

Deaf & Hard of Hearing: Understanding Attitudes

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Introduction to Societal Attitudes and Deafness

Attitudes toward **Deaf and Hard of Hearing (D/HH) people** represent a complex interplay of cultural norms, historical biases, and psychological mechanisms related to difference and ability. Unlike attitudes directed toward visible racial or ethnic groups, attitudes toward D/HH individuals often center on perceived communication deficits and deviations from the auditory norm, resulting in unique forms of prejudice and discrimination that are often subtle and institutionalized. These societal viewpoints are not monolithic; they range from overt hostility and rejection to subtle forms of paternalism and misguided sympathy, all of which profoundly impact the lived experiences of the D/HH community in areas such as education, employment, and social interaction. Understanding these attitudes requires acknowledging the fundamental distinction between the medical model of deafness, which views hearing loss as a deficit to be fixed, and the cultural model, which recognizes Deafness (with a capital 'D') as a linguistic minority culture with its own unique language, customs, and identity. The prevailing societal framework, often leaning heavily toward the medical model, tends to foster attitudes that pathologize deafness rather than celebrating linguistic and cultural diversity, thereby setting the stage for systemic biases that equate auditory ability with competence and normalcy.

The term **attitude**, in psychological literature, refers to a relatively enduring organization of beliefs, feelings, and behavioral tendencies toward socially significant objects, groups, events, or symbols. When applied to the D/HH population, these attitudes are comprised of cognitive components, such as stereotypes about intellectual capacity or professional limitations; affective components, which include emotions like discomfort, fear, or pity; and behavioral components, such as discriminatory actions, avoidance, or excessive overcompensation. Importantly, many negative attitudes held by hearing individuals are rooted in lack of exposure and profound misunderstanding, rather than overt malice or hostility; however, the resulting negative outcomes for D/HH individuals--such as reduced opportunities and increased psychological stress--are functionally identical to those stemming from more explicit forms of prejudice. These attitudes frequently manifest as **microaggressions**, subtle verbal or nonverbal exchanges that convey hostile, derogatory, or negative messages about the D/HH person's identity or abilities, such as speaking extremely loudly or assuming the D/HH individual needs assistance for simple, everyday tasks, thereby reinforcing a sense of otherness and marginalization.

Furthermore, the inherent diversity within the D/HH community itself significantly complicates the study and mitigation of negative attitudes. Attitudes directed toward individuals who use American Sign Language (ASL) and identify as culturally Deaf may differ significantly from those directed toward individuals who are hard of hearing, utilize hearing aids or cochlear implants, and primarily rely on spoken language for communication. These internal variations mean that research and intervention efforts must carefully distinguish between attitudes toward **linguistic difference** versus attitudes toward **auditory disability**, as the underlying societal anxieties and prejudices

may vary. Generally, societal discomfort tends to increase when communication relies solely on visual modalities, such as ASL, because it fundamentally challenges the assumption that verbal communication is the only legitimate or efficient form of interaction. This preference for spoken language often leads to policies and practices that prioritize assimilation into the hearing world over the preservation and promotion of Deaf culture and language, reflecting a deep-seated societal attitude that equates hearing and speaking with inherent competence and full membership in society.

Historical Perspectives on Deafness and Stigma

Historically, attitudes toward Deaf individuals have been characterized by extreme variability, often reflecting the prevailing philosophical and religious beliefs of the era regarding human nature, intellect, and the role of communication. In ancient societies, attitudes were often severely negative, sometimes leading to the denial of legal rights or even the rejection of Deaf infants, based on the deeply erroneous belief, codified by influential thinkers like Aristotle, that those who lacked speech were simultaneously incapable of rational thought. This historical link between the ability to speak and the possession of intellect established a pervasive and enduring stigma that positioned deafness not merely as a physical impairment, but as a profound intellectual, social, and moral deficiency. It was only during the Enlightenment and the subsequent rise of humanitarian movements that attitudes began to shift toward viewing deafness as a condition warranting education; however, this educational effort was frequently driven by the goal of assimilation and "fixing" the individual--specifically by forcing the acquisition of oral language--rather than respecting their natural visual language. This historical trajectory reveals that the core negative attitude has persistently been the societal insistence on **oralism** as the only acceptable pathway to integration and self-sufficiency.

