, 1994). Hoffmeister also explores beliefs on both sides of the border and how Codas may struggle with opposing beliefs and attitudes. This status of being in the middle can be problematic for Codas (Adams, 2008; Mellett, 2016), especially if they choose a profession related to the Deaf community (Davie, 1992; Hoffmeister, 2008; Preston, 1994). Some of these conflicting values have been outlined by Hoffmeister (2008, p. 200) as beliefs around language and community from both sides of the border (see figure 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SIDE OF BORDER</th>
<th>BELIEF</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deaf</td>
<td>Hearing is bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing</td>
<td>Deaf is bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaf</td>
<td>ASL is good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing</td>
<td>ASL is bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaf</td>
<td>ASL is broken English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing</td>
<td>Broken English is bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaf</td>
<td>English is bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing</td>
<td>Literacy is good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaf</td>
<td>Can't read or write.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing</td>
<td>Deaf are illiterate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaf</td>
<td>ASL and English are both languages of the Deaf world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing</td>
<td>Bilingualism is bad.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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While not based on academic research rather on lived experiences, Hoffmeister brings up possible issues around cultural and language attitudes for Codas. Codas as TCK absorb these beliefs and attitudes, where they may not have a framework to critically explore these concepts,
which can often lead to conflict and/or marginalization. These beliefs and attitudes also influence Codas as they consider professions as adults, where research has revealed further conflict.

In the Deaf world, a widely accepted professional role for Codas is what Hoffmeister (2008) calls the ‘border-riding interpreter’ (p. 202). Hoffmeister (2008) suggests:

Deaf [people] want Coda interpreters but don’t trust them, but they request them because there is a greater distrust of the Hearing interpreters. This creates all kinds of tension between the Deaf, the Coda as an interpreter, and the Hearing interpreters (p. 205).

Stuard (2008) found while it is a generally accepted view that Deaf-parented interpreters have an in-group advantage personally, linguistically, and culturally over other interpreters, there are also unfavorable perceptions of Coda interpreters. Stuard (2008) discovered that some hearing interpreters perceived Coda interpreters as lacking in education, interpersonal skills, appropriate boundaries, and confidentiality. Additionally, Stuard reported Deaf consumers’ concerns regarding Coda interpreters such as having “control or boundary issues and expressed concern that CODAs may lack ethics” (p. 180). Williamson (2012) also shared how Codas are “both vilified and worshiped in good measure” (para. 4). This brings up the question of which perceptions of Codas are vilified and which ones are praised? Moreover, Martin-Crosby (2018) shared that hearing interpreters, as well as Deaf individuals, have made assumptions about Coda interpreters as uneducated and unprofessional.

Unfavorable perceptions regarding Coda interpreters are also revealed in McDermid (2008), which illustrates perspectives of Coda students. Through interviews of 34 interpreter educators (18 Deaf, 16 Hearing, 1 Coda), McDermid (2008) shares various bilingual and sociocultural perspectives from nine different interpreter programs across Canada. McDermid

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4 In Stuard’s study, she referred to Codas as ‘CODAs’. However, for this study, the term ‘Coda’ is used to represent an individual, whereas CODA refers to Children of Deaf Adults, Inc. (an international organization for Codas).
examined educators’ perceptions and concerns when it comes to Coda students such as a lack of ASL and English fluency, acting in the role of caretaker, issues with identity, and an unhealthy relationship with Deaf culture. On the other hand, McDermid shares that some educators felt Coda students could be dealt with if appropriate expectations were outlined. In conclusion, McDermid maintains that Coda students have a multicultural perspective and educators should adopt strategies to support their academic journey in interpreting programs. For this reason, one educator in this study suggested more research was necessary to support Coda students. To date, it appears that Deaf studies and/or Disability studies has yet to explore the implications of able-bodied privileges and how they may be different for Codas.

**Coda professionals, role conflict, and the glass ceiling.** Despite research on Coda students and interpreters, there has been scant research outside of Adams (2008) and Preston’s (1994) seminal work regarding Coda professionals who work in Deaf-related fields. Preston discusses career choices and how Codas consider whether to work in the Deaf world. Codas share how vocational positions within the Deaf community as teachers, social workers, or interpreters help them maintain their Deaf cultural heritage and Deaf identity. Many Codas have expressed that they feel more culturally aligned with the Deaf community than with the hearing community (Lane et al., 1996; Miller, 2004; Preston, 1994). Bishop (2008) also shares that Codas internalize the values and worldviews of their parents, which often shape their choices such as their profession, yet Codas are often “suspect as to their purpose when residing on either side of the border” (Hoffmeister, 2008, p. 199). Adams’ (2008) work reveals a ‘glass ceiling’ for Coda professionals in the Deaf community. Moreover, Williamson (2012) shares how Codas are often marginalized and how this has led to an invisibility or lack of Coda involvement in the interpreting profession. In her thesis, Martinez (2017) includes Codas as a marginalized group in
the interpreting profession and asserts there is a need to better understand Coda interpreters and their approach to conflicts and role boundaries.

When Codas choose to work within the Deaf community, their hearing status prevents them from having power or authority to represent themselves as a member of Deaf culture (Adams, 2008; Davie, 1992; Hoffmeister, 2008). In contrast, Bishop (2009) states, “From a Deaf perspective, these hearing children are essentially ‘Deaf’ because they understand and assimilate Deaf cultural norms” (p. xxii). However, not everyone agrees. Ladd (2003) shares how Deaf cultural identity is found through deafhood experience, where a deaf person begins a process “of defining the existential state of Deaf ‘being-in-the-world’” (p. xviii). Napier (2009), a Coda who identifies with the Deaf community, shares that she does not necessarily believe she is a cultural member due to her lack of deafhood experience. To hearing people, Codas may appear to have the authority to speak about Deaf issues; however, Codas do not always accept this authority (Mellett, 2016). A Coda in Passport Without a Country shared that due to his ability to hear, he could not work toward the goals of the Deaf community or be involved in Deaf politics. This is in accordance to what Preston (1994) asserted regarding representation, in order “to speak for the deaf, you must be deaf” (p. 275).

Adams (2008) offers an analysis based on interviews and focus groups, which included 26 Codas, 12 Deaf, and 12 hearing people, to explore opinions and experiences of Codas in the United Kingdom. In this study, perceptions and experiences of Codas were categorized into four main groups: Middleman, Misfit, Foreigner, and Glass Ceiling. The ‘Glass Ceiling’ category delves into the issues of expectations of Codas and their role when it comes to vocational pursuits (Adams, 2008). Angelelli’s (2010) research on bilinguals sheds light on the Coda experience, where bilinguals and language brokers such as Codas feel they must interpret for
their communities, where they have shared the notion that they have no choice when it comes to vocational expectations outside of interpreting. Adams (2008) states that these expectations of themselves or perceptions of what Deaf and hearing people expect of them, were outside of her study and demands further consideration. Adams argues there is a gap of knowledge and a need for additional research when it comes to Codas, expectations regarding their role and their vocational pursuits within the Deaf community.

**Professions, Society, & Codas**

“No culture has yet solved the dilemma each has faced with the growth of a conscious mind: How is one to live a moral and compassionate existence when one is fully aware of the blood, the horror inherent in life, when one finds darkness not only in one’s culture but within oneself? If there is a stage at which an individual life becomes truly adult, it must be when one grasps the irony in its unfolding and accepts responsibility for a life lived in the midst of such paradox. One must live in the middle of contradiction, because if all contradiction were eliminated at once life would collapse. There are simply no answers to some of the great pressing questions. You continue to live them out, making your life a worthy expression of leaning into the light.”

- Barry Lopez – Arctic Dreams

In Fall 2017, the National Association of the Deaf (NAD) shared a growing concern when it comes to interpreters and the Deaf community:

Deaf and hard of hearing individuals have begun wondering why they are unemployed or underemployed while interpreters are gaining recognition and appearing to derive income from such promotions. Such conduct, if left uncontrolled will contribute to the growing distrust and divide between the deaf community and interpreters (NAD, 2017, p. 20).

Moreover, NAD has called for RID to address six areas of concern and to add provisions to protect the Deaf community from the following: a) public advocacy, b) self-promotion, c) employment competition, d) adverse expert witness testimony, e) adverse consultations, and f) business practices. In the past year, Codas in leadership positions have been criticized for not aligning themselves with these provisions, especially in the areas of job competition and expert witness testimony. For example, in 2018, three prominent Coda leaders of RID have received criticism regarding their ethics: Joey Trapani, Anna Witter-Merithew, and Melvin Walker (Draganac-Hawk & Rosenblum, 2018; Fox Redux, 2018). Since the website is no longer
available, here are some excerpts from Fox Redux’s (2018) blog about these Codas in leadership positions:


In relation to Codas in leadership positions within the American Deaf community, it is important to consider how their border identity and insider, or outsider, status relate to trust and power structures.

It appears that oppression, economic disempowerment, and disenfranchisement have been at the heart of this divide and distrust (NAD 2017; Foster, 2018; Suggs, 2016).

Furthermore, the interpreting profession has recently made it a priority to evaluate aspects of Power, Privilege, and Oppression (PPO) when it comes to the Deaf community, structural inequities, and membership engagement. As of 2019, RID has initiated a requirement of 1.0 Continuing Education Units (CEUs) in the PPO category in order to address the “phenomena by
which members of a society are unfairly advantaged and fail to recognize that advantage. The result of this is bias at the systemic, societal, and individual level which contributes to microaggressions that perpetuate social and systemic oppression” (Weems, 2018, p. 23). This social and systemic oppression often finds its roots in attitudes and beliefs as to which culture is dominant and which one is suppressed, stigmatized, and rejected (Johnson, 2001). When it comes to oppression in the Deaf community, Codas, along with others such as hearing and Deaf individuals, have some unpacking to do to address issues surrounding power and privilege (Shird, 2017).

Over 40 years ago, Humphries, an American Deaf man, coined the term ‘audism’, which he refers to as, “The notion that one is superior based on one’s ability to hear or behave in the manner of one who hears” (1977, p. 12). In his dissertation, Humphries addressed how hearing culture has often oppressed Deaf culture. He also addresses how at that time there were and continues to be only a few culturally Deaf people in positions of power, and he highlights how this is related to themes of trust and lack of respect of culturally Deaf people. This goes hand in hand with Deaf epistemology, a framework that argues Deaf individuals’ beliefs and worldviews are credible and key to acknowledging marginalization of the Deaf community (Hauser, et al., 2010; Robinson and Henner, 2017; Wolsey, Dunn, Gentzke, Joharchi, & Clark, 2017).

In regard to job competition, it is also key to consider how American society functions on a foundation of capitalism, neoliberalism, and ableism in conjunction with systemic marginalization. Disability studies provides a framework of disability justice, where people with privilege are urged to unpack their power and privileges to resist systemic inequities and oppressions that impact people with disabilities (Berne, 2015; Goodley, 2017). As reported by the American Community Survey in 2015, the employment rate for Deaf individuals in the
United States is 48%, compared to 72% employment rate for hearing people, which is a 24% employment gap. According to the National Deaf Center on Postsecondary Outcomes (2018), also known as the NDC, shares there are four root causes for this employment gap: Deaf people have reduced access to language and communication, have fewer social opportunities, experience negative attitudes and biases, and a lack of qualified and experienced professionals who service the deaf population. In connection to negative attitudes and biases, while these may come from others, they may also become internalized.

Negative attitudes from society can lead to internalized audism and low expectations, which can result in reduced resiliency to stress and anxiety, as well as barriers to advancement in the workplace for Deaf professionals (Hauser, Listman, Kurs & Contreras, 2014; National Deaf Center on Postsecondary Outcomes, 2014). The NDC asserts, “As with many marginalized communities, deaf people have a long history of underrepresentation in spheres of influence” (p. 4). These negative attitudes, internalized audism, and/or low expectations can be connected to systemic oppression, where historically, qualified Deaf professionals have been overlooked. To shed further light on this underrepresentation and promote social and disability justice, Robinson and Henner (2018), Deaf faculty and scholars, have made a case for affirmative action or preferential hiring of Deaf faculty for language, deaf/disability studies, and other co-curricular courses to be taught in ASL.

In connection to Coda faculty who may teach ASL or Deaf culture courses, Robinson and Henner (2018) assert, “While heritage signers can and do provide appropriate ASL instruction, and nuanced and authentic deaf culture experiences, heritage signers must understand that they have all the privileges of being a nondeaf person in academia and unpack how they are complicit in the systemic oppression of deaf people” (para. 19). These authors point to Disability Studies
Scholar, Linton (1998), who shared that nondisabled people, “have a responsibility to engage consciously and deliberately with these issues in their scholarship and teaching to avoid contributing to the problem” (p. 152). Hence, Codas and hearing professionals within the Deaf community, as nondisabled people, should consider their place in the community and how it may contribute to systemic oppression and attitudes in American society. We all have power; Hocker (2014) shares, “...you do not have the option of not using power. We only have options about whether to use power destructively or productively for ourselves and our relationships” (p. 116). With this in mind, how do Deaf individuals and Codas individuals use their power productively in a hearing world, where ableism often flourishes?

**Unpacking power, privilege, & oppression.** Deaf people have systemically been deprived of power and oppressed by hearing people (Baker-Shenk & Cokely, 1991; Eckert, & Rowley, 2013). Despite being raised in the Deaf world, Codas also “represent the hearing oppressor” (Shield, 2004, p. 189). Eckert and Rowley (2013) state, “One characteristic of a Deaf-centric epistemology in the twenty-first century is an increased ability to describe assumptions and attitudes of audiocentricism as privilege exhibited by most of the dominant hearing majority” (p. 104). Given the assertion that Codas are intersections of both Deaf and hearing identities, research has shown that Codas also experience marginalization and may be “more marginalized than their deaf counterparts” (Leigh, Marcus, Dobosh, & Allen 1998, p. 335).

When it comes to cultural values and ethics, Codas may not have a framework to explore and unpack their power, privileges, and values (Witteborg, 2015). Just as Deaf people need to lead discussions about Deaf lives, it is crucial for Codas to lead the discussion about Coda lives to “solidify a humanized space for Codas” (Witteborg, 2015, para. 24). Dedicated spaces for Codas have emerged through conferences through CODA International, Coda retreats, Koda
camps, and other casual gatherings. These spaces are crucial for Codas to celebrate their heritage and foster a sense of pride and belonging. Moreover, scholarship is another avenue for creating a humanized space for Codas, where “Coda Studies” could be an opportunity for exploring theories and frameworks to examine flashpoints and belonging for this marginalized group.

A recent flashpoint within the Deaf community demonstrates how identity politics regarding Codas in leadership positions intersects with group membership, oppression, and social justice. On May 31st, 2018, an anonymous blogger using the pseudonym Fox Redux-Finish Enough developed finishenough.com where he or she identifies as a deaf individual who shares his or her ultimate goal of moving toward “a model of true inclusion and collaborative work” and “have real conversations about the empowerment of Deaf* people” (See Appendix A). Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, Inc. (RID) announced Joey Trapani, a Coda, as their new CEO on June 4th (RID, 2018). On June 5th, Fox Redux-Finish Enough (2018) shared a blog titled, “Codas Behaving Badly,” where the author states Codas have hearing privilege and may be audist, ableist, and/or paternalistic toward Deaf people. He or she addresses the suffering brought upon the Deaf community at the hands of Alexander Graham Bell, who was a Coda, and addresses current issues about Codas taking jobs from Deaf people. In summary, Fox Redux-Finish Enough asserts:
This blog is one example of perceptions of Codas. With this in mind, how have perceptions of Codas evolved? How do they impact Codas and their self-perceptions? How have the perceptions of Coda leaders impacted members of the Deaf community?

This discussion regarding Joey Trapani unveiled attitudes and beliefs surrounding difference, belonging, representation, and justice. While the exact reasons are not known, Trapani announced his resignation as RID’s CEO on September 17, 2018, roughly three months after he started (RID, 2018a). Given this flashpoint and Hafer’s (2018) assertion of Codas as heritage members and cultural owners, their difference within the Deaf community needs to be unpacked in the pursuit of social justice (Rozas, 2007).

Codas do have privileges and powers; indeed, the majority of native signers are Codas (Compton, 2014; Johnston, 2006; Williamson, 2015). Moreover, in one study, Coda interpreters were perceived as having intuitive practicality and cultural awareness (Stuard, 2008). Due to their audiological hearing, Codas also have hearing privilege, which is an “unearned status that is conferred on the basis of one’s biology” (Wolsey et al., 2017, p 571). In leading the discussion regarding Codas and their hearing privileges, Witteborg (a Coda) (2015), asserts, “Possession of hearing privileges does not negate cultural membership, nor does absence of hearing privileges necessarily grant it” (para. 28). Whether one is a senior citizen with hearing loss, a Coda, a hard-of-hearing individual, or late Deafened, each of these individuals have privileges and simultaneously have experienced oppression. When it comes to identity politics, marginalization, and social justice, one must also consider “oppression olympics” where Hancock (2011) points out how labels of privilege and oppression can leave members of a community competing for who is worse off or who has suffered the most.
This flashpoint regarding RID and the Deaf community’s reaction to a Coda being elected to the CEO position is an opportunity for both Deaf and Coda individuals to reflect about identity, cultural membership, oppression, and privilege. As Witteborg (2015) asserts that it is critical for Codas to lead the discussion regarding Coda lives, Sarah Wheeler (2019) has bravely taken up this task. Wheeler, a Coda, eloquently discloses what it means to be on the border and shared how she feels about being both an oppressor and oppressed to her parents on Facebook:

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I wrote this letter to my parents around the time RID was having all that push back from the Deaf community for hiring a Coda executive director. Wanted to share what was on my mind and heart with flammy. Hugs.

A Letter to My Parents

It is painful, because not all Codas are like what is being described — but I have seen many codas who indeed are like this, and it is destroying our community. It is destroying me. It needs to be called out. I agree.

At the same time, it brings up such deeply-rooted hurt that I want to run and protect myself. My heart is screaming in pain, because it feels like our parents are kicking us out, that they don’t love us anymore. My feelings of having no home and no connection to my family is becoming deeper and more divided. The hurt is so very hard to express and runs so deeply. Why do you not understand me? I have learned everything I am from you. I don’t want to oppress you. I just never knew how to stand strong in our identity together when the whole world wanted to destroy us, our language, and our culture.

I just want to be loved by you and welcomed by you as your child. I’m not the one who wants to hurt you, and maybe sometimes I do because I have both cultures within me, the oppressor and the oppressed. I promise to unpack these privileges, to be honest with you, and to listen to you when I have hurt you. I want you to know that I come from you, I am a part of you.

This reunification takes difficult processing and healing of our relationships through open and honest dialogue, acknowledging the deep hurt and then working together to strengthen our relationships. Our coda roots come from our parents who are deaf, yet we live between two worlds.

Somehow, I feel you can understand me. Our lives are a reflection upon itself, as you had hearing parents. We always tried to fit in with our families, but never quite could. We always live in the “in-between,” and sometimes it is holding both cultures within us that is what makes us so unique. To deny one part would be to deny the whole.

I am humbled when I think about all you have shown me about the world. The love, sacrifice, joy...all the while knowing there was a possibility that I might leave you behind for the hearing
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world. I will admit fault where I have been wrong and stand in front of you as vulnerable as I was when I was first born. But not much has changed since then.

I still need you and your love more than ever. I am sorry for all I have done that has hurt you. I am sorry. I love you more than you can ever know.


This is one example of a Coda unpacking her privilege and experience with oppression, where she also expressed a need for difficult processing and healing. She suggested this is necessary for both Deaf parents and Codas. As Codas unpack being both the oppressed and the oppressor, insider and the outsider, this process can lead to internalized self-hatred (Witteborg, 2015). Clare (2015) argues that transforming “self-hatred into pride is a fundamental act of resistance” (p. 109). Outside of dedicated spaces for Codas where this resistance and pride often takes place, there are other frameworks to consider when exploring and unpacking power and privilege. Colonomos (2013), the Director of the Bilingual Mediation Center and a Coda, elaborates on the concept of “Deaf Heart,” as a lens to be used to understand social dynamics beyond physical deafness and promote accountability.

**Lenses for ethics and accountability: Deaf-heart and allyship.** Colonomos (2013) shares how ‘Deaf Heart’ comes from justice and morality, proposes responsibility, being accountable to the feedback to the Deaf community, or even connecting with Deaf people outside of work. Colonomos shares that interpreters who lack ‘Deaf Heart’ may unconsciously act against the Deaf community; and she proposes that Deaf individuals and Codas are more aware of their ‘Deaf Hearts’ and believes interpreters should actively seek their input on how to incorporate more ‘Deaf Heart’ into their professions. Napier (2009) shares the perspective of Ben Steiner, a British Coda interpreter, who believes Codas are more culturally Deaf than individuals who are auditorily deaf but may have learned to sign later in life. Steiner coined the sign “DEAF-
HEART” in Britain to represent Codas, yet Napier shares how this sign has been controversial, especially when hearing interpreters who did not grow up in the community use it to refer to themselves. Napier challenges her readers to consider who decides who is referred to as Deaf, Deaf-Heart, or who is Deaf enough in relation to community membership.

In the United States, Jose-Ovi Velazquez (2018), a Deaf professor in Texas, has suggested borrowing the sign ‘Deaf Heart’ from Britain as the sign for Coda. However, this concept has been highly debated and contested by Suggs (2014), a Deaf author, as cultural appropriation. Cultural appropriation (2018) as defined in the Cambridge Dictionary is: “the act of taking or using things from a culture that is not your own, especially without showing that you understand or respect this culture.” Suggs denounces the concept of ‘Deaf Heart’ and asserts that interpreters should pursue the title of being an ‘ally.’ Moreover, Codas have often been seen as allies to the community (Hoffmeister, 2008), while on the other hand, others do not see Codas as automatic allies as seen by Fox Redux or of the same social status as other Deaf individuals (Shield, 2004).

The term “ally,” however, is also controversial. The issue is that since many Codas identify as “part” Deaf, Codas may see being an ally as a concept that places them as outsiders, where ally has referred to someone who is not a member of the marginalized group expressing support to that group. “Also, the term ‘ally’ also conjures up images of war. Is there a war going on? Are there sides to be taken? If so, what does that mean for someone who is literally on both sides?” (B. Popoff, personal communication, October 25, 2018). It is an internal war and an external one as well. When it comes to Codas in leadership positions, Codas must consider where their allegiances lie and how their decision making, or behaviors, support or do not support the Deaf community. In comparison, DiAngelo (2015) speaks to interrupting internalized
dominance in order to stop colluding with racism and the oppression of people of color. When considering allegiances, could Codas be colluding with oppression through absorbed beliefs of hearing dominance from the hearing community? Could these beliefs become attitudinal barriers to collaboration and justice for the Deaf community? In addition, Codas have to keep in mind which roles or professions are appropriate to align themselves with the Deaf community without diminishing Deaf members or their own cultural affiliations and identity. Allyship may be a broken model: Codas cannot take sides due to their dual heritage as both insiders and outsiders.

When it comes to the pursuit of justice and ethical leadership in the American Deaf community, Deaf individuals and Codas may need to apply Humphries’ (2008) proposal “…to move on from ‘How are we different?’ to ‘How are we being?’” (p. 41). Instead of looking at or comparing audiological status and/or cultural affiliations, pursuing social justice means examining the factors that contribute to disempowerment, disenfranchisement, marginalization, and oppression.

**Equitable & ethical leadership in the American Deaf community.** When it comes to resisting identity politics and oppression olympics in the Deaf community, leaders in pursuit of social justice must bridge the equity gap to mitigate oppression. The most effective path to equitable and ethical leadership is to have a dialogue about the issues at hand (Lozano-Reich & Cloud, 2009; Yuval-Davis, 2012). To assign all issues in the American Deaf community to hearing privilege or ableism may be disempowering for Codas and Deaf people. In the pursuit of social justice and equity, is there a way that Codas and Deaf people can work in solidarity to respond to the needs of all members of the Deaf and Coda communities? In order for equitable leadership to exist, one must look at what is considered ethical and fair. Instead of blame, leaders can focus on authentic discussions and create a humanized space for all.
This exploration of the emic perceptions of Codas in leadership positions has significant implications not only for the interpreting field, but also for Deaf studies, Deaf education, Disability studies, and professionals who work with the Deaf community to achieve common goals. Equally, perceptions of Codas and what it means to be “culturally Deaf” have sociological implications for the Deaf community, their children, and professionals who work in Deaf-related fields. Given the limited research regarding the perceptions of Codas, the researcher has outlined the following research question:

What are the perceptions of Codas in leadership positions within the American Deaf community?

This study is an exploration of the perception of Codas in leadership positions within the Deaf community as described by Codas and Deaf people. The researcher investigates in what ways these perceptions impact Deaf individuals and Codas, along with recommendations for equitable leadership approaches. The findings include themes regarding attitudes, beliefs, and/or values associated with identity, group membership, and equity. Through this study, the researcher may uncover knowledge that may reveal the reasons behind the growing divide and distrust in the American hearing and Deaf communities (NAD, 2017). This study will also explore possible recommendations for moving toward shared power, collaboration, and inclusion.

In conclusion, social justice and equity is a practice and group effort. Perceptions of individuals’ identity directly correlate with representation and social justice. Charlton’s (1998) motto of “nothing about us, without us” begs the question: who is “us”? The Coda population is highly under-researched (Adams, 2008; Bishop, 2009) and in understanding the systems and meanings we call culture, it may be possible for cross-cultural mediation to occur, along with a shift toward a praxis of common humanity. A praxis where Deaf people and their children
exercise unity and collaboration; a praxis where audism and marginalization may be eradicated, and social justice may be achieved.

**Methodology**

**Focus and Framework**

Since the research question is highly concerned with a cultural context, I conducted a critical ethnographic study utilizing both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Ethnographic studies are associated with the “nature, construction and maintenance of culture” (Goulding, 2005, p. 298). Berg and Lune (2012) share that researchers are “in the midst of whatever it is they study” (p. 197). This is a key consideration regarding my ascribed status as a Coda and the researcher. As a Coda interpreter, I have access to the Coda community and also the Deaf community. However, I may be viewed as an outsider, someone who is not a full-fledged member of Deaf culture, or possibly as one who is on the border between the Deaf world and Hearing world (Hoffmeister, 2008). Goulding (2005) states, “Ethnographers aim to look beyond what people say to understand the shared system of meanings we call “culture”” (p. 298).

Given the cultural phenomenon and conflict regarding Codas and identity politics, it is my intention to examine the nature of culture within the Deaf and Coda communities and identify underlying themes of attitudes, beliefs, and/or values are key to these communities regarding Codas in leadership positions.

Sherwood (1987) suggests an ethnographic approach as beneficial for cross-cultural mediation, “Germine to the task of cross-cultural mediation is understanding the cultural information of communicating groups from an ethnographic point of view” (p.19). There are multiple ethnographic approaches and considering my position as a Coda and the researcher, I realize I am biased, and this bias will influence how I understand and interpret the information.
EMIC PERCEPTIONS OF CODAS IN LEADERSHIP

Presented from both participant groups: Deaf and Coda individuals. Therefore, similar to the framework of West Oyedele (2015), who conducted an ethnographic study of a community as both a member and a researcher, I chose to apply the framework of a critical ethnographic study. West Oyedele (2015) states, “Critical ethnographies differ from traditional ethnographies in that the researcher seeks to balance some social injustice” (p. 20). As Berg and Lune (2012) described, “critical ethnography is conventional ethnography, but with a clear purpose, and which intentionally seeks positive change and empowerment for participants” (p. 207). My intention is to determine if perceptions of Codas in leadership positions conflict with deaf-centric ideology and seek positive change. If there is indeed underlying conflict regarding identity politics, representation, and job competition, I aim to examine underlying factors, and gather recommendations from participants for Codas in leadership positions regarding balance and ethical considerations.

Design

The data for this study was collected from January 3rd, 2019 – March 14th, 2019. In the initial phase, a questionnaire (see Appendix B) was used to gather large-scale, quantitative, anonymous data using a Qualtrics survey, a web-based survey to conduct research or data collection and analysis. This was to obtain a better understanding of shared meaning for commonly used phrases based on the literature review and group membership within Deaf and Coda communities residing in the United States. Singleton, Jones, and Hanumantha (2014) have shared that it is questionable as to whether a survey in English is truly accessible for the Deaf community. Therefore, the survey questions were provided in two languages: ASL and English. However, for feasibility of this phase of the study, all answers were collected in English. This survey was also utilized to recruit interview participants for the second phase of this study.
In the second phase, I utilized semi-structured interviews (see Appendix C) to identify themes regarding the perceptions of Codas in leadership. For feasibility of this phase of the study, a maximum of 7 Coda participants and 7 Deaf participants were interviewed. These interviews supplemented the researcher’s understanding of the survey findings. Each interview was conducted one-on-one and took place online using ZOOM, an online video conferencing program. Hale & Napier (2013) assert one-time interviews can be effective if participants are informed and goals are established prior to the interview. Therefore, the recruitment materials briefed participants on the context and goals of the interview.

To avoid any form of deception, all recruitment materials included an English summary of the researcher’s identity and background as a Coda (see Appendix D). Additionally, the scope and intent of the study was shared, highlighting the expectations of participants via a YouTube presentation (https://youtu.be/I6DDr5rErTk) in American Sign Language with English captions. This video presentation clarifies that the research assistant is not the researcher. For the sake of the validity and reliability of this study and to alleviate any potential issues that participants may have with the researcher’s positionality as a Coda, a Deaf research assistant conducted interviews with Deaf participants. My intent was to provide a space for Deaf participants to feel comfortable sharing their perceptions about Codas in leadership positions. The research assistant was a certified Deaf interpreter, was trained on the scope of the study, the interview questions, and signed a confidentiality agreement (see Appendix E) to protect the identity of all participants and confidentiality of all data. With this approach, it was my aim to ensure participants shared their unveiled perceptions about Codas in leadership positions. Lastly, participants were required to return a signed consent form prior to scheduling their interview (see Appendix F).
Interviews of both Deaf and Coda participants applied Seidman’s (2006) tips for effective interview techniques for qualitative studies. These strategies included listening more, talking less, avoiding leading questions and rather using open-ended questions to guide the semi-structured interviews. Charmaz (2006) defines open-ended questions as nonjudgmental questions that encourage “unanticipated statements and stories to emerge” (p. 26). While Seidman (2006) recommends 90 minutes per interview, interviews were scheduled for 60 minutes to reduce the time commitment and to be more appealing for the participants. The researcher and research assistant read scripts to ensure participants received the same information prior to each interview (see Appendix G & H). Actual interviews ranged from 35-90 minutes in length. With a social approach to interviews (Hale & Napier, 2013) and Seidman’s interviewing techniques, the researcher and research assistant co-constructed data with the participants, where dialogue was fostered, and meaning was created with clarifying questions.

**Population and Data Collection**

**Survey.** In total, 213 individuals responded to the survey link. However, ten individuals did not complete the questionnaire and ten individuals did not meet the criteria for the study. There were three required criteria outlined in all recruitment materials: 1) A Deaf individual or a hearing individual with at least one Deaf parent; 2) Live and work/ed in the United States; 3) Be at least 18 years old. Ten individuals identified as hearing individuals and did not identify as having at least one Deaf parent when responding to the demographic questions. Therefore, out of the 213 responses, data was collected and analyzed from the 193 remaining participants.

Of the 193 participants, 146 (75%) identified as female or cisgender female; 42 (21%) identified as male or cisgender male; and the remaining 5 participants (4%) identified as either trans male, gender non-conforming, or did not answer. In regard to audiological status: 33
identified as Deaf, 3 identified as hard of hearing, and 157 identified as hearing with at least one Deaf parent. Of the 193 participants, 176 identified as deaf parented, which means 19 of the Deaf or hard of hearing participants had at least one or more Deaf parent and 17 Deaf participants did not. Of the 36 individuals who identified as Deaf or hard of hearing, 19 shared they do have Koda or Coda children, whereas the other 17 individuals do not.

In regard to the age and ethnic or racial background of the survey participants, there were many various age groups (see Figure 4) represented and 19% of participants identified with an ethnic or racial category other than white (see Figure 5).

![Age of Survey Participants:](image)

**Figure 4.** Age of Survey Participants.

Figure. 4 exhibits a wide range of age groups who responded to the survey. The largest age category was from 55 participants (28.5%) who identified in the age range of 36-45. The second largest age category was from 42 participants (21.76%) who identified in the age range of 26-35. Of the remaining participants, 38 participants (19.69%) identified in the age range of 46-55, 33 participants (17.10%) identified in the age range of 56-65, and 15 participants (7.77%) identified in the age range of 66 or over.
Racial and Ethnic Groups of Survey Participants (n=193):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American Indian or Alaskan Native</td>
<td>1.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>1.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black or African American</td>
<td>4.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin</td>
<td>6.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Eastern or North African</td>
<td>0.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander</td>
<td>0.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>80.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other racial or ethnic group not listed above:</strong></td>
<td>2.86%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 5. Racial and Ethnic Groups of Survey Participants*

For the racial and ethnic demographics, survey participants were asked to select all applicable categories. Of the 193 survey participants, the smallest groups represented for racial or ethnic categories were the Middle Eastern/North African group with one participant, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander with two participants, American Indian or Alaskan Native with four participants, and Asian with four participants. Nine individuals (4.29%) identified as Black or African American and 14 participants (6.67%) identified as Hispanic, Latino, or of Spanish origin. Of the 193 participants, 14 participants (7%) identified as only one racial/ethnic group other than white, 23 (12%) identified as two or more ethnic/racial groups, whereas 156 participants (nearly 81%) only chose the white category. Lastly, but not least, six individuals (2.86%) identified with the other racial or ethnic group not listed in the survey.
Figure 6. U.S. Regional Divisions Represented in the Survey

West (AK, HI, WA, OR, CA, ID, MT, WY, NV, UT, CO, AZ, NM)
Midwest (ND, SD, NE, KS, MN, IA, MO, WI, IL, IN, MI, OH)
South (TX, OK, AR, LA, MS, AL, GA, FL, TN, KY, WV, VA, NC, SC)
Northeast (MD, DE, NJ, CT, PA, NY, RI, MA, NH, VT, ME)

The largest group of survey participants came from the Western U.S. regional division with 66 participants (34%). The second largest group represented in the survey were from the Southern U.S. regional division with 61 individuals (32%). A total of 43 participants (22%) represented the Midwestern U.S. regional division. And the smallest group represented in the survey were from the Northeastern U.S. regional division with 23 participants (12%).
Of the 193 survey participants, 127 (44%) individuals identified as sign language interpreters, which was the largest profession represented. However, survey participants were allowed to choose more than one category. The second largest group represented, 54 (19%) of participants identified with another profession or field of work such as interpreter coordinator, interpreting agency owner or co-owner, sales manager, accountant, fitness instructor, nursing, vocational rehab counselor, mentor, real estate agent, fashion designer, advocate, social worker, education specialist, lawyer, supervisor, research scientist, or student. A total of 57 (30%) of participants identified as a post-secondary teacher and/or interpreter trainer. Of the remaining participants, 33 (11%) identified as a director/manager and 18 (6.23%) identified as secondary
teachers. Overall, there were a wide range of age groups, U.S. regional locations, and professions represented in the survey.

**Interviews.** Of the 193 survey participants, 129 (67%) people expressed they were interested in participating in an interview. However, out of the 129, only 116 (23 Deaf and 93 Codas) submitted their name and contact information via a Survey Monkey link, an online survey platform, provided in the Qualtrics survey. Since more than seven Deaf participants and seven Coda participants expressed interest in the interview phase of the study, a random number generator ([https://www.random.org/lists](https://www.random.org/lists)) was utilized to choose participants for the interview phase of this study and the first 7 names listed of each group was chosen. Once the participants were chosen, I emailed each of the interested parties and provided them a one-week deadline to respond to the initial scheduling email. If there was no response, a random number generator was utilized once again to select participants from all of the remaining contacts.

The one-on-one interview participants consisted of two groups: Deaf and Coda individuals. The researcher’s target was 5-7 interviews from each group with a maximum of 14 interview participants. During the data collection phase, a total of 15 interview participants were interviewed: 7 Deaf, 7 Codas, and 1 Coda who identified as a hard of hearing interpreter. Since this study set out to compare how perceptions of Coda leaders impact Deaf individuals and Coda individuals, including the Coda who identifies as hard of hearing would complicate the analysis and would reduce the feasibility of the data analysis of this study within the given time constraints. Thus, this participant was eliminated from the study. However, I strongly recommend that the perspectives of hard-of-hearing Codas merit further study.