The 19th and early 20th centuries witnessed a significant and globally detrimental shift in attitudes, fueled by the rise of eugenics and the institutionalization of restrictive oralist educational methods. The infamous 1880 Milan Conference, where hearing educators overwhelmingly voted to ban the use of sign language in schools across Europe and the Americas, cemented a century of educational practices based on the attitude that sign language was primitive, a hindrance to social progress, and a barrier to full assimilation. This decision was driven by deeply prejudiced cognitive beliefs held by hearing professionals who prioritized their own pedagogical theories and comfort over the linguistic needs and psychological well-being of Deaf children. The resulting generations of Deaf individuals suffered immense psychological trauma and educational harm, forced to communicate using laborious, often unsuccessful methods that frequently led to language deprivation. This period exemplifies how negative attitudes, when institutionalized and backed by professional authority, transition from personal prejudice into systemic oppression, reinforcing the pervasive societal notion that **deafness must be erased or overcome** rather than accommodated or celebrated.

Furthermore, historical attitudes have been profoundly shaped by concepts rooted in **paternalism**, where hearing philanthropists, educators, or religious figures viewed the Deaf community as subjects for intervention rather than partners in self-governance. While some historical figures, such as Abbé de l'Épée, championed the use of sign language, their efforts were often framed within a religious or charitable context that still fundamentally implied a deficit requiring intervention and guidance from the hearing world. This paternalistic attitude, while superficially benevolent and often well-intentioned, inherently strips D/HH individuals of agency, suggesting that they cannot manage their own affairs, make informed decisions about their communication modality, or lead their own communities effectively. The enduring legacy of this historical paternalism is clearly visible in current debates over communication access and medical interventions, where hearing professionals often dictate appropriate solutions and policies without meaningfully consulting or prioritizing the preferences of the D/HH consumers. Thus, the historical narrative is one where attitudes have consistently undervalued Deaf identity and autonomy, prioritizing conformity to hearing norms above all else.

Manifestations of Negative Attitudes: Audism and Paternalism

The most comprehensive conceptual framework used to describe systemic negative attitudes toward D/HH people is **Audism**, a term coined by scholar Tom Humphries to parallel concepts like racism and sexism. Audism refers to the deeply ingrained notion that one is superior based on one's ability to hear or to behave in the manner of one who hears, or the belief that life without hearing is inherently futile, miserable, and less valuable. Audism operates on both individual and institutional levels. Individually, it manifests as explicit microaggressions, such as expressing surprise when a Deaf person holds a professional degree, or insisting that a Deaf person lip-read or use residual hearing even when they have explicitly requested a qualified interpreter. Institutionally, audism is evident in policies that fail to provide adequate interpreting or captioning services, in medical approaches that emphasize cure over linguistic access, and in educational systems that consistently underfund programs supporting visual communication. This pervasive ideology ensures that the hearing world remains the unspoken, default standard for human interaction, rendering D/HH experiences and needs invisible or secondary in most public spheres. It is a powerful form of prejudice because it is frequently unconsciously enacted by otherwise well-meaning individuals who have internalized the superiority of the auditory modality.

A closely related and equally damaging manifestation of negative attitudes is **paternalism**, which involves treating D/HH adults in a manner similar to how children are treated, based on the assumption that they lack the full competence or capacity to make informed decisions or manage complex situations independently. This attitude often stems from genuine, albeit profoundly misguided, sympathy, yet its effect is fundamentally disempowering and infantilizing. Examples of professional paternalism include service providers making unilateral decisions about necessary assistive technology without obtaining substantive input from the D/HH user, or family members

habitually speaking for the D/HH individual in social or transactional settings, thereby bypassing their ability to communicate directly. Paternalism suggests that the D/HH individual is perpetually dependent on the hearing world for mediation, guidance, and protection. While the overt intention might be framed as "helping," the outcome is the reinforcement of dependency and the undermining of self-efficacy, directly contradicting the core tenets of disability rights and autonomy. Paternalism is particularly insidious because it often masks prejudice under the guise of care, making it socially challenging to critique or reject without appearing ungrateful or overly sensitive.

Furthermore, negative attitudes are frequently expressed through specific forms of **linguistic discrimination**, which centers on the prejudice against users of signed languages. Many hearing individuals, due to lack of exposure and education, hold the cognitive belief that sign language is not a "real," fully developed language, but rather a collection of simplistic gestures, mime, or a rudimentary code. This deeply entrenched misconception entirely disregards decades of linguistic research confirming that signed languages like ASL possess full grammatical complexity, sophisticated syntax, and robust morphology comparable to any spoken language. This systemic devaluation of signed languages leads directly to major resource barriers, such as inadequate funding for qualified sign language interpreters in critical public services, and educational policies that continue to favor oral instruction despite its documented failure for many Deaf students. When society refuses to recognize and accommodate a linguistic minority on equal footing with the majority, it sends a powerful and clear message that their culture and means of communication are inherently inferior, thereby justifying systemic exclusion and marginalization. This form of discrimination is a core functional expression of audism, prioritizing the convenience and comfort of the hearing majority over the fundamental communication rights of the D/HH population.