For sake of anonymity, the location, levels of achieved education, and race or ethnic group of each interview participant are not revealed. Additionally, pseudonyms were chosen by
the participants in the second phase of the study. Individuals from all four regions (Figure 4.2) are represented in both the Deaf and Coda participant groups in Table 1. There was two people who identified either as a person of color or belonging to ethnic group, which equates to 14% of the interview participants, whereas the remaining twelve interview participants (86%) identified as white. Both groups included individuals with no degrees to undergraduate and/or graduate degrees, as well as various certifications. In both the survey and the interview, Deaf participants were asked if they had hearing children to compare the perceptions of Deaf parents of Codas to Deaf individuals who do not have hearing children (as seen in Table 1).

Table 1

*Deaf and Coda Interview Participants: Demographics and background*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deaf Interview Participants</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blaze</td>
<td>Male, no children, interpreter, age range 26-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalton</td>
<td>Male, no children, research scientist, age range 18-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Gender non-conforming, no children, interpreter, post-secondary teacher, age range 46-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeff</td>
<td>Male, parent of both Deaf and hearing children, interpreter, co-owner of an interpreting agency, age range 46-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katie Scarlett</td>
<td>Female, parent of a hearing child, ASL teacher in public K-12 school, age 26-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orion Berry</td>
<td>Female, no children, retired ASL teacher in public K-12 school, age range 56-65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan</td>
<td>Female, no children, post-secondary teacher, director, age range 36-45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coda Interview Participants</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alice</td>
<td>Female, interpreter, age range 26-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>Female, interpreter, interpreter teacher, program administrator, age range over 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moira</td>
<td>Female, interpreter, community educator, interpreter trainer, mentor, age range 46-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanny</td>
<td>Female, interpreter, age range over 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pablo</td>
<td>Male, interpreter, director, age range 26-35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In order to assess the data for word frequency and themes, the researcher created transcripts of all the interviews. The interviews with Deaf participants were translated from ASL to English using Movie Captioner, an application used to create movie subtitles and transcripts. Translated quotes from Deaf participants utilized in this study were evaluated by the research assistant for accuracy and the existence of potential bias influencing the translation regarding word choice. This same platform was used to transcribe the interviews with Coda participants, who used both English and ASL in their responses. As Poland (2001) described, “Making data available in textual form for subsequent coding and analysis is widespread in qualitative research” (p. 629). By having all the interview data in textual form, the researcher was able to utilize NVivo, a software program for qualitative and mixed-methods research and perform data analysis that expedites coding and categorization based on theme.

Limitations

Critical ethnographic studies and mixed-method approaches have their strengths and challenges. According to Hale & Napier (2013), ethnographic studies are not generalizable, yet they can be useful to address social problems in specific contexts. Some limitations to surveys are that survey questions can be vague, inflexible, or controversial. However, the benefits of a survey are as follows: they can be representative of the larger population, cost-effective, and feasible to collect larger amounts of data in a short time-frame. Moreover, data obtained from interviews are not typically generalizable, especially given the size of the population sample of the interviewed participants. Goulding (2005) shared that critical ethnographic studies often
challenge holistic interpretations because they only represent a slice of time and context. Despite this limitation, Charmaz (2006) argues, “intensive interviewing permits an in-depth exploration of a particular topic or experience, and thus, is a useful method for interpretive inquiry” (p. 25). In order to support the validity of this interpretive inquiry, the researcher adopted an inductive approach.

In the initial coding of data, codes were developed utilizing an inductive approach, where categories were not set prior to the analysis, but rather developed from the data. Each interview was analyzed for its content, and then the themes, as well as the criteria, were identified. Consequently, the researcher utilized a reflexive approach and axial coding based on the literature review and the survey results. Scholars argue axical coding is an inductive and systematic qualitative method to identify the relationships between the categories that emerge from data analysis (Charmaz, 2006; Gorra, 2010; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Thus, axical coding was used to provide detailed context, triangulated interpretations of the data, and provide specific recommendations for application. Subsequently, others may determine the application of the findings to similar or alternative contexts and groups.

In accordance with triangulated and mixed method approaches, the researcher formulated themes based on frequency of mention from the survey results, and the fourteen interviews to strengthen the validity of the themes established in this study. Previous literature provided cultural insight into the rhetoric and discourse that has transpired over the past century regarding cultural identity, as well as social and economic contexts in the Deaf community. The survey revealed data regarding exposure to Deaf and/or Coda teachers, perceptions of the Deaf community, as well as beliefs and attitudes regarding Codas in leadership positions within the American Deaf community. Interview participants disclosed negative, positive, and divided
perceptions regarding Codas in leadership positions, as well as provided several recommendations for Coda leaders within the American Deaf community. While critical ethnographic studies may have their weaknesses, this study has a clear purpose: to seek positive change and gather recommendations regarding balance and ethical considerations regarding Codas in leadership.

**Contribution**

While there have been multiple publications regarding identity politics to define the boundaries of who is and is not Deaf, there is minimal research regarding Codas. To date, I have not discovered any research or publications regarding Coda leaders in the Deaf community. Therefore, I set out to add to the body of current knowledge through this mixed-method study. This exploration of the emic perceptions of Codas in leadership positions has significant implications not only for the interpreting field, but also for Deaf studies, Deaf education, Disability studies, and professionals who work with the Deaf community to achieve common goals. It is my hope that this research will explore attitudes and beliefs regarding cultural identity, Deaf-centric ideology, and leadership ethics in the American Deaf community data to reveal factors that may be contributing to the growing divide and distrust. In addition, questions will explore possible recommendations for moving toward shared power, collaboration, and inclusion.

**Participant Recruitment Methods**

I requested my recruitment materials to be distributed through five organizations: National Association of the Deaf, RID (Deaf Caucus Member Section and Deaf-Parented Interpreters Members Section), American Sign Language Teachers Association (ASLTA), Conference of Interpreter Trainers (CIT), and Sorenson Communications (Coda Distribution
List). However, I was not successful in obtaining approval to distribute my materials through each organization. Various mechanisms such as email and social media were utilized for distributing my recruitment materials (see Table 2).

Table 2

Accepted Requests: Distribution of Recruitment Materials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accepted for Email Distribution:</th>
<th>Accepted for Facebook Group Distribution:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASLTA</td>
<td>ASLTA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RID: Deaf Parented Interpreted (DPI) Members</td>
<td>CIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorenson Coda VI Distro List</td>
<td>CODA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAD: Utah Association of the Deaf</td>
<td>NAD State Pages: OR, OK, TN, MI, NC, VT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RID: Deaf Parented Interpreters (DPI Caucus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RID: National Page; RID Research Corner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned earlier, 193 individuals completed the survey and from that survey, 116 individuals (23 Deaf and 93 Codas) expressed interest in being interviewed. In my initial design for recruitment for the two participant groups (Deaf and Coda individuals), it was my intention to have equal representation from each group. However, as survey responses were collected, it became apparent that there was a much stronger response from the Coda participant group, where 157 (81%) out of the 193 survey participants were Codas and 36 (19%) were Deaf individuals. This could be due to the declined or no response to the recruitment materials (Table 2). It could also be that the recruitment flyer may have been thought to be only for Codas. While the actual factors are unknown as to what caused this difference in responses, it is a point to note there was a much smaller response from the Deaf participants and that in and of itself is data. While it was not my intention to have a larger response from one participant group than the other, this should be overlooked when reviewing the survey results.
Results and Discussion of Findings

Phase 1: Results of the Qualtrics Survey

In total there were 23 questions for survey. It was estimated that the survey would take less than 20 minutes and the average completion time took 25 minutes. The survey included six initial questions to verify if participants met the criteria for this study, such as audiological status, had at least one Deaf parent, age, state of residence, and profession or field of work. The other questions were related to educational experience and how often individuals work in the Deaf community. Questions 14 & 15 address whether the participants had any Coda teachers/professors or Deaf teachers/professors. The final 7 questions had to do with perceptions of the Deaf community and Codas in leadership positions. Starting with question 14, the survey results are as follows:
Q14- During your education, did you have any Coda teachers/professors? If yes, please indicate when (Please select all that apply):

Deaf Respondents (n=66):

- Secondary (K-12): 12.00%
- Post-secondary (College/University): 9.99%
- Workshops: 26.00%
- I am not aware whether I had any Coda teachers/professors: 24.00%
- No, I did have any Coda teachers/professors: 22.72%

Coda Respondents (n=157):

- Secondary (K-12): 10.08%
- Post-secondary (College/University): 28.00%
- Workshops: 40.34%
- I am not aware whether I had any Coda teachers/professors: 27.27%
- No, I did have any Coda teachers/professors: 22.72%

*Figure 8. Comparison of Survey Results for Deaf to Coda Participants: Exposure to Coda Teachers/Professors*

From the above survey results, it appears that Deaf participants were more likely to have exposure to Coda teachers/professors than Coda participants. An estimated 40% of Deaf participants shared that they had exposure to a Coda teacher/professor during their secondary and/or post-secondary (formal) education, whereas Codas shared they had 25% exposure to a Coda teacher/professor during their formal education. Both Deaf and Coda participants expressed similar exposure to Coda teachers during workshops, 24% of Deaf participants compared to 27% of Coda participants. An estimated 36% of Deaf participants stated they did not or were not aware of ever of having a Coda teacher/professor, whereas an estimated 49% of Coda participants expressed no exposure or were not aware of exposure to Coda teachers/professors.
Q15- During your education, did you have any Deaf teachers/professors? If yes, please indicate when (Please select all that apply):

Deaf Respondents (n=36):

- Secondary (K-12): 26.47%
- Post-secondary (College/University): 22.50%
- Workshop/s: 0%
- No, I did not have any Deaf teachers/professors: 0%
- I am not aware whether I had any Deaf teachers/professors: 8.82%

Coda Respondents (n=157):

- Secondary (K-12): 38.24%
- Post-secondary (College/University): 37.50%
- Workshop/s: 0%
- No, I did not have any Deaf teachers/professors: 2.00%

**Figure 9. Comparison of Survey Results for Deaf to Coda Participants: Exposure to Deaf Teachers/Professors**

From the above survey results, it appears that the Deaf and Coda participants had similar exposure to Deaf teachers/professors in their post-secondary education. Deaf participants exhibited being 13 times more likely at 26% versus Coda participants at 2% of having Deaf teachers during their secondary education. An estimated 9% Deaf participants expressed that they did not have any exposure to Deaf teachers/professors, whereas an estimated 23% of Coda participants stated they did not have any Deaf teachers/professors. Lastly, Coda participants (37.5%) expressed that they were more likely to have exposure to Deaf teachers or presenters during workshops than Deaf participants (26.5%).

In comparing questions 14 and 15, the survey participants reveal additional facets of exposure to having Coda or Deaf teachers/professors/presenters during their education. An estimated 65% of Deaf participants shared they had a Deaf teacher/professor compared to 40%
who had a Coda teacher/professor during their formal education. An estimated 39% of Coda participants shared that they had a Deaf teacher/professor compared to 25% who had a Coda teacher during their formal education. An estimated 35% of Deaf participants identified with having no Coda and/or Deaf teachers/professors, whereas an estimated 63% of Coda participants expressed they did neither had a Coda or a Deaf teacher/professor during anytime of their education. An estimated 65% of Coda participants had exposure to a Deaf or Coda workshop presenter in comparison to 50% of Deaf participants.

Q16 – When I think of the Deaf community, I perceive them as…. (choose all that apply):

![Figure 10. Perceptions of the Deaf community (N = 193)](image)

Figure 10 represents the totals of all categories from the 193 survey participants, where individuals were allowed to select more than one category. These aggregated totals reflect a total of 160 (63%) individuals perceive the Deaf community as a cultural/linguistic minority, 44 (17%) individuals perceive the Deaf community as an ethnic group, whereas 34 (13%)
individuals perceive the Deaf community as a part of the larger disabled community. The remaining 16 (7%) individuals chose the “other” category, which included comments such as: family, colleagues, friends, community members, my people, home, normal human beings that are misunderstood in society, a part of normal society, or just like the rest of us. Of the 16 responses to the “Other” category, 6 listed family. Some participants chose only one category: 102 (53%) individuals selected only the linguistic/cultural minority category, seven (4%) individuals selected only an ethnic group, and four (2%) individuals selected the Deaf community as a part of the larger disabled community.

Q17: When I think of Codas in leadership positions*, I perceive them as ____ (of the Deaf community)… (Chose all that apply): * Codas in leadership positions refers to a Deaf parented, hearing individual who works in a field related to the Deaf community and has the capacity for influencing a group of individuals to achieve a common goal.

Figure 11. Perceptions of Codas in Leadership Positions: Aggregated Totals
(n = 193)

Figure 11 represents the totals of all categories from the 193 survey participants, where individuals were allowed to select more than one category regarding perceptions of Codas in
leadership positions. Over half of the participants or 117 (25% aggregated total) selected the category of individuals with a “Deaf-Heart” as one of their options in addition to other categories. This category, while not defined in the survey, was further explored during phase two with the Deaf and Coda interview participants. The categories of “both insiders and outsiders” and “allies” both were equally selected by 101 (22% aggregated total) participants. While 76 (16.5% aggregated total) chose the category of accomplices, 62 (13.5% aggregated total) individuals perceive Coda leaders as insiders of the Deaf community. Only 3 participants or less than 1% (aggregated total) see Coda leaders as outsiders.

Comparison of Deaf Participant to Coda Participants

Deaf respondents with hearing children (n=19):  
Deaf respondents without hearing children (n=17):  

Coda Respondents (n=157):

*Figure 12. Perceptions of Codas in Leadership Positions: A Comparison*
Perceptions of Deaf participants with hearing children are compared to Deaf participants without hearing children and perceptions of Coda participants in figure 12. This data reveals some differences in perceptions. For example, nearly 16% of Deaf participants with hearing children perceive Coda leaders as insiders, whereas only 4% of Deaf participants without hearing children perceive Coda leaders as insiders. Only one Coda participant selected the category of outsiders, whereas only two Deaf participants (one with and one without hearing children) selected the outsider category. The other category with the main difference in perceptions was that of being both an insider and outsider, where 30% of Deaf participants without hearing children perceive Coda leaders as both in comparison to 13% of Deaf participants with hearing children. Lastly, 26% of Coda participants were slightly more likely to perceive Coda leaders as individuals with a “Deaf-Heart” as compared to the Deaf participants.

Q18: When I think of Codas in leadership positions, I perceive them as…

Figure 13. Perceptions of Coda Leaders & Community Membership
(n=193)
Figure 13 reflects where the participants perceive Coda leaders and their membership relative to the Deaf and/or hearing communities. When faced with only one choice, 131 (68%) of 193 participants perceive Codas in leadership positions as a part of both the Deaf and hearing communities. Only 5 (less than 3%) participants perceive Coda leaders as only a part of the hearing community and not a part of or on the border of the Deaf community. In total, over 97% of participants perceive Coda leaders as members or partial members of the Deaf community.

Q19: When I think of Codas in leadership positions, I perceive them as... (Choose all that apply):

Deaf respondents with hearing children (n=19):

- Heritage members of the Deaf community: 30.77%
- A subcultural group of the Deaf community: 23.08%
- A part of the Deaf community, but not of Deaf culture: 4.17%
- A part of the Deaf community and a part of Deaf culture: 19.23%

Deaf respondents without hearing children (n=17):

- Heritage members of the Deaf community: 4.17%
- A subcultural group of the Deaf community: 33.33%
- A part of the Deaf community, but not of Deaf culture: 4.17%
- A part of the Deaf community and a part of Deaf culture: 25.00%

Coda Respondents (n=157):

- Heritage members of the Deaf community: 1.23%
- A subcultural group of the Deaf community: 33.33%
- A part of the Deaf community, but not of Deaf culture: 34.98%
- A part of the Deaf community and a part of Deaf culture: 7.41%
- Not a part of the Deaf community or Deaf culture: 23.09%

*Figure 14. Perceptions of Coda Leaders & their Cultural Affiliations and/or Community Membership*
Figure 14 compares aggregated totals regarding the perceptions of Codas in leadership positions and their cultural and/or community membership. Of participant groups in figure 14, they had comparable (31-33%) perceptions of Coda leaders as a part of both the Deaf community and a part of Deaf culture. Coda participants were more likely at 35% to state they were heritage members of the Deaf community, whereas 23-25% of Deaf participants shared this perception. One marked difference is that 19% of Deaf participants with hearing children perceive Coda leaders to be a part of the Deaf community, but not of Deaf culture as compared to only 4% of Deaf participants without hearing children and 7% of Coda participants.

Q20: How often have perceptions of Codas in leadership positions affected you in the past year?

Figure 15. Comparison of Frequency of Impact in the Past Year
In the timeframe of 2018-2019, 42% of Coda participants expressed being either very frequently or frequently impacted by perceptions of Codas in leadership positions. In comparison, 35% of Deaf participants without hearing children were very frequently or frequently impacted, whereas 28% of Deaf participants with hearing children were very frequently or frequently impacted by perceptions of Codas in leadership. Six (33%) of eighteen Deaf parents of hearing children expressed being impacted at a moderate frequency by these perceptions. Eight of seventeen (47%) Deaf participants without hearing children expressed being seldomly impacted by these perceptions as opposed to Coda and Deaf individuals with hearing participants who expressed being impacted more frequently by these perceptions in the past year.

Q:21 – What professions related to the Deaf community do you consider appropriate for a Coda? (Choose all that apply):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sign language interpreter</td>
<td>15.79%</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpreter Trainer</td>
<td>14.07%</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocate</td>
<td>14.07%</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpreter Manager</td>
<td>14.86%</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Worker</td>
<td>13.92%</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Owner/CEO</td>
<td>13.33%</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASL Teacher</td>
<td>10.29%</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.87%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 16. Professions Considered Appropriate for Codas*

Figure 16 depicts the aggregated totals for appropriate professions considered by participants of the study. In evaluation of individual choices, 135 (71%) of 191 participants
selected sign language interpreter in comparison to only 88 (46%) of participants who considered the position of ASL teacher as appropriate for Codas. An estimated 66% (127-128) shared that the professions of interpreter trainer, advocate, and interpreter manager were appropriate for Codas, whereas 60% (114) felt it was appropriate for Codas to be a business owner or CEO. In the “Other” category, 10 (2 Deaf & 8 Coda) individuals out of 16 listed that they consider any profession to be acceptable for Codas. In alignment with this, one Deaf participant shared the following statement in the “Other” category, “I would check all of these as long as they had the proper education and credentials.” One Coda participant commented, “Codas can do any job relating with the deaf community or anything outside of the deaf community, it is their choice whether to choose a profession that best fits them.”

Question 22 asked survey participants an open-ended question. This was the last question prior to asking if they were interested in an interview for the second phase of the study. The open-ended question asked, “Is there anything else you would like to share about your perceptions in leadership positions?” In response, 72 individuals from the 193 participants shared additional comments. Several of these comments are shared in the phase 2 of the study, where they overlap with many of the themes that were found in the interviews.

**Phase 2: Interviews**

In consideration of leadership and professional ties to the Deaf community, it appears there has been underlying tension between Deaf and Coda communities. The researcher examined which perceptions of Codas in leadership positions have caused conflict regarding identity politics, representation, and job competition, and gathered recommendations for equitable approaches from participants for Codas in leadership positions. In alignment with a critical ethnographic framework, results from this study aim to share three objectives: 1) Identify
the themes of participants’ commentary 2) If conflict is identified regarding power relations and social inequities, what recommendations did participants offer for Codas in leadership positions? 3) Assess what context and other underlying factors could be attributing to the perceptions of Codas in leadership positions. By applying these objectives to the data analysis, the researcher was consistent with a critical ethnographic framework.

The interview data and analysis are divided into three main sections. The first section provides the results on how Deaf and Coda participants define “good” leadership in the Deaf community. The second section dives into the heart of the research question, what are the perceptions of Codas in leadership positions within the Deaf community? Lastly, the third section provides the results and analysis of participants’ recommendations for Codas in leadership positions.

**Defining “good” leadership in the Deaf community.** Regarding “good” leadership in the Deaf community, the following five main themes became apparent throughout interviews: a) ethical, b) effective, c) community participation, d) communicative, and e) collaborative. These themes (Table 3) were identified through content analysis of each transcript and word frequency queries in NVivo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories (Themes)</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethical practices</td>
<td>Data were sorted into this category when the subject referred to:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Integrity, patience, respect, humanistic, leads by example, selfless or focused on others, unpacked privileges, knows their biases/weaknesses, or practices neutrality.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Effective practices Data were sorted into this category when the subject referred to:
• Has a vision/goals, creates containment, manages the stress of the organization, and/or can take action. Knows their strengths and how to utilize them.

Community Participation Data were sorted into this category when the subject referred to:
• Socializes with the Deaf community, connects with people, or knowledgeable of community concerns.

Communicates Data were sorted into this category when the subject referred to:
• Transparent, vulnerable, shares information, listens, open to feedback, or fluent in ASL.

Collaborative Data were sorted into this category when the subject referred to:
• Utilizes a collective or shared approach, obtains consensus, encourages group dialogue, inclusive, shares leadership with others or grows future leaders.

![Bar chart](chart.png)

**Figure 17.** Top Referenced Themes of Good Leadership in the Deaf Community (n = 14)

From this preliminary analysis, it appears there are differences in the frequency of themes between the two participant groups. For example, Deaf participants mentioned community participation and ethical practices more than Coda participants. Meanwhile, Coda participants discussed effective leadership practices and communication as a key skill for leaders more than
Deaf participants. When it comes to leadership characteristics in the Deaf community, Reagan (a Deaf participant) shared,

In general, the same principles apply whether someone is Deaf or hearing. A good leader has good character, someone who is honest, trustworthy, positive, supportive, and a good person. Those are general principles that apply to both. If we are speaking in regard to the Deaf community, they need to sign fluently, know cultural needs, be familiar with oppression, have an understanding of social justice in relation to the community.\(^5\)

Whether one has “hearing” or auditory status, Regan shared how an understanding of social justice and oppression are key concerns when it comes to leadership in the Deaf community. Likewise, Green (a Deaf participant) asserted, “My view is that leadership is connected with power and privilege. I think we, as a group, have not yet arrived at the point where privilege is recognized, analyzed, and understood. Not yet.” Reagan and Green both affirm a need for ethical leadership practices to include recognition, familiarity, and understanding of social justice, power, privilege, and oppression. The following sections will share comments from participants regarding good leadership from least to most referenced themes.

**Ethical leadership practices.** Perceptions of acceptable ethical practices for leaders are influenced by many factors. When it comes to the American Deaf community, the interview participants revealed various considerations regarding the ethics of good leaders. In reference to good leaders, Orion Berry (a Deaf participant) stated that, “they respect deaf people equally and that there’s no difference between hearing and deaf people; respect deaf people.” In another interview, Pablo (a Coda participant) stressed the importance of seeing “people as people, that there’s a ‘we’ concept here instead of an ‘us and them.’” This humanistic approach looks at

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\(^5\) Interviews with Deaf participants were conducted in ASL and translated by the researcher. Translations from ASL to English were evaluated by the research assistant for accuracy and the existence of potential bias influencing the translation regarding word choice.
similarities. However, Reagan (a Deaf participant) shared that it is also important for leaders to look at differences and unpack their privileges:

Leaders should understand how to unpack, try to apply equity in the community, not necessarily equality for everyone, but know how to pull others up who do not have the same privileges/advantages growing up... if you’re going to be involved in the Deaf community, those are the necessary skills; it’s different than when you’re in the hearing community.

It appears from these comments that ethical leaders identify similarities and understand differences to support equity in the Deaf community. Next, I discuss participant’s perceptions of effective leadership.

**Effective leadership practices.** Dalton (a Deaf participant), described a good leader as “someone who has goals, has a vision as far as what they want for the community.” Margaret (a Coda participant) identified the importance of self-awareness, stating that effective leaders should “understand their strengths and what it is they have to offer, to know themselves enough to know they have something to offer in furthering the interests of the whole.” This whole could be the Deaf community or even an organization. Lastly, Rita Jones (a Coda participant) points out that effective leaders “help an organization through change, and to encounter challenges. The way that we do that is by managing the stress level that the organization can handle.” Effective leadership also includes action; Orion Berry (a Deaf participant) describes this as “rolling up their sleeves,” where Pablo (a Coda participant) describes that “the action part is the essential part in a leadership role.” Participants also mentioned exhibiting action as a good leader means showing up and participating in the community.

**Community participation.** Six out of seven (86%) Deaf interview participants and four out of seven (57%) Coda interview participants made references to community participation when defining a good leader in the Deaf community. According to Blaze (a Deaf participant) a
good leader is “visible and involved with Deaf community.” Good leaders, as described by Katie Scarlett (a Deaf participant), “show up frequently and they participate and they’re not just on the sidelines as a bystander.” On a similar note, Orion Berry (a Deaf participant) shared that it is important for leaders to “get to know people outside of the job. Forget about shop talk, connect with people. When a Deaf person dies, show up at the funeral, even if you didn’t know that person. If you’re in a leadership position, you should show up.” Katie Scarlett explained why it is critical for good leaders to participate in the community: this is where leaders become “experienced with deaf issues” and become “concerned with deaf issues and someone who understand deaf issues.” Not only is community participation key to good leadership in the Deaf community, but communication is equally important.

Communicates. Communication is a two-way street and calls for listening skills as much as the ability to convey one’s thoughts and ideas. Blaze (a Deaf participant) shared that a good leader is transparent, listens, and displays open communication. Five out of seven (71%) of the Coda interview participants referred to the importance of listening by being open, as in receptive to feedback, or as Moira (a Coda participant) described, “listening to all points of view” and the need to “do more listening than talking.” Included in this theme was the importance of fluency in sign language. This was mentioned by Reagan (a Deaf participant) where she affirms that good leaders in the Deaf community “need to sign fluently.” This was not only mentioned among the Deaf participants, but the Coda participants as well.

Nanny (a Coda participant) mentions not only are good leaders fluent, but they are also “they are true facilitators of passing on information, but yet they know their stuff. They really know their stuff.” In addition to listening and fluency skills, a good leader in the Deaf community was described as one who is transparent and/or shares information. According to
Stella (a Coda participant), sharing information can be considered a form of power, “information sharing, we know, is something that’s very important. And transparency, free sharing of information because information is also considered power and knowledge is considered power within the community.” A good leader in the Deaf community communicates openly and is also collaborative.

**Collaborative.** By and large, collaborative leadership was the most referenced theme by both participant groups when defining what good leadership looks like in the Deaf community. Six out of seven interview participants in each of the two groups (86% in total) referenced this theme. Orion Berry (a Deaf participant) described good leadership as “not one person’s role; it is a group role. Leadership is not something that you do by yourself. It is not something that a single person can do.” Likewise, Stella (a Coda participant) shared, “Even a leadership position is a shared position, in my opinion. It’s not a solo show.” In consideration of Codas taking leadership roles in the Deaf community, Nanny (a Coda participant) shared, “it’s not anything that I would be doing alone. It would be something that I would be doing in collaboration with or in a partnership with another Deaf person that was well respected in the community.” This theme of collaborative leadership also includes the concept of checking in with others and/or consensus.

The notion of consulting with others is referenced by Jeff (a Deaf participant) when he asserted, “the key is about checking in with the group, where team and collective work because that means the results are better.” Green (a Deaf participant) elaborated as to what this collective approach looks like, “Always ask what Deaf people what they think. Ask and defer to Deaf people, include Deaf people in the process, side by side, partnering with them.” Stella described a collaborative approach where obtaining a consensus is vital: “we never move forward unless we’ve all come to an agreement or we’re at the same place.” Moreover, Rita Jones (a Coda
participant) expressed an additional aspect of collaborative leadership in the Deaf community, “I think taking collaboration one step further is to work in concert with Deaf individuals in terms of the goals that they want to achieve, not usurping that.” A good leader in the Deaf community was frequently defined as someone who is ethical, effective, participates in the community, communicates, and last, but not least a collaborative leader.

**Perceptions of Coda leaders.** At the end of the survey, 72 individuals from the 193 participants shared additional comments in response to the one open-ended question. Of those 72 responses, 13 individuals (18%) shared that their perceptions of Codas varied and were dependent on the Coda. One participant shared,

Many of those questions are problematic because it really depends on the CODA…how did that person come by this label? Did the parent(s) sign ASL as a primary means of communication? Did they identify with Deaf culture? I’ve met some CODAS who had parents who were oral all their lives and they call themselves a CODA. If this person were to enter a leadership position, my reaction would be very different that someone who came from a multiple generation Deaf family.

This was also mirrored in the interviews. Green (a Deaf participant) mentioned, “We as Deaf people do label Codas as ‘good Codas’ and ‘bad Codas.’” This once again raises the question of which attitudes, behaviors, or values of Codas are vilified, and which ones are praised? The perceptions of Coda leaders have been divided into three sections: Negative perceptions, positive perceptions, and divided perceptions of Coda leaders. Before sharing the results and analysis of these perceptions, it is important to note that research participants often reflect polarized experiences or perceptions. In other words, people who have had very good or very bad experiences tend to participate in studies such as this, and people who are indifferent often do not participate.
Negative perceptions of Coda leaders. In response to the open-ended survey question, one participant shared,

It’s truly impossible to discuss one’s perception of a group of people – there are evil codas, and there are great ones. Sadly, the evil codas are the ones that do the most damage to the Deaf community (e.g. Alexander Graham Bell for one) and it affects my perception of codas as a whole.

This is an example of vilification. However, while it may be considered impossible by some, this study seeks to understand the various perceptions and examine the complex nature of perceptions and the underlying factors contributing to these perceptions of this understudied population.

Negative perceptions of Coda leaders were divided into four themes: a) dismissive, b) egotistical, c) entitled, and d) paternalistic. These perceptions and their criteria are described in Table 4.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories (Themes)</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Dismissive          | Data were sorted into this category when the subject referred to:  
|                     | • Neglectful of other’s needs or input (i.e. not signing when Deaf people are present). Contributes to feelings of invisibility or being powerless. Does not participate or is not involved with the Deaf community. Does not check in with other or obtain consensus from the group or self-serving behaviors such as thinking of self instead of others, or status or money over community. |
| Egotistical         | Data were sorted into this category when the subject referred to:  
|                     | • Exhibits excessive self-importance, arrogance, an air of superiority, all-knowing, and/or promoting oneself as a representative of the Deaf community. |
| Entitled            | Data were sorted into this category when the subject referred to:  
|                     | • Attitudes or beliefs surrounding rights to membership, authority, or ownership of sign language based on birthright. Believes that work/effort toward developing skills is unnecessary due to birthright. |
EMIC PERCEPTIONS OF CODAS IN LEADERSHIP

Paternalistic

Data were sorted into this category when the subject referred to:
- Behaviors, beliefs, or attitudes pertaining to having to take care of Deaf people, fostering reliance as opposed to independence. This could also include beliefs of “Deaf-can’t,” resulting in taking over, or controlling a situation.

In regard to frequency, there were more negative perceptions of Coda leaders expressed from the Deaf participants. Specifically, a total of 75 references were made by Deaf participants compared to 38 references of negative perceptions from Coda participants. The most frequent theme among both participant groups was that of being “dismissive.” The least frequent theme among both participant groups was entitlement. Figure 18 expresses the frequency of themes regarding negative perceptions of Coda leaders from each participant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deaf Participants</th>
<th>Dismissive</th>
<th>Egotistical</th>
<th>Entitled</th>
<th>Paternalistic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blaze</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalton</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeff</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katie Scarlett</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orion Berry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coda Participants</th>
<th>Dismissive</th>
<th>Egotistical</th>
<th>Entitled</th>
<th>Paternalistic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alice</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moira</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanny</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pablo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rita Jones</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stella</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_Figure 18. Negative Perceptions of Codas in Leadership: Frequency of Themes_
**Dismissive.** In this theme, being dismissive is described as making someone feel invisible or powerless, as well as neglecting the needs and/or opinions of the Deaf community. Dismissive attitudes or behaviors were mentioned by all fourteen interview participants. Blaze (a Deaf participant) described a scenario where he felt dismissed by a Coda interpreter, who was his team on an assignment:

The Coda had the nerve to take over and answered questions regarding the purpose of a CDI. Instead of allowing me to answer the question directly, where the Coda could have voiced for me, then the hearing customer could understand and learn from a CDI.

Comparatively, Nanny (a Coda participant) described a situation where there was no interpreter, where she ended up directly answering questions asked by the hearing clients in the room. Afterwards, the Deaf person shared with her “you made me feel invisible in that situation.” In reflection, Nanny clarified, “I would never want to do that to someone, but I did it.” Afterwards, she shared ideas about practicing mindfulness and balancing power in the role of interpreter, which will be shared in the recommendation section. Another example of dismissive behavior mentioned by several participants is not signing when Deaf people are present.

In his interview, Jeff (a Deaf participant) shared, “When Codas neglect the deaf community and they’re only speaking (not signing), yet I’m in the room and I point out, ‘Hey, I’m here!’ But they’re still talking, and they respond, “Oh, I forgot, I guess I’ll sign.” Green (a Deaf participant) shared a similar experience where they were attempting to support Coda leaders, but in a highly emotional situation, it appeared that Coda leaders resorted to using their voice as opposed to signing, even when Deaf people were nearby. Nanny also refers to an example of dismissive behavior in which “Codas or hearing people that knew the language, chose to talk in front of Deaf people.” Lastly, Rita Jones (a Coda participant) refers to being dismissive as “going off and doing your own thing without being informed by what the goals and
planned actions of the Deaf community are. Just kind of going rogue and doing your own thing.”

Based on 39 references mentioned in the interviews, the data showed that dismissive behaviors and/or attitudes were the most common negative perception of Codas in leadership positions.

_Egotistical_. While it may be perceived that being dismissive may relate or overlap with being egotistical, references were categorized as egotistical when participants referred to a perception of arrogance, an air of superiority, all-knowing, or promoting oneself as a representative of the Deaf community. Six out of seven Coda interview participants and all seven Deaf interview participants referred to this as a negative perception of Codas in leadership positions. For example, Blaze (a Deaf participant) signed “BIG-HEAD⁶,” which has been translated as egotistical for the purpose of this study. After mentioning this sign, the research assistant asked Blaze to clarify what he meant by “BIG-HEAD,” in reference to his perception of Codas in leadership. He explained, “Egotistical equates to a ‘I am better than you’ mindset,” where Codas “BRAG” or “think they are invincible and do not have to be careful about what they say and how they say it.” He elaborated further and provided the following interpretation of egotistical Codas:

> Being overly proud, which is to allow their pride blind them of what is important; I find it ironic that they are from a Deaf family, but yet their behavior oppresses Deaf people who are just like their Deaf family. They need to step back and give support.

From Blaze’s comment, it appears that a Coda exhibiting too much pride may contain an unforeseen consequence or impact, where it can become associated with oppression.

Further building upon the theme of egoism, Alice (a Coda participant) shared, “it becomes more about them than it does the people that we’re trying to work with or represent or

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⁶ Any English word/s in all capital letters in this study represents a sign in American Sign Language. This is called a gloss, which is utilized for the purpose of representing a concept or sign in American Sign.
be with.” Other Deaf participants, such as Katie Scarlett, also utilized the sign “BIG-HEAD,” where she defined egotistical as having “no respect for deaf people.” Margaret (a Coda participant) also referred to some Coda leaders who display “an air of superiority or an air of you think you know it all.” Others also gave examples of Codas who displayed all-knowing behaviors that overlap with egoistical attitudes.

Based on her lived experiences, Orion Berry (a Deaf participant) shared her view of Coda leaders who exhibit, “The attitude of knowing everything. They think they understand everything because their parents are deaf – no they don’t. You have to be deaf to understand…Codas do not know everything.” Lastly, when discussing the idea of Codas promoting themselves as representatives of the Deaf community, Green (a Deaf participant) shared feelings of confusion:

When they call themselves representatives of the Deaf community, first of all. Secondly, when they say they’re half Deaf, half hearing. You are not Deaf, period. When you say you’re half Deaf, what does that mean? You are a Coda, great! I’m Deaf, great! You’re hearing, thumbs up. Coda, thumbs up. Deaf thumbs up. Why do we have to play the validation game? Why must we validate that they are half Deaf? Why? What does that mean to be half Deaf? Raised by Deaf parents, I understand that, yes. But deafness is tied to auditory status, 24/7, and they’ve never experienced that. So that part I feel like I don’t get.

Stella (a Coda participant) elaborates on the concept of validation and Coda leaders:

Stop trying to validate your need for space. It hurts to say that, because people need to be seen. But we also have to recognize that we’re sharing the same light with Deaf folks. And so, stop stepping into the spotlight.

In consideration of boundaries for Codas in leadership positions, Stella elaborates on representation and what it means for her as a Coda leader, “You can’t speak to somebody else’s lived experience if you haven’t lived it. That should never be a thing…you should give a platform to it. You should use your ability to give a platform to that and highlight that.” From these interviews, it appears perceptions of being egotistical conjure up illustrations of being
overly prideful, an air of superiority, and an all-knowing attitude. These illustrations intersect with issues of representation, as well as playing the validation game.

*Entitled.* While it was the least mentioned theme, the concept of “entitled” surfaced a total of 21 times in 10 out of 14 (71%) interviews. For the purpose of this study, the theme of “entitled” refers to attitudes or beliefs surrounding rights to membership, authority, work, or perceived insider status based on birthright. In her perceptions of Coda leaders, Alice (a Coda participant) discussed this theme, “entitlement or attitude of this entitlement or deserved idea that they get to be where they are simply because of how they were born needs to stop.” Katie Scarlett (a Deaf participant) adds, “I don’t understand why sometimes they come in with an attitude thinking they don’t have to do the work.” In reference to Coda interpreters, Blaze (a Deaf participant) expressed frustration, “Just because they can sign, they have an excuse for not having to go through ITP because they have Deaf parents.” Nanny (a Coda participant) shared an experience where one Coda expressed that they should be hired simply because they were friends with Deaf people. She shared her internal response to this Coda applicant,

I was ashamed. I was embarrassed because to me, I take it as a personal reflection because I identify as a Coda. So, when other people take that on, they’re not practicing what I think should be their knowledge, it upsets me, so I’m going to say leadership is also education.

With respect to perceptions of Coda leaders as “entitled,” this term appeared to surface when one relied only on their identity as a Coda, with little regard for proper education, training, or knowledge and expected to be in the “family business” of interpreting. This reliance is at the core of entitlement, which is rooted in the idea of privilege based on birthright.

By the same token, one Deaf participant asserted that Codas do have ownership rights to sign language based on their birthright and their status as native signers. However, Green (a Deaf
participant) elaborates how this ownership right or privilege should be evaluated when applying for job opportunities:

> I feel that Codas and Deaf people have the same ownership of language together. Because we grew up, our parents were deaf, we were taught ASL, we talk about ASL. We discuss language, linguistics, and culture. Both of us own it together. However, for job opportunities, for economic opportunities, hearing people have more privilege. So, should they give Deaf people those opportunities for leadership roles.

In light of this comment, this participant and others affirmed that ownership of sign language is shared among both Codas and Deaf people. Yet, as individuals with able-bodied or auditory status, Codas need to consider how seeking employment opportunities or leadership roles that may require sign language could impact others in the community.

**Paternalistic.** For the purpose of this study, the theme of “paternalistic” was based on behaviors, beliefs, or attitudes relating to Coda leaders acting as caretakers of Deaf people, fostering reliance as opposed to independence, or taking over control over a situation. From each participant group, four out of seven (57%) participants mentioned Codas leaders as “paternalistic.” The Deaf participants referenced paternalism twenty times, whereas Coda participants mentioned it six times. Orion Berry (a Deaf participant) describes this as “fostering an attitude of reliance where Codas expect Deaf people to rely on them.” When referring to “bad Codas,” Green (a Deaf participant) elaborates how a bad Coda can be paternalistic, “Bad Codas are paternalistic by thinking or saying things like ‘Deaf can’t’ or ‘Deaf are not ready for those things.’” In addition to the “Deaf can’t” belief or attitude, a common sign, TAKE-CARE-OF, was shared among both Deaf and Coda interview participants when referencing paternalistic behaviors or attitudes.

In fact, Green clarified how the use of space and the term TAKE-CARE-OF in American Sign Language can depict paternalistic attitudes. They argue, “We have to determine in which
way Codas are TAKE-CARE-OF, TAKE-CARE-OF (palm orientation down) or TAKE-CARE-OF (palm orientation up) or TAKE-CARE-OF (palm orientation in).” While it’s difficult to relay this in a linear format, this is the researcher’s paraphrased or interpreted version in English; We must assess Codas and their interactions with Deaf people, which can be done with respect (or looking up to them), perceived inability (ableist attitudes), or equality (where one perceives the other as coequal). Furthermore, Green (a Deaf participant) asserts, “You don’t have to take care of me, work with me…Many Codas in leadership roles around the U.S. take a paternalistic role or an approach similar to that of taking care of their parents. That needs to stop.” Lastly, four interview participants used the terms “taking over” or “taking control” of a situation when describing their perceptions of Coda leaders. In summary, some Coda leaders may foster reliance, perceived inability of Deaf people, or preventing Deaf autonomy through paternalistic attitudes and/or behaviors.

*Positive perceptions of Coda leaders.* From the open-ended survey question, one Deaf participant shared, “My experience with CODAs have been extremely positive!” Another Deaf participant shared, “Being a Coda is an asset.” Positive responses from Coda participants shared the following, “We need to grow more of us!” and another shared, “We have the cultural edge!!!!!!!” While it may be human nature to remember the negative, there are also many positive perceptions of Codas and Codas in leadership positions. Positive perceptions of Coda leaders were divided into four themes: a) collaborative Coda, b) communication facilitator, c) DEAF-HEART, and d) promoter. These perceptions and their criteria are described in Table 5.
### Table 5

**Positive perceptions of Coda Leaders: Themes and Criteria**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories (Themes)</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Collaborative Coda       | Data were sorted into this category when the subject referred to:  
  - Works in concert, partners, or works side-by-side with Deaf individuals and/or the Deaf community. Checks in or obtains consensus from Deaf individuals and/or community.                                                                                                                                         |
| Communication Facilitator| Data were sorted into this category when the subject referred to:  
  - Sharer of information, interprets or brokers of information, or mediates cultural norms.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| DEAF-HEART               | Data were sorted into this category when the subject referred to:  
  - Exhibits empathy, understanding of the heart/mind/values, and/or love for the Deaf community. Exhibits transparency. Socializes with Deaf people is aware of current issues/events in the Deaf community, is open to learning from Deaf people, and communicates in ASL when Deaf people are present. ASL fluency or production is that of a Deaf person. |
| Promoter                 | Data were sorted into this category when the subject referred to:  
  - Promotes or encourages Deaf independence, autonomy, and/or values. A “bridge” or someone who opens opportunities for Deaf people. Someone who is mindful of place and promotes Deaf leadership or applicants.                                                                                   |

In regard to frequency, there were more positive perceptions of Coda leaders expressed from the Deaf participants than from the Coda participants. Specifically, there were a total of 84 positive references made from Deaf participants in comparison to 74 references of positive perceptions from Coda participants. Two themes tied as the most frequent theme among both participant groups with respect to positive perceptions of Coda leaders: the “Collaborative Coda” and the “Promoter.” Figure 19 expresses the frequency of themes regarding positive perceptions of Coda leaders from each participant.
**Figure 19. Positive Perceptions of Codas in Leadership: Frequency of Themes**

**Collaborative Coda.** A collaborative Coda leader was described by participants as someone who checks in or obtains consensus, works in concert, partners, or is side-by-side or shoulder-to-shoulder with Deaf individuals and/or the community. Jeff (a Deaf participant) described this as “a Coda who believes in me, checks in with me, they bring me in, they communicate, is transparent, and they show me that it’s about me and them.” In her description of collaborative Coda leaders, Moira (a Coda participant) shared that “they treat Deaf people as their peers and respectfully.” In regard to a Coda who had a dual role, a leader and interpreter, Orion Berry (a Deaf participant) shared an experience she had, “They stated that they were there only in the role and capacity of the interpreter, but if they had questions directly for the Coda interpreter, they would have to ask permission first to step out of the role of the interpreter.” This is an example of checking in with and forming a partnership with others. Jeff (a Deaf participant)
describes this collaborative partnership as “knowing when and how to include Deaf people.” A collaborative Coda was also described as working toward agreement or building consensus as a group.

*Communication facilitator.* In regard to positive perceptions of Coda leaders, being a “communication facilitator” was the most frequent theme among the Coda participants and ironically, the least frequent theme among Deaf participants. Blaze (a Deaf participant) described this as “understanding Deaf people’s value of accessibility and being willing to be the bridge for Deaf access to the hearing world by interpreting when needed.” Likewise, Orion Berry (a Deaf participant) shared a similar sentiment, “A Coda who uses their hearing privilege to let me know what they are hearing, so that I am not left out, that’s nice.” Orion Berry also points to cultural mediation as an aspect of communication facilitation, “I do appreciate it when Codas explain cultural norms or differences between the hearing community and the Deaf community.” Lastly, Pablo (a Coda participant) refers to the key role of sharing information as a communication facilitator where Coda leaders, “bridge that gap in understanding and share information…they ask questions and they talk about different situations, brainstorm, and look at different approaches.” A Coda leader who is considered a communication facilitator is one who shares information, interprets and/or mediates cultural norms.

*DEAF-HEART.* For the purpose of this study, the theme of DEAF-HEART was applied when participants referred to empathy, understanding, and/or love for the Deaf community. This also included sharing the same values of the Deaf community such as transparency, community participation, and/or fluency in sign language. There was at least one reference to DEAF-HEART in each interview when participants shared their perceptions of Coda leaders. In the open-ended survey question, one Coda respondent shared, “Codas in leadership positions in my
opinion is a win-win for all ends. They have a deeper and greater understanding having lived through and raised within the deaf community.” In the interviews, Deaf participants mentioned DEAF-HEART a total of 21 times, whereas the Coda participants referenced this theme a total of 14 times.

Deaf participants shared various perspectives of what DEAF-HEART and what that means to them and their perceptions of Coda leaders. Blaze (a Deaf participant) mentioned a Coda who was from a five-generation Deaf family, who had a “DEAF-HEART,” so much so that “they even wanted to go to a Deaf school but couldn’t.” Green (a Deaf participant) shared that they believe good Coda leaders “have empathy; they have understanding of the heart and mind.” Likewise, Katie Scarlett shared how community participation can exhibit DEAF-HEART, where good Coda leaders, “tend to be involved, immerse themselves in ASL, sign fluently and attend events in the Deaf community frequently.” Similar to Katie Scarlett, Dalton shared a story about a fluent Coda teacher that he considered as an insider of the Deaf community, who was extremely fluent and skilled in sign language where he described, “she looked like a Deaf person because her parents were skilled in ASL.” From the Deaf participants, it appeared that a good Coda leader is someone who exhibits the attitudes, values, and/or behaviors of DEAF-HEART.

Comparatively, Coda interview participants also shared aspects of what DEAF-HEART meant to them. Alice mentioned that good Coda leaders show that “their heart or their vision is always for the ultimate good of the deaf community on improving or helping resources or exposure or equal access.” Rita Jones (a Coda participant) described a Coda she considered, “a hearing man trapped in a deaf body. He’s got a very Deaf demeanor, a very Deaf orientation. Married a Deaf woman. Socializes with Deaf people. Fluent ASL user.” Likewise, Stella (a Coda participant) shared her perceptions of a Coda whom she perceived an insider, “She’s very Deaf
in so many ways, just in how she communicates, and the way she thinks, and the way she behaves.” In addition, Pablo (a Coda participant) considers Coda leaders to be good, “only if they are active participants in the community.” From the Coda participants, a Coda leader who has DEAF-HEART is someone who desires the best for the Deaf community, one who exhibits a Deaf demeanor such as behaviors, attitudes, values, and/or fluency in sign language.

**Promoter.** For the purpose of this study, the theme of promoter refers to someone who encourages and opens opportunities for Deaf leadership, applicants, independence, autonomy, and/or values. One Coda respondent to the survey stated:

> One of my expectations for Codas is that we create opportunities for Deaf people. Knowing the unemployment & underemployment rates of Deaf people, I need to transform systems to be more Deaf-friendly and accessible, recognizing that lived experience can give Deaf people expertise (particularly in Deaf-related fields) that is equally valid to the formal education of hearing people.

This comment demonstrates an expectation of a good Coda leader to be a “promoter.” In the interviews, 24 references from the Deaf participants and 19 references from the Coda participants were expressed when referencing Coda leaders as individuals who promoted Deaf people to the forefront of leadership or employment opportunities.

From the Deaf participants, a good Coda leader was referenced as someone who promotes and pushes for Deaf leadership, applicants, transparency, or signing in the presence of Deaf people at all times. When describing how Coda leaders have benefited the Deaf community, Jeff (a Deaf participant) stated,

> I see more Deaf people being empowered and stepping up. I believe this is because in the past Codas opened doors. That was the key right? It was important. Where Codas stepped up and said, ‘we can’t push aside deaf people.’

Orion Berry (a Deaf participant) shared an example of this in her interview, where a Coda ASL teacher paved a path for the hiring of a Deaf teacher, “The Coda became the assistant and the
deaf person actually became the full time ASL teacher. That was the best of both worlds. That Coda is amazing. I couldn’t have asked for a better Coda.” In Reagan’s (a Deaf participant) interview, she also references how some Coda leaders have been promoters. She stated:

If a Coda leader steps down from that position in honor of the Deaf community, I admire and applaud that, or they become involved in a committee that pushes for the choice of a Deaf person, that I commend. If the Coda resigns, then offers the Deaf community members support, encouragement to rise, then I commend that as well.

Several other Deaf participants shared similar comments and positive perceptions when recalling a Coda who promoted or encouraged Deaf leadership or applicants.

Comparatively, Coda interview participants shared positive perceptions of Coda leaders who worked to support employment opportunities for Deaf people. For example, Moira shared,

I know Codas who independently own businesses that help and benefit the Deaf community, provide them with jobs, and opportunities. I know a few of them well and they have created a huge company and employed lots of Deaf people.

Similarly, Rita Jones mentions that she knows of some Codas who are “VR counselors or interpreters or educators who genuinely wish to foster the positive development of Deaf people.” Pablo (a Coda participant) provided another dimension of what he perceives about Coda leaders who work to promote others. He explained,

It’s kind of putting others before yourself but not in a way where it’s detrimental to yourself because you can find a good balance of a way to do that. To not only help others and put others first in certain situations but also to be able to in a very positive…Being able to create that balance.

From the Coda participants, it appears that perceptions of a Coda as a “promoter” meant putting others before yourself and fostering the development and/or creating opportunities to hire Deaf people. Individuals who are collaborative, communication facilitators, have DEAF-HEART, and/or promoters in the Deaf community are positively perceived by part
Divided perceptions of Coda leaders. Where some perceptions may be distinctly negative or positive, there are nuanced perceptions that are somewhere in-between, which were categorized as divided perceptions. One Coda participant to the survey shared, “Sometimes it’s confusing -what’s expected of us, our response to one another, and others; and other’s responses to us.” This comment suggests that expectations for and responses to Codas in leadership positions can create confusion, which is not necessarily positive or negative. During the interview, some questions addressed the concept of allyship (see Appendix C) and participants shared their perceptions and beliefs regarding the role of a Coda leader. These questions resulted in data that discussed the divided perceptions regarding the roles of Coda leaders, which were categorized into three themes: a) ally, b) advocate, and c) autonomous agent. These perceptions and their criteria are described in Table 6.

Table 6

Divided perceptions of Coda Leaders: Themes and Criteria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Data were sorted into this category when the subject referred to:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ally</strong></td>
<td>Perceptions of Codas as outsiders, where they side with the Deaf community, or align their position, values, beliefs, and/or attitudes with the Deaf community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advocate</strong></td>
<td>Advocating within one’s own community. Does not remain neutral, speaks up, or works toward change when opportunities present themselves. This includes statements, acts, or behaviors such as initiating dialogue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Autonomous Agent</strong></td>
<td>Ownership, knowledge, and/or expertise of the language and culture of the Deaf community, or someone who takes a position that may not necessarily align with Deaf values and norms.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In order to differentiate between someone who is considered an outsider or someone who takes action, two categories were created. The theme “ally” specifically refers to perceptions of someone who exhibits attitudes, beliefs, and values that align with the Deaf community, whereas the theme “advocate” specifically refers to someone who speaks up, takes action, or works toward change when opportunities present themselves. There were a number of instances where participants utilized the word “ally,” but when this word was used in reference to action or working toward change, those comments were labeled under the “advocate” theme. Another theme, “autonomous agent,” was utilized to categorize any references to perceptions of Codas who may have insider status, knowledge of, expertise, and/or space in the Deaf community. These individuals may not necessarily share their perspectives, positions, beliefs, attitudes, and/or values with the Deaf community.

Autonomous agent was the most frequently referenced theme among the Coda interview participants (see Figure 20). It was mentioned 16 times by Coda interview participants, which was four times more often than Deaf participants. Among the Deaf interview participants, the most frequently referenced theme was advocate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deaf Participants</th>
<th>Ally</th>
<th>Advocate</th>
<th>Autonomous Agent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blaze</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalton</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeff</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katie Scarlett</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orion Berry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coda Participants</th>
<th>Ally</th>
<th>Advocate</th>
<th>Autonomous Agent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alice</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 20. Divided Perceptions of Codas in Leadership: Frequency of Themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ally</th>
<th>Outsider</th>
<th>Allyship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Margaret</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moira</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanny</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pablo</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rita Jones</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stella</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 20. Divided Perceptions of Codas in Leadership: Frequency of Themes

Ally. As mentioned earlier, a distinction was specified when participants referred to a Coda leader as an “ally” or exhibiting “allyship.” When participants referred to perceptions of Codas as outsiders, who may “side with the Deaf community”, or align their position, values, beliefs, and/or attitudes with the Deaf community, this data was included under the ally theme. This distinction was made because five out of seven (71%) Coda interview participants shared a common belief, which Nanny (a Coda participant) stated as “We cannot be allies because we are insiders.” An insider does not have to take sides, which is why viewing a Coda leader as an ally is a divided perception among the participants. Reagan (a Deaf participant) highlighted on this divided belief about the insider or outsider status of Codas when she stated, “you can’t include Codas as a part of the core of the Deaf community.” When it comes to membership in the Deaf community, this is where it appears the concept of being an ally becomes complex and nuanced.

Deaf interview participants shared 11 references to Coda leaders acting as allies, or someone who sided with them or the Deaf community. For example, Orion Berry stated, “If a Coda offers to interpret, rather than take over, they empower the Deaf person to make their own decisions, that is someone who helps Deaf people not to rely on others to make decisions for them.” In this case, allyship is seen as empowerment to build autonomy and independence instead of reliance. Stella (a Coda participant) describes where a Coda may be perceived as an ally if they “take on the same position that the deaf community had, so saying that their position...
is also my position. I stand on the same side as you do.” It may be perceived as positive from the Deaf perspective, negatively perceived by a Coda, or not. It depends on the individual.

Together with the Deaf participants, Coda interview participants also shared 11 references to Coda leaders as allies. In her evaluation of what allyship means, Margaret shared:

It’s becoming for me right now what allyship looks like because I have a sense that there’s an expectation that allyship means I support everything that you say, and I see you as right in all circumstances. And that’s the antithesis of the relationship that I’ve always had with Deaf people.

As someone who has been shoulder-to-shoulder with Deaf people in her work, Margaret explained further why she struggles with the concept of being an ally:

The idea that we would always have to posture ourselves, be subservient (signs ASSIST-UNDER), that we would have to posture ourselves as always on the side of Deaf people… even when they could be wrong, even when they have brought suit, or complaint against me; that I can’t defend myself, it doesn’t work.

As illustrated through Orion Berry (a Deaf participant) and Margaret’s (a Coda participant) comments, references to Coda leaders as allies or working in allyship with the Deaf community is a divided perception among the interview participants.

**Advocate.** Comments made with respect to using one’s voice, speaking up, advocating in a supporting role, and/or working toward change when opportunities present themselves were categorized under the theme of advocate. When it comes to Coda leaders, Stella (a Coda participant) disclosed, “For me, Codas are advocates working within their own community. Not necessarily allies.” Moira (a Coda participant) describes Coda advocates as leaders who make “active change in the situation.” Reagan (a Deaf participant) expressed this as a “Coda who supports, encourages, and lets Deaf members of the community to become leaders to ensure they are in control of the decisions related to their people.” Green (a Deaf participant) shared that “a Coda who speaks up and asserts that people should sign is an ally.” Jeff (a Deaf participant)
described a Coda advocate as someone who “knows when and how to include Deaf people. They know when to redirect people’s questions to a Deaf person and offer to interpret between them.” In every interview, each participant expressed experiences, behaviors, and/or desires which pointed to Coda leaders acting as advocates, individuals who seek active change through speaking up or other opportunities.

   Autonomous agent. The theme of “autonomous agent” was applied when participants referred to Codas in leadership who employed their ownership, knowledge, and/or expertise of the language and culture of the Deaf community. It also applied when participants referred to someone who takes a position that does not necessarily align with that of the Deaf community. In response to the open-ended survey, one Coda respondent divulged:

   If it is perceived as a win for the Deaf community, then the Deaf community will rally for them. If it is not, then the Deaf community will completely destroy them and use collectivist society norms to shame them into their “proper place” within the community.

This comment illustrates the struggle that a Coda leader may experience when taking a position that does not necessarily align with Deaf viewpoints, values, and/or norms.

   This is further illustrated in the case with Anna Witter-Merithew’s testimony and NAD, where Rita Jones (a Coda participant) shared her perspective, “in that capacity she wasn't functioning as an ally. She was functioning in the capacity as an expert in a given situation. I think that the situation is much more nuanced than it was portrayed.” Whereas Stella (a Coda participant) shared a different perspective,

   The idea that a Coda might serve as a witness expert on the lives of Deaf people, to me, is a very precarious position… if anybody is to be the expert on lives of Deaf people, it should be Deaf people.

This is not to say any one perspective is right or wrong, but this illustrates the complexity surrounding Codas acting as autonomous agents, or someone who owns their knowledge and
expertise in a professional role. This position seems to be especially precarious if a Coda leader takes a position that appears contrary to Deaf viewpoints, norms and/or values. After describing situations of horizontal violence for Coda leaders, Margaret (a Coda participant) shared, “it has never been as viscous or as confounding as it seems to be right now.” When referencing a Coda who utilized their expertise as an autonomous agent, words like blame, horizontal violence, disapproval, the sign MACHINE GUN (meaning shoot down, attack, or condemn) surfaced.

Three of the Coda interview participants mentioned that when one appears to disagree or say something that does not directly support the Deaf community as a Coda leader this often times results in vehement reactions. In describing a community meeting where Deaf people, Codas, and interpreters were present, Rita Jones (a Coda participant) spoke of the perspectives shared and her reservations:

Basically, all the Deaf people were saying, ‘Well, as long as whatever you say supports the deaf people, you can say it. But if you're ever going to say anything that doesn't support the Deaf people, you can't.’ I have some reservations about that because not every situation is that clear cut.

From Rita Jones’ and Margaret’s comments, it appears that disagreeing with Deaf viewpoints, values, and/or norms is not often permitted, encouraged, or perceived as safe for a Coda leader.

When it comes to the “family business” of interpreting, there are additional points to consider in consideration of Coda leaders as autonomous agents. Moira (a Coda participant) shared, “The Deaf community cannot ask or expect more from Codas and then turn around and say, ‘no, you have a lesser place in the whole Deaf community, when it comes to working in ASL and Deaf culture.” In reference to Codas as native signers and their expertise, Moira emphasized, “the inner-life experience of being raised in the Deaf community. Because that means something.” Inner-life experience seems to be significant in regard to Coda leaders, who are individuals with formative and brokering experiences through being raised by a Deaf parent.
In reference to privilege and being an ally, Nanny (a Coda participant) shared, “When you do have the privilege of knowledge or you have the privilege of knowing the language, there are ways that you can be an ally.” With respect to allyship, Pablo (a Coda participant) shared an example of what it means to him: “there’s some legacy that we leave. And so, what legacy are we leaving? A legacy of education, one of knowledge.” Whether it’s being an ally, advocate, or an autonomous agent, these perceptions of Coda leaders could be revealing as to the type of legacy or knowledge that is built and shared among Deaf individuals and their hearing children.

**Recommendations for Codas in leadership positions.** Various responses from both Deaf and Coda participants highlighted conflicts in beliefs and attitudes when it came to power relations and social inequities regarding Codas in leadership positions. One Coda participant in the survey surmised,

> I believe the role of Codas in leadership must continue to evolve to remain in alignment with the Deaf community. As the Deaf community works toward liberation, Codas in leadership must examine their relative positioning. Otherwise, Codas in leadership risk being viewed as oppressors.

In light of this and other similar sentiments expressed in the survey, interview participants were asked to provide recommendations for Codas in leadership positions in three categories: 1) What should Codas in leadership positions stop doing? 2) What could Codas in leadership positions do to improve their leadership approaches? 3) What should Codas in leadership positions continue doing in their current approaches? Many stories, ideas, and examples were shared. However, there was one recurring recommendation in response to all three questions and it was referred to in all fourteen interviews: the theme of collaborative partnerships.

**Collaborative partnerships.** The theme of collaborative partnerships was the key underpinning to all of the participants’ recommendations. Interview participants referred to collaborative partnerships as co-teaching, co-leading, co-presenting, team leadership, working in
concert with or side by side with, with Deaf individuals/groups, sharing power or seats, working together with others, group process, community participation, checking in with others, and/or mentorship. Green (a Deaf participant) clarified what this might look like: “CODAs in leadership roles who partner with deaf often ask: what’s your opinion, what do you think? What do you think we should do? And then move forward to make decisions together, side by side with the deaf person.” Through this approach to a collaborative partnership, Charlton’s (1998) motto “nothing about us without us” is illustrated.

Collaborative partnerships are critical to sharing power and working together toward the improvement of both Deaf and Coda lives. In reflection of the interpreting field, Stella (a Coda participant) shared her perspective regarding leaders and making decisions:

I think that many of the leaders within this interpreting community are solely focused on their own little slice of the world, that they forget that we’re all connected like a spider web. You tug at one end of the spider web and it shifts things and it moves things, it has an impact on every spine of that web; whether it be today, tomorrow, or a year or five years from now. I don’t think there’s enough care and attention paid to the decisions that people make because of that.

In other words, our lives are connected, and the decisions made by leaders in the interpreting industry impact Deaf lives, Coda lives, and Deaf parented interpreters. One approach to making decision-making more inclusive is through collaborative partnerships.

Collaborative partnerships were recommended in all fourteen interviews and referenced 97 times in total (see figure 21). Katie Scarlett (a Deaf participant) asserted, “I want to see partnerships between Deaf, Coda, and hearing people. The three groups need to partner.” In consideration of a Deaf and Coda partnership, Jeff (a Deaf participant) commented that it would be “a nice balance to be a team – that they can share the seat, that it's not just one seat and one person in the driver's seat – there's two drivers together.”
Additionally, 9 out of 14 (64%) participants referred to collaborative partnerships in the form of mentorship. For instance, Rita Jones (a Coda participant) emphasized how checking in with a Deaf and/or hearing mentor can be beneficial:

> Checking in on a regular basis...that in this particular context we bring privilege and we need to be constantly aware of that and constantly maybe checking in with a Deaf mentor or colleague and getting feedback and saying, "Am I being too hearing in this situation?" You know? Seeking out and being open to getting that feedback both in the hearing context and in the Deaf context.

In a hearing context, Rita provided an example of when a hearing mentor could provide insight such as, “You’re not acting like a hearing person right now,” which was stated in reference to constant eye contact that came across as intimidating. After mentioning that it is beneficial to have hearing and Deaf mentors, Moira (a Coda participant) spoke of why having a Coda mentor may be especially important for Coda interpreters: “a Coda as my mentor keeps me authentic, keeps me true to myself.” In consideration of mentorship and collaborative partnerships in the interpreting field, Moira asserted, “you have a lot to learn from your people, not just from those who came before you or from your mentors that you’re actively engaged with. Hopefully everyone continues to work with a mentor, but I think it’s important that you never get to a place...
where you know it all.” Mentorship as a form of a collaborative partnership was associated with other benefits as well.

Both Deaf and Coda interview participants mentioned how mentorships could promote Deaf people by helping them obtain and maintain leadership and/or teaching positions. Such a mentorship could be productive when a Deaf person desires to teach ASL at a school where a Coda is currently occupying the position. Green (a Deaf participant) suggested that the school “can have them come and be mentored underneath the Coda teacher to where they can pull up that deaf person's skill and then the Coda can leave. And then the Deaf person can take that position.” With attention to future transitions in leadership, Jeff (a Deaf participant) suggested that Coda leaders consider “how they can train the trainer. Train the next leader, sit them down, and share tips with them on how to access that role.” Margaret (a Coda participant) shared how the lack of mentorship can be detrimental to their success of Deaf administrators:

I’ve seen this, again and again in state government. Deaf people become these commissioners for the Deaf or they move them to head up the divisions for the Deaf or superintendents of schools for the Deaf. And then they don’t give them the mentorship that their hearing counterpart would have gotten because they don’t share the same language as their direct supervisor. then they start making common mistakes to new administrators and everyone attributes it to the fact they’re Deaf, so they dismiss Deaf leaders the next time around and that’s a real shame.

In the same fashion, Reagan (a Deaf participant) asserted how Coda leaders can support Deaf leaders when they are elected or promoted:

Support preparation training for Deaf people for leadership positions within the Deaf community. Support, encourage, share tips...Deaf people may not be aware or have that collective knowledge or years of experience that has been passed down, taken, or given to hearing people or Codas. So, provide Deaf people with access to that knowledge. I think it's important for them to provide that knowledge to the Deaf community, so that they can successfully climb the ladder and be promoted.
Mentorship can be a key factor to the success of new leaders in the community. However, the data suggested that collaborative partnerships such as mentorship cannot be successful without two necessary components: authenticity and mindfulness.

**Authenticity.** When engaging in a collaborative partnership, interview participants shared strategies for engaging in authenticity such as owning one’s expertise and agency, engaging in difficult conversations where one is true to themselves without trying to appease others. In the literature review, Hocker (2014) shed light on how the exercise of one’s power is critical, “the productive exercise of personal power is crucial to your self-concept. Without some exercise of power in your interpersonal relationships, you would feel worthless as a person” (p.116). When asked to provide recommendations for Coda leaders, six participants stated the concept of transparency a total of 14 times. Transparency, sharing information, being true to oneself, and exercising of power are all attributes people described as forms of authenticity, and often in reference to the success of a collaborative partnership. However, Margaret (a Coda participant) shared how it almost seems taboo for her as a Coda interpreter to assert herself:

> This movement of interpreters to be become more informed, to embrace our practice, to take ownership of our work in a more powerful way, to assert ourselves as professionals, to assert ourselves as knowledgeable scholars. That’s not taboo…it’s counter to what a certain portion of the Deaf community wants from us. They want us to be subservient.”

Margaret explained further that as a female Coda interpreter, she believes that gender dynamics may also influence relationships with interpreters. Expanding on the inability to exercising one’s own power or expertise, she disclosed:

> In the times when things have been said to us that should have never been said to us, we have felt paralyzed in our ability to speak and respond to those things for fear that we would lose our careers or we would be seen as attempting to take down or hurt the Deaf community. I’ve had that conversation with enough people.

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7 Deaf participants utilized the sign TRANSPARENT
that I know that’s not just happened to me; I know that has happened to other interpreters as well.

When alluding to a collaborative partnership and leadership in the Deaf community, Pablo (a Coda participant) asserts: “Don’t do things just to appease others…do what’s best for the situation regardless of how other people might respond to it.” In describing a Coda ally, Jeff (a Deaf participant) explained how he and a Coda leader negotiate a disagreement,

In regard to any decision making, a Coda ally will check in, have full transparency and dialogue, be willing to look at different perspectives, and that it’s OK to disagree. Maybe their philosophy or view is different. They explain their position and we agree to disagree, and that's fine.

Among the participants, the data suggested that exercising agency and authenticity key ingredients for collaborative relationships, but some may not feel welcomed to own their power and/or expertise. In addition to authenticity, collaborative partnerships require mindfulness.

Mindfulness. Practicing authenticity and exercising agency also means to be aware of how your actions will affect situations and others around you. During the interviews, twelve out of fourteen participants suggested that Coda leaders need to be mindful of their values, beliefs, behaviors, and how their decisions may impact others. The concept of being mindful was mentioned 68 times in those twelve interviews. In consideration of Charlton’s (1998) motto of, “Nothing about us, without us,” Green (a Deaf participant) shared that when a Coda leader “makes decisions without us,” that means a Coda leader is not supportive of a collaborative partnership with Deaf people or the community. Green elaborated, “They can’t rely on their experiences as a Coda. We’re Deaf, that’s different…we were raised by Deaf parents, but our experience will always be different...therefore, they cannot represent us.” While Codas and Deaf people with Deaf parents may have experiences that overlap, they are not the same.
Nanny speaks of how she as a Coda leader had to learn to be mindful, “We don’t know any different, so we have to unlearn some things about how to shift our power, by shifting our power, it’s not giving up power. To me, I feel shifting is balancing out the power.” In regard to job applications, Green (a Deaf participant) made a suggestion that Coda leaders practice mindfulness by sitting back to “ensure that Deaf people apply first on a job application. They wait until all options for Deaf applicants have been exhausted, then apply for that job.” In consideration of being an advocate and one’s boundaries, Rita Jones (a Coda participant) determined:

I think that that’s always the question that you have to ask is, you know, culturally what is appropriate and what is really being an advocate and what is stepping over the boundary? I think that it’s something that we have to constantly be mindful of because every single situation is different.

In pursuit of collaborative relationships within the Deaf community and understanding culturally appropriate boundaries Stella (a Coda participant) shared the following suggestion, “I think every Coda in a leadership position should have a cabinet of people, like a cabinet of people who are a sounding board.” These comments and numerous others asserted mindfulness as indispensable and mandatory for Coda leaders. In collaborative partnerships, Coda leaders are urged to practice both authenticity and mindfulness for their leadership to be successful.

Discussion

“There was only one variable that separated the people who have a strong sense of love and belonging and the people who really struggle for it. And that was, the people who have a strong sense of love and belonging believe they’re worthy of love and belonging.” – Brené Brown

Data from both the survey results and the interview suggests that the emic perceptions of Codas in leadership positions are highly varied. The emic perspectives in this study explored the perceptions of two native groups associated the Deaf community: Deaf and Coda individuals. Through the survey, participants shared that they perceive Codas in leadership positions as
individuals with a DEAF-HEART and, out of 193 survey responses, only three participants perceive Coda leaders to be outsiders of the Deaf community. However, the participants exhibited more variation in their perceptions about where Codas leaders exist or belong in relation to the Deaf community.

In consideration of Codas in leadership positions, Figure 14 depicts how varied these perceptions can be when it comes to their place or where they belong. It appears that these perceptions are divided as to whether Codas are heritage members, a subcultural group of the Deaf community, a part of the Deaf community (but not of Deaf culture), or a part of both Deaf community and culture. Moreover, these categories may also overlap, where there are more nuanced relationships and definitions than were provided in the survey. However, one thing became apparent: when it comes to perceptions of Coda leaders, their position or place in the Deaf community is not clear.

Multiple perspectives of Codas in leadership positions included negative perceptions, positive perceptions, and divided perceptions. Negative perceptions of Coda leaders included references to dismissive, egotistical, entitled, and paternalistic attitudes and/or behaviors. Positive perceptions included references to Coda leaders as being collaborative, communication facilitators, individuals with a DEAF-HEART, and/or promoters. Divided perceptions of Coda leaders examined perceptions of Coda leaders as allies, advocates, and/or autonomous agents. There are many underlying factors that may be contributing to these highly varied perceptions of Codas in leadership positions. Factors such as social, educational, and economic conditions may be collectively contributing to the conflict and divide when it comes to Coda leaders within the American Deaf community.
Social conditions contributing to the wide array of perceptions of Codas in leadership positions could include ableism, elitism, and binary frameworks. Ableism and hearing privilege foster power imbalances and resentment. From a young age, a Coda may be seen as having more authority and power than their Deaf parent, who may be seen as disabled or less capable by society. Ableism goes hand in hand with “Deaf-can’t” or “hearing always win” attitudes. In her interview, Reagan (a Deaf participant) shared, “Deaf people can, yet they have been brainwashed, when they see a Coda, they supersede their space, where then the Coda comes in and takes over.” In addition, ableism, elitism, and hierarchies may be underlying factors for these divided perceptions of Codas.

The idea of Deaf royalty, or being from a Deaf family, could be a social factor that contributes to resentment or elitism with Codas in leadership positions. Not everyone in the Deaf community has connateness, or the privilege of being raised with Deaf parents or the privilege of stating they are a native signer. When a Coda claims their connateness as a heritage or native language or culture, it may contribute to perceptions of elitism. Another social factor that could be contributing to divided perceptions of Coda leaders is the utilization of binary frameworks.

Binary frameworks in the American Deaf community often place Codas on the border of the Deaf community, where Codas are not seen as the core of the community. However, being placed on the edge or border of the community leaves the membership status of Codas as undetermined or vague. In their interviews, Green, Alice, Margaret, Nanny, Moira, and Stella shared perceptions of Coda leaders desiring some form of validation. Could it be the “validation game” or validation seeking behaviors are efforts by Codas to seek recognition, belonging, or acceptance? Another factor that may be contributing to divided perceptions of Coda leaders is educational conditions.
Educational conditions for Codas directly impact their acculturation into mainstream society. This may contribute to internalized beliefs of ableism or mainstream culture becoming more prominent than Deaf culture. Being identified by medical professionals as either deaf or hearing affects the educational approach utilized with students. In addition, being placed in mainstream hearing schools most likely has an impact on a Coda’s sign language fluency. Moreover, some medical practitioners have previously instructed Deaf parents not to sign with their hearing children, for fear that it may impede their speech development. However, if Codas were exposed to bilingual/bicultural approaches and encouraged to foster their connections to their heritage language and culture, they may have a deeper understanding of Deaf values, beliefs, and/or norms. Last, but not least, economic conditions may be another factor contributing to divided perceptions of Codas in leadership positions.

Economic conditions within American society include capitalism. This economic system fosters competition over resources such as employment. Capitalism is the driving force behind the economic system in the United States. In a perfect world, Robinson (2019) proposed that Deaf parents would have no reason to exclude their hearing children from the Deaf community. He suggested that ableism and capitalism as systemic forces that are driving these two groups apart (O. Robinson, personal communication, April 3, 2019). In considering these two forces, the system appears to have functioned quite effectively to turn Codas and the Deaf community against each other. Instead of blaming the other or competing over resources, Deaf individuals and Codas could unite to disrupt the system. Instead of blaming each other, Deaf and Coda individuals could shift the blame to the systems that oppress them. In summary, social, educational, and economic conditions may be underlying factors contributing to the wide array of perceptions of Codas in leadership positions.
Conclusion

“We cannot seek achievement for ourselves and forget about progress and prosperity for our community. Our ambitions must be broad enough to include the aspirations and needs of others for their sakes and our own.” - Cesar Chavez

Critical ethnographic studies have a clear purpose, which is to seek positive change by calling for action to balance a social injustice within a society. This study has found that there are conflicting perceptions when comes to Codas in leadership positions in the United States. The data revealed a wide array of perceptions of Codas in leadership positions, where attitudes, beliefs, and values of Deaf and Coda individuals were unveiled. As children of Deaf people, Codas are stakeholders and consumers in the interpreting profession. It has been proposed that Codas have experienced direct and vicarious trauma when it comes to systemic oppression and structural violence. As adults, Codas may choose to be interpreters, who as native signers with brokering experiences may have conenate insights and expertise. However, their ownership and place in the Deaf community has not been made clear.

Systematic forces such as social, educational, and economic conditions may be turning us against each other. Ableism impacts the economic and social conditions of Deaf parents and their children. Moreover, systemic oppression can lead to systematic segregation and drive us apart. In resistance to ableism, capitalism, and other systematic forces, how can we rally around each other? How do we foster collaborative partnerships to disrupt these oppressive systems? Could a model of shared power, collaboration, and inclusion of Coda individuals benefit the Deaf community worldwide? Collaborative partnerships between Deaf individuals and Codas may demand additional components other than authenticity and mindfulness.
Recommendations

While this study has presented collective recommendations from the interview participants, there are additional recommendations to consider in the pursuit of positive change and social justice for Deaf individuals and Codas. At the present time, there is not a model for shared power and collaborative partnerships between Deaf and Coda leaders. This study does not construct or recommend any particular model for collaborative partnerships. However, there are three additional recommendations based on the final analysis of the data in this study.

**Framework for Feedback & a Safe Space.** Just as we have models for interpreting and cognitive processing, a framework is needed for introspective analysis and feedback to support collaborative partnerships between Deaf and Coda leaders. In a discussion about training Deaf parented or Coda interpreters, Popoff suggested that Codas may not have a framework for feedback or a safe space (B. Popoff, personal communication, April 23, 2019). While factors that contribute to the lack of this framework are unknown, the absence of a framework for feedback and a safe place is detrimental to collaborative partnerships. This framework could help to build trust and have a humanistic approach to interactions and sustain long-term partnerships. Deaf individuals, Codas, and hearing people are not always right or good; and they are not necessarily always wrong or bad. We need to be authentic and be willing to challenge each other. However, in order to challenge each other and foster authenticity, we need to establish a framework for feedback and group norms in order for this to be a safe space for us all.

**Framework for Shared Power and Coalitions.** In his speech about the West India Emancipation, Frederick Douglas (1857) began with the words, “If there is no struggle, there is no progress” and he asserted, “Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will.” In order to support the contribution of both Deaf and Coda leaders in the Deaf
community, we need a framework for shared power and coalitions. It is simply too easy to usurp power or diminish the other. This framework could provide recognition and inclusion for both groups. In other communities, such as feminist and queer communities, bodily differences have challenged and excluded individuals from group membership. In reference to making feminist and queer communities more inclusive, Serano (2013) asserts, “If we want to enact positive change on the rest of the culture, then we cannot rely solely on these insular group-only coalitions. Rather, we have to build broader coalitions with people who are not members of our own group(s)” (p. 288). Moreover, coalitions could provide an avenue for both parties to contribute, as well as uplift and acknowledge one another as respectable human beings with agency, autonomy, and expertise.

Can Deaf people concede their diagnosis of deafness (or biopower) as the only ticket of entry into the Deaf community? Can Codas give up the need for validation or recognition? I am not sure Codas can for fear of becoming more invisible and/or marginalized. Can we acknowledge the power differentials that exist in our society, where systems perpetuate ableism, audism, linguicism, phonocentrism, and all of the other “isms”? If we cannot, then how can we grapple honestly with the power imbalances at present in our community? During Reagan’s (a Deaf participant) interview, she shared how she believes Codas should take work outside of the Deaf community to correct the power imbalances that currently exist in the American Deaf community:

Codas in leadership positions should take jobs outside of the Deaf community. Because that would allow for healing within the Deaf community, where Deaf people could be promoted. This would have a huge impact and allow for healing within the Deaf community, where Deaf could climb the ladder and we could learn to be leaders in our own community, we need practice, we need experience.
Systemic oppression has driven competition over resources, employment, and leadership opportunities. In consideration of all the forces and factors that are pushing people apart, specifically in relation to Deaf and Coda individuals, how can we resist these systems? It starts with each individual working to recognize these underlying forces, along with the attitudes, beliefs, and values that they may carry. Ableism and audism assert that hearing people know best (Bottoms & Malzkuhn, 2017). These are powerful perceptions that need to be considered when leadership opportunities become available in the Deaf community.

As a white, able-bodied, middleclass, cisgender woman, I have extensive privilege and power. It is my responsibility to examine those advantages and identify how systems and society has given me more privileges than others. Simultaneously, I have also experienced systemic oppression. Laurene Simms (2019) shares how incredibly powerful perceptions can be and how perceptions are based on one’s biases, emotions, and experiences. Perceptions are not necessarily accurate and reflect opinions and beliefs based on how things may appear. However, the power of perception is what drives power, privilege, and oppression to function within societies. Simms (2019) asserts that it is human and often easy to criticize, insult, and blame one another. She offers another way, where individuals listen from the heart, and have an honest discussion to address the issues and concerns of the entire community. Instead of blaming, judging, or resisting each other, is it possible to work together to resist the systems that drive us apart? This will take patience and hard work. In order to do this, I believe we need a framework for shared power and coalitions. There are many avenues for these partnerships and coalitions to take place such as: task forces between organizations, conferences, workshops, state offices, town halls, and social media. Lastly, I recommend a healthy and safe dialogue about what it means to be Deaf and what it means to be a Coda.
Explore What it Means. I, as the researcher, will not take credit for this recommendation to explore what it means to be Deaf and what it means to be a Coda. This comes directly from Green (a Deaf participant) who stated, “I think that we need more dialogue. Our community has not really dived in and had a good, healthy discussion on what it means to be deaf 24/7, and what it means to be a CODA 24/7.” If we were to deeply examine what it means to be Deaf 24/7 and Coda 24/7, we may be able to further evaluate our similarities and differences. We may be able to explore how our shared experiences result in overlapping oppression and systemic violence. As we burrow into each other’s worlds, we may be able to unpack our privileges and find additional strategies for sharing power and collaborative partnerships. The more we learn about each other, the more likely we are to understand one another, and achieve a praxis of common humanity. Then we may find that the “us” in Charlton’s motto of “nothing about us, without us” includes both Deaf individuals and Codas in the American Deaf Community. Through open dialogue and exploration of what it means to be Deaf and what it means to be a Coda, we can work together more effectively to resist the systemic forces that oppress us.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study on the perceptions of Codas in leadership positions in the American Deaf community has only just scratched the surface to unpacking the dynamics of power, privilege, and oppression. For example, Witteborg (2016a) asserts that C/Kodas are an at-risk population for language deprivation. Moreover, Witteborg (2016b) argued that C/Kodas experience systematic oppression and structural violence. However, to date, no study has been found that investigates how inaccessibility and systematic oppression has resulted in language deprivation, trauma, and/or marginalization of C/kodas. For instance, how many medical
practitioners or educational professionals have informed Deaf parents not to sign with their hearing children? Do Deaf parents follow these directions? Furthermore, future research could investigate how has our history and current dynamics within the interpreting field have contributed to the divided perceptions of Coda leaders and Codas as a population.

To date, the researcher has found little research regarding the able-bodied children of disabled parents. Jacob, Canchola, and Preston (2018) explore the self-esteem, stigma, and overall experience of children with a disabled parent. However, outside of this study, further research could be conducted to explore the specific experiences of C/kodas to support positive outcomes for this population. For example, how does stigma and/or bias perpetuate microaggressions, marginalization, and/or the resilience of C/kodas? Lastly, a point often overlooked is intersectionality. Further research could explore how intersectionality be utilized as a lens to explore communication equity for C/kodas. While this study has explored the perceptions of Codas in leadership positions, the researcher strongly welcomes future studies to explore additional data to advance the work of finding balance and resisting systematic oppression within the American Deaf community.

Closing Thoughts

In 1983, Millie Brother, a Coda anthropologist, established CODA International as a means of creating a humanized space for Codas. It is a dedicated space, where Codas have found belonging, a place to celebrate their heritage, and be proud. Clare (2015) speaks to the critical nature of pride and disability, “Without pride, individual and collective resistance to oppression becomes nearly impossible” (p. 107). The majority of native signers are hearing children of Deaf adults (Compton, 2014; Williamson, 2015) and they have much to offer the interpreting
profession. While Codas are also native signers, this does not necessarily mean they are also interpreters.

Assumptions that Codas are communication facilitators may be contributing to role confusion. Nondeaf individuals who are not Deaf parented and become professional interpreters choose to work in allyship with the Deaf community. Codas as native signers are not necessarily working in the role of an ally. As language brokers or perceived communication facilitators, it may be assumed that Codas should take the same side or position of the Deaf community when it comes to making decisions and leadership. Moreover, this study has found that Coda leaders may be seen as a bridge, or a means to an end. Coda leaders may be perceived as being dismissive, egotistical, entitled, paternalistic; concurrently, they may be perceived as collaborative, a communication facilitator, one with a DEAF-HEART, and/or someone who works to promote Deaf people to the forefront. Yet if a Coda exercises agency, or owns their power and expertise, they may be seen as an autonomous agent whose values, beliefs, and/or values do not align with the Deaf community.

This critical ethnographic study revealed that there is indeed underlying conflict regarding identity politics, representation, and job competition. Data revealed in this study suggest that Coda leaders need collaborative partnerships with Deaf people. Authenticity and mindfulness are two key components to ensure these partnerships are successful. Additional facets to sustain these relationships are to establish a safe space, as well as a framework for feedback and shared power. In consideration of shared power, I point out a reminder that Brother (1983) shared with Codas as she established CODA International…

It is important to know and pride ourselves in knowing who we are. It is equally important to know who we are not. As hearing children of deaf adults, we know what it is like to grow up with deaf role models, to grow up with close, deaf family friends and to grow up with a hearing community that is for the most part
ignorant of the aforementioned two situations…On the other hand, we do not know what it is like to grow up as a deaf individual. We would be overstepping our bounds to speak on behalf of deaf people in this capacity (para. 3).

While Codas do indeed have overlapping experiences with the Deaf community, the life experience of a Coda is not the same as that of a Deaf person. Correspondingly, and a point often overlooked, Codas are respectable human beings with agency, autonomy, and expertise. In closing, I share the words of Jane Goodall, “You cannot get through a single day without having an impact on the world around you. What you do makes a difference, and you have to decide what kind of difference you want to make.”
EMIC PERCEPTIONS OF CODAS IN LEADERSHIP

References


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Information sheet 3.


https://www.facebook.com/groups/ASLTHAT/search/?query=Jos%C3%A9-Ovi%20Velazquez


Is not to change the outcome of the CEO decision. That decision has been made.

It is to start a conversation among Deaf* people and sign language interpreters about the interpreting field.

About moving us toward a model of true inclusion and collaborative work.

To examine what it means to be a sign language interpreter.

To understand the power you wield over our access. Our rights. Our place in society.

To have real conversations about empowerment of Deaf* people.
Appendix B: Questionnaire for Survey Participants

Q1) THANK YOU for your interest in participating in this survey about perceptions of Codas in leadership positions within the American Deaf community.

**Purpose of Study:**
This research will explore perceptions of Codas (hearing Children of Deaf Adults) in leadership positions and in what ways these perceptions impact Deaf individuals and Codas. Additionally, this study hopes to uncover recommendations for equitable leadership approaches. Your responses will be confidential, and you will never be asked to identify yourself or any Coda that you have worked with in the past.

This survey, consisting of approximately 25 questions, should take you no more than 20 minutes to complete. Most questions are multiple choice and there is only one open-ended question. You may stop this survey at any time, however any completed answers will be tabulated into the aggregated data and cannot be removed. There are no incentives associated with this survey. At the end of the survey, you will be invited to participate in an interview to talk more in depth about your perspectives and experiences. Fourteen participants will be chosen using a random number generator and will be asked to participate in an interview.

**Discomfort and Risks:**
This project will require you to answer questions about your professional and possibly personal experiences. This may cause discomfort as you recall sensitive issues, personal experiences, and/or feelings related to perceptions of hearing Codas.

**Benefits:**
The findings in this study will contribute to our understanding of Codas in leadership positions. This may, in turn, improve the quality and understanding of professionals working with our family members and the Deaf community as a whole.

**Who will see the information?**
The survey instrument will not collect any identifying data. The primary investigator will see your responses, and the data will be shared in a graduate thesis with no identifying information.

**Confidentiality**
If you provide identifying information, it will be held in confidence under password protection and all publications associated with this study will use pseudonyms in place of names. If you choose to participate in the interview, be assured that your name and contact information will only be seen by the researcher and researcher’s assistant and will be held in confidence under password protection.

**Sharing of Study Results and Findings**
No individual will be identifiable in any publication of the results of this study. It is important to note, however, that some anonymized quotes or transcribed examples of comments may be used when sharing the research findings from this study in future publications or presentations.
findings will also be available to participants through a published Master’s thesis or by 
contacting the researcher, Rosalinda Voss at rkdavis028@stkate.edu, directly.

Who can I contact for questions?
If you have any questions concerning this research study, please contact Rosalinda Voss 
at rkdavis028@stkate.edu. This study has been approved by the St. Catherine University 
Institutional Review Board (#????). If you have any additional questions and would like to talk 
to the faculty advisor, please contact Dr. Erica Alley at 651.690.6018 (v) or 612.255.3386 (vp) or 
elalley@stkate.edu. If you have other questions or concerns regarding the study and would like 
to talk to someone other than the researcher, you may also contact Dr. John Schmitt, Chair of the 
St. Catherine Institutional Review board at 651.690.7739 (v) or jsschmitt@stkate.edu.

Consent:
Your participation is completely voluntary, and no compensation is available for your 
participation. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your relationships with 
the researcher or St. Catherine University. If you decide to stop at any time you may do so. You 
may also skip any item that you do not want to answer.

Clicking “I consent” at the bottom of this screen will start the survey and indicate your 
consent to participate in this study.

Thank you for your participation!
~ Rose Voss, NIC-Advanced

Q2) Do you have one or more Deaf parent(s)?
   • Yes
   • No
Q3) What is your audiological status*? (choose one)
   * Audiological status refers to one’s physical ability to hear
   • Deaf
   • Hearing
   • Hard of hearing
   • Late Deafened
SKIP LOGIC: If Deaf, participants will be asked to answer Q4
SKIP LOGIC: If Q2 No and Q3 Hearing are chosen, then participants will be directed to exit the 
survey.
SKIP LOGIC: If Q2 is Yes, then participants, will not be asked Q4
Q4) Do you have one or more child(ren) whose audiological status is hearing?
   • Yes
   • No
Q5) What is your age range?
   • 18-25
   • 26-35
   • 36-45
   • 46-55
• 56-65
• over 66
Q6) What is your ethnicity? (Please select all that apply)
• American Indian or Alaskan Native
• Asian or Pacific Islander
• Black or African American
• Hispanic or Latino
• White/Caucasian
• Prefer not to answer
• Other: TEXT BOX
Q7) What is your gender?
• Female
• Male
• Non-binary
• Prefer not to say
• Other:
Q8) In which State do you currently reside?
• Dropdown for all 50 States
Q9) I identify as … (choose all that apply)
* Identity refers to cultural identity, your self-perception, your self-conception, feeling of belonging to a group (Isakson, 2016)
• Hearing
• Hard of Hearing
• Late Deafened
• Deaf
• Coda
Reference:
Q10) What is your profession or field of work? Select all that apply:
• Secondary (K-12) Teacher
• Post-secondary (College/University) Teacher
• Sign Language Interpreter
• Interpreter Trainer
• Director/Manager
• Other (Please indicate your current role here):
Q11) How frequently do you work with the Deaf community in your profession or field of work?
• Daily: 4-5 days a week
• Weekly: 1-3 times a week
• Monthly: 1-3 times a month
• Yearly: 1-6 times a year
• Never

Q12) If you have a degree in a Deaf-related field, please indicate which one below:
• Deaf Studies
• Interpreting
• Linguistics
• Deaf Education
• Other:
  • I do not have a Deaf-related degree

Q13) What levels of education have you achieved?
• No college, no degree
• Some college, no degree
• Associates
• Bachelors
• Masters
• Doctorate
• Other:

Q14) During your education, did you have any Coda teachers/professors? If yes, please indicate when (Please select all that apply):
• Secondary (K-12)
• Post-secondary (College/University)
• Workshop/s
• No, I did have any Coda teachers/professors
• I am not aware whether I had any Coda teachers/professors

Q15) During your education, did you have any Deaf teachers/professors? If yes, please indicate when (Please select all that apply):
• Secondary (K-12)
• Post-secondary (College/University)
• Workshop/s
• No, I did have any Deaf teachers/professors
• I am not aware whether I had any Deaf teachers/professors

Q16) When I think of the Deaf community, I perceive them as... (Choose all that you consider that apply):
• A linguistic/cultural minority
• An ethnic group
• A part of the larger disabled community
• Other: please indicate TEXT BOX

Q17) When I think of Codas in leadership positions*, I perceive them as ____ of the Deaf community. (Choose all that apply):

*Codas in leadership positions refers to a Deaf parented, hearing individual who works in a field related to the Deaf community and has the capacity for influencing a group of individuals to achieve a common goal.

• Insiders (of the Deaf community)
• Outsiders (of the Deaf community)
• Both insiders and outsiders
• Allies
• Accomplices
• Individuals with a “Deaf Heart”

* Allies refers to persons who are not members of a marginalized group but who express or gives support to that group.
*Accomplices refers to individuals who actively support, participate, and sacrifice with a marginalized group in working toward equity.

Q18) When I think of Codas in leadership positions, I perceive them as...

• A part of the Deaf community
• A part of the hearing community
• A part of both the Deaf and hearing community
• On the border* of the Deaf and hearing community
• None of the above

*Border refers to not belonging to a specific community.

Q19) When I think of Codas in leadership positions, I perceive them as... (Choose all that apply)

• Heritage members of the Deaf community
• A subcultural group of the Deaf community
• A part of the Deaf community, but not of Deaf culture
• A part of the Deaf community and a part of Deaf culture
• Not a part of the Deaf community or Deaf culture

Q20) How often have perceptions of Codas in leadership positions affected you within the past year?

• Very frequently
• Frequently
• Moderately frequently
• Seldomly
• Never

Q21) What professions related to the Deaf community do you consider appropriate for a Coda? (Choose all that apply):
• Sign language interpreter
• ASL Teacher
• Interpreter Trainer
• Advocate
• Social Worker
• Business Owner/CEO
• Interpreter Manager
• None
• Other: TEXT BOX

Q22) Is there anything else you would like to share about your perceptions of Codas in leadership positions?
• TEXT BOX

Q23) Would you be willing to participate in an interview to discuss the notion of Codas in leadership positions within the Deaf community further?
• Yes
• No

SKIP LOGIC: If Q23 = No, skip to Q26

Q24) Based on your responses, you meet criteria to be considered for an interview. Would you be willing to participate in an interview to discuss your perceptions of Codas in leadership positions? It would last no longer than an hour and a half and would be conducted via internet-based video conferencing (e.g., appear.in). It would also be video recorded. Those completing an interview will receive a $10 Amazon gift card for their time. (Please select below:)
• $10? Sure, throw my name in the hat!
• Sounds like a great offer, but I decline. Thanks anyway!

SKIP LOGIC: If Q24 = $10, Sure, throw my name in the hat, then move to Q25
SKIP LOGIC: If Q24 = Sounds like a great offer, but I decline. Thanks anyway! Skip to Q26

Q25) Thank you for agreeing to be considered for an interview to discuss your perceptions of Codas in leadership positions. I appreciate your time and the information you’ve shared. Your
answers to this questionnaire are anonymous. To be considered for the $10 Amazon gift card, click the following link to exit this survey and submit your contact information.

LINK REMOVED

Gratefully,
Rose Voss

Q26) I appreciate your time and the information you’ve shared. Remember your answers will be aggregated and de-identified.

Gratefully,
Rose
Appendix C: Guide for Semi-Structured Interviews

For Deaf Participants:

Section 1: Attitudes, Beliefs, & Values
- What do you consider to be a leadership position within the Deaf community?
- What makes a good leader in the Deaf community?
- Can you tell me about a time when you felt it was good to have a Coda in a leadership position?
- Can you tell me about a time when you felt that it was not right for a Coda to be in a leadership position?
- Can you tell me about a Coda that you felt was an insider in the Deaf community?
- Can you tell me about a Coda that you considered to not be an insider in the Deaf community?
  - What factors make someone an insider or outsider?
- Can you tell me about a Coda you felt was an ally or supportive in the Deaf community? What made them an ally/supportive?
- Can you tell me about a Coda that you felt was not an ally or supportive to the Deaf community?
- What do you like about the Codas in leadership positions?
- What do you dislike about Codas in leadership positions?
- Do you have children? If so, what professional fields did you encourage your children to pursue?
- Can you tell me about a time when you experienced job competition due to a Coda applying for a position that you applied to?
  - What were the results?

Section 2: Scenarios

1. In a rural area, a position for an ASL high school teacher opens up. If there are no Deaf people in the area, is it appropriate/acceptable for a Coda to apply?
   a. What if they get the job and then a Deaf person moves to town?
   b. What if both a Coda and Deaf person apply?
2. A position is opened for the chair of the ASL department of a Community College. There are both Deaf and Coda teachers who have the same degrees and years of experience apply. The Dean of the Language department is the one who is hiring and she is hearing. She is considering the pros and cons of hiring a Deaf teacher or a Coda teacher. What should the Dean consider as she determines who is more qualified for the position?

Section 3: Recommendations:
• What boundaries or limits are there for what a Coda should or should not do when it comes to leadership within the Deaf community?
• When it comes to working with Codas in leadership positions, how can they improve?
  o What would you like to see stop?
  o What would you like to see continue?
  o What changes would you like to see?

For Coda Participants:

• What do you consider to be a leadership position within the Deaf community?
• What makes a good leader in the Deaf community?
• Can you tell me about a time when you felt it was good to have a Coda in a leadership position?
• Can you tell me about a time when you felt that it was not right for a Coda to be in a leadership position?
• Can you tell me about a Coda that you felt was an insider in the Deaf community?
• Can you tell me about a Coda that you considered to not be an insider in the Deaf community?
  o What factors make someone an insider or outsider?
• What does allyship in regards to Coda leaders bring to mind?
• Can you tell me about a Coda you felt was an ally or supportive in the Deaf community?
  What made them an ally?
• Can you tell me about a Coda that you felt was not an ally or supportive to the Deaf community?
• What do you like about the Codas in leadership positions?
• What do you dislike about Codas in leadership positions?
• Can you tell me about a time when you recognized that you had hearing privilege?
• Can you tell me about a time when a Deaf person pointed out to you that you had hearing privilege?
  o How does this impact how you interact with the Deaf community/world?
• Can you tell me about a time when you received affirming or positive comments about your identity as a Coda?
  o Why do you believe these comments were made?
• Can you tell me about a time when you received criticism or negative comments about your identity as a Coda?
  o Why do you believe these comments were made?
• What professions/work did your parents expect you to pursue?
  o Did you follow these expectations?
• Have you ever been told not to pursue a specific position because of your identity as a Coda?

Section 4: Scenarios

• In a rural area, a position for an ASL high school teacher opens up. If there are no Deaf people in the area, is it appropriate/acceptable for a Coda to apply?
  a. What if they get the job and then a Deaf person moves to town?
  b. What if both a Coda and Deaf person apply?

• A position is opened for the chair of the ASL department of a Community College. There are both Deaf and Coda teachers who have the same degrees and years of experience apply. The Dean of the Language department is the one who is hiring and she is hearing. She is considering the pros and cons of hiring a Deaf teacher or a Coda teacher. What should the Dean consider as she determines who is more qualified for the position?

Section 5: Recommendations

• What boundaries or limits are there for what a Coda should or should not do when it comes to leadership within the Deaf community?

• When it comes to working with Codas in leadership positions, how can they improve?
  o What would you like to see stop?
  o What would you like to see continue?
  o What changes would you like to see?

Follow up questions/comments:

• When did this happen?
• Tell me more about your experience
• What has led you to these perceptions?
Appendix D: Recruitment Flyer

https://youtu.be/I6DDr5rEtTk

About the Researcher
I am Rosalinda Voss, I am hearing person of Deaf parents, maternal Deaf grandparents, and have five other Deaf family members. I have worked as an ASL/English interpreter since 2004 and have managed interpreters for nearly five years. I am conducting this research as a partial fulfillment for a Master's degree in Interpreting Studies and Communication Equity at St. Catherine University under the supervision of Dr. Erica Alley, NIC-Advanced.

Why is this research being done?
This study will explore perceptions of hearing Codas (Children of Deaf adults) in leadership positions. The researcher will investigate in what ways the perceptions of Codas in leadership positions impact Deaf individuals as well as Codas in the community. Additionally, this research aims to develop recommendations for equitable leadership approaches. Ultimately, the researcher intends to gather attitudes, beliefs, and/or values associated with identity, group membership, and equity. Your responses will be confidential, and you will never be asked to identify yourself or any Coda that you have worked with in the past.

In order to qualify for study participation, you must:
- Be a Deaf individual or a hearing individual with at least one Deaf parent;
- Live and work/ed in the United States;
- Be at least 18 years old

If you volunteer to participate, you will:
- Complete a questionnaire, which is estimated to take no more than 20 minutes.
- Review and sign a consent form;
- At the end of the survey, you may volunteer to participate in an interview to talk more in depth about your perspectives and experiences.

If you meet the above criteria, and are interested in participating, click here: [link removed due to survey closure]

Know of someone who may meet the above criteria?
Please forward this flyer to them.
Questionnaire responses will be collected until February 1st, 2019
Appendix E: Confidentiality Agreement for Research Assistant

I, ________________________, agree to the confidentiality procedures listed below to conduct interviews as the research assistant for Rosalinda Davis, NIC-Advanced as a part of the following study, Codas in Leadership: An Exploration of Emic Perceptions within the American Deaf Community.

- To minimize risk, the names of participants will not be used in the labeling of videos or the transcripts that are created from the video.
- Participants will create their own pseudonym to be used in reference to them during this study. This pseudonym will be used for labeling any videos or participants associated with this study.
- Participant images will not be shown to anyone other than the primary researcher, Rosalinda Voss.
- All documents and files associated with this study, including video cameras, will be stored in a locked safe/cabinet.
- All electronic videos/files associated with this study will be stored on password protected computers.
- All recorded video files will be encrypted and password protected prior to uploading them to Dropbox.
- Once the primary researcher verifies the video recording has been received and backed up on her computer, I will destroy all the original video files on my computer and camera.
- I will not reveal the identity of any participants or share any information that I glean from participants in this study.

Name: _____________________ (printed)
Signature: ____________________
Date: _______________________
Appendix F: Informed Consent for Interview

**Purpose of Study:**
This study will explore perceptions of hearing Codas (Children of Deaf adults) in leadership positions. The researcher will investigate in what ways the perceptions of Codas in leadership positions impact Deaf individuals as well as Codas in the community. Additionally, this research aims to develop recommendations for equitable leadership approaches. Ultimately, the researcher intends to gather attitudes, beliefs, and/or values associated with identity, group membership, and equity. Your responses will be confidential, and you will never be asked to identify yourself or any Coda that you have worked with in the past.

**What will I be asked to do?**
This interview consists of approximately 15 questions and will take about an hour to complete. The interview will explore your perceptions regarding Codas in leadership positions, such as their cultural identity, hearing privilege, and expectations. In closing, you will be asked what recommendations or ideas you have for Codas in leadership positions for equitable leadership.

**Discomfort and Risks:**
This project will require you to answer questions about your professional and possibly personal experiences. There will be no physical risk of any kind. The possible risks include discomfort experienced by a participant when sharing or discussing sensitive issues, personal experiences, and/or feelings related to perceptions of hearing Codas. For the sake of the validity and reliability, a research assistant will conduct interviews with the Deaf participants in this study. The reason for incorporating a Deaf research assistant is to hopefully minimize discomfort participants may feel with the researcher’s positionality as a Coda.

**Benefits:**
The findings in this study will contribute to our understanding of Codas in leadership positions. This may, in turn, improve the quality and understanding of professionals working with our family members and the Deaf community as a whole.

**Who will see the information?**
If you are a Deaf participant, Jamie Speier, the Deaf research assistant in this study, will interview you. Your interview will be recorded and all responses will be seen by the primary investigator. The data will be shared in a graduate thesis with no identifying information.

**Confidentiality**
If you provide identifying information, please know all publications associated with this study will use a pseudonym of your choosing. Your comments will be held in confidence all documents associated with this research will be kept under password protection.

The assistant has been trained on the scope of the study, the interview questions, and has signed a confidentiality agreement to protect the identity of all participants and confidentiality of all data.

**Sharing of Study Results and Findings**
The findings from this study may be shared through workshops, presentations, and publications. Any reference to quotes from the interviews will use the pseudonym associated with the participant as opposed to their real name in order to maintain confidentiality. At the end of this study, the findings will be available to participants through a published Master’s thesis or by contacting the researcher, Rosalinda Voss at rkdavis028@stkate.edu, directly.

**Who can I contact for questions?**
If you have any questions concerning this research study, please contact Rosalinda Voss at rkdavis028@stkate.edu. This study has been approved by the St. Catherine University Institutional Review Board (#???). If you have any additional questions and would like to talk to the faculty advisor, please contact Dr. Erica Alley at 651-690-6018 (v) or 612-255-3386 (vp) or elalley@stkate.edu. If you have other questions or concerns regarding the study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, you may also contact Dr. John Schmitt, Chair of the St. Catherine Institutional Review board at (651.690.7739v) or jsschmitt@stkate.edu.

Consent:
Your participation is completely voluntary, and you will receive a $10 Amazon gift card for your time. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your relationships with the researcher or St. Catherine University. If you decide to stop at any time you may do so. You may also skip any question that you do not want to answer.

I __________________ agree to be videotaped as part of my participation in the study “Codas in Leadership: An Exploration of Emic Perceptions within the American Deaf Community” conducted by Rosalinda Voss. I understand that the videotape will be labeled using a chosen pseudonym and kept secure on an external hard-drive stored in the researcher’s home. I understand that the video will be transcribed and used for research purposes. I also understand that all data and videos will be stored electronically on a password protected computer and Dropbox. Both the researcher and research assistant will store digital video cameras in a locked safe in their offices. The assistant will encrypt data by utilizing a file password and upload the video recordings of interviews with Deaf participants to a Dropbox account that only the researcher and assistant will have access to. Lastly, I understand that all records from this study, including the video recording of my interview, will be destroyed within six months of the conclusion of this study.

Please read the following and check those for which you give consent.

Please note: you cannot participate in the study if you are unwilling to be video-recorded.

- YES, I give permission for my videotaped data to be used in scholarly presentations and publications.
- YES, I give permission to be recorded for the study, but I DO NOT give permission for my videotaped data to be used in scholarly presentations and publications.
- NO, I DO NOT give permission for my videotaped data to be used in scholarly presentations and publications.

Participant’s Signature: _________________________ Date: _______________________

Primary Investigator’s Signature: _______________________ Date: ____________________
Appendix G: Script to be Read by Researcher Prior to Conducting Interviews

**Purpose of Study:**

To ensure that all of the participants receive the exact same information, I need to read from this script, O.K.?

This study will explore perceptions of hearing Codas (Children of Deaf adults) in leadership positions. The researcher will investigate in what ways the perceptions of Codas in leadership positions impact Deaf individuals as well as Codas in the community.

Additionally, this research aims to develop recommendations for equitable leadership approaches.

This interview will take no longer than an hour and will require you to answer questions about your professional and personal perceptions of Codas in leadership positions.

Our interview will be recorded. However, everything you say will be kept entirely confidential.

All of your responses in this interview will be transcribed and any identifying information will be removed. The interview will be recorded for transcription purposes, so that I can fully participate in the discussion without taking notes. Be assured that all data associated with this interview will use pseudonyms and no identifiable information will be used.

If you choose to participate in the study, be assured that your name and contact information will only be seen by the researcher, and data/documentation will be held in confidence under password protection.

Your participation is valued, and you will receive a $10 Amazon gift card for your time. If you decide to stop at any time, you may do so. You may also skip any question that you do not want to answer. If you decide to stop, you will still receive the $10 gift card. Do you have any questions for me before we begin?

What pseudonym would you like to choose? Keep in mind, it must be a name that is used to refer to a person.
Appendix H: Informed Participation Script to be Read by Research Assistant Prior to Conducting Interviews

To ensure that all of the participants receive the exact same information, I need to read from this script, O.K.?

This study will explore perceptions of hearing Codas (Children of Deaf adults) in leadership positions. The researcher will investigate in what ways the perceptions of Codas in leadership positions impact Deaf individuals as well as Codas in the community. Additionally, this research aims to develop recommendations for equitable leadership approaches.

Please know that I am not the primary researcher. The primary researcher is Rosalinda Voss, who identifies as a Coda. My role in this research is limited to the facilitation of this interview. This interview will take no longer than an hour and will require you to answer questions about your professional and personal perceptions of Codas in leadership positions. Our interview will be recorded. However, everything you will say will be kept entirely confidential.

I will see your responses (as well as the primary researcher). The interview will be recorded for transcription purposes, so that I can fully participate in the discussion without taking notes. Be assured that all data associated with this interview will use pseudonyms and no identifiable information will be used. If you choose to participate further in the study, be assured that your name and contact information will only be seen by the researcher and researcher’s assistant, and data/documentation will be held in confidence under password protection.

Your participation is valued, and you will receive a $10 Amazon gift card for your time. If you decide to stop at any time, you may do so. You may also skip any question that you do not want to answer. If you decide to stop, you will still receive the $10 gift card to use at your discretion. Do you have any questions for me before we begin?

What pseudonym would you like to choose? Keep in mind, it must be a name that is used to refer to a person.