The Role of Communication Modality in Attitude Formation

The specific communication modality employed by a D/HH individual significantly influences the attitudes they encounter from the hearing population, creating distinct social dynamics and challenges. Individuals who utilize speech, lip-reading, and auditory amplification (such as hearing aids or cochlear implants) often face different, though still acute, challenges compared to those who primarily use sign language. Those using spoken language may be perceived as "closer" to the hearing norm and thus sometimes receive more positive initial evaluations from hearing individuals who highly value conformity and auditory interaction. However, this perceived closeness also subjects them to intense and often unrealistic pressure to perform flawlessly in auditory environments, and any perceived failure in communication is often attributed to an internal deficit or a lack of effort on their part, rather than the inherent difficulty and variability of speech perception with hearing loss. This creates a stressful dual standard: they are expected to function as hearing individuals but are rarely afforded the same cognitive ease or guaranteed access, leading to chronic communication fatigue, stress, and isolation.

In sharp contrast, individuals who communicate primarily through sign language often elicit stronger, more polarized reactions from the hearing public. While some encounters involve positive curiosity and deep respect from those familiar with Deaf culture, they frequently face attitudes rooted in profound discomfort, avoidance, or outright fear from those entirely unfamiliar with visual communication. The use of sign language serves as a visible, undeniable marker of difference, directly challenging the hearing person's assumption of universal auditory communication and forcing an acknowledgment of linguistic diversity. This societal discomfort often translates into overt avoidance behaviors, where hearing individuals may choose not to initiate interaction with a signing D/HH person, or may direct conversation exclusively through an interpreter, effectively treating the D/HH individual as linguistically inaccessible or irrelevant. Research consistently indicates that the perceived effort required to communicate with a signing person is a strong predictor of negative attitudes, highlighting the deeply entrenched societal expectation that the linguistic minority must bear the entire burden of communication accommodation, rather than the hearing majority.

Furthermore, the specific context in which communication occurs heavily mediates the expression of attitudes. In professional or academic settings, where communication efficiency is often equated with competence and productivity, hearing people often harbor stereotypes that link communication speed or fluency with overall intelligence. When interpreting services are required, some hearing colleagues may express visible impatience, viewing the presence of an interpreter or the slight delay in turn-taking as an unnecessary bureaucratic hurdle or a drag on efficiency, reflecting an underlying attitude that accommodations are burdens rather than essential tools for equal access. Conversely, in highly visible public settings, D/HH individuals using sign language sometimes encounter attitudes of excessive fascination or intrusive curiosity, where hearing strangers interrupt interactions to ask overly personal questions about deafness or attempt to mimic signs they have learned. While seemingly benign on the surface, these behaviors ultimately objectify the D/HH person, treating them as an interesting spectacle or a source of novelty rather than an autonomous individual deserving of respectful social boundaries, reflecting a profound lack of cultural literacy and familiarity with the Deaf community.

Psychological Theories Explaining Prejudice Against D/HH Individuals

Several established psychological theories provide robust frameworks for understanding the genesis, maintenance, and expression of prejudice against the D/HH population. One highly relevant and frequently cited theory is **Social Identity Theory (SIT)**, which posits that people derive a significant portion of their self-esteem and identity from their membership in social groups, specifically the in-group. Hearing individuals, constituting the numerical and power majority, naturally form a strong in-group identity centered on shared linguistic and sensory experiences. Differences in communication modality, particularly the visual nature of sign language, clearly demarcate the D/HH community as an out-group. According to SIT, in-group members tend to

favor their own group and often derogate the out-group, especially when the in-group's status or fundamental norms are perceived as being challenged. Because auditory communication is so fundamental to the hearing identity, the perceived inability of the out-group to communicate effectively (according to in-group standards) leads directly to negative stereotyping, maintenance of social distance, and the reinforcement of the hearing majority's sense of superiority, which is the definition of audism.

Another powerful explanatory model is the **Stereotype Content Model (SCM)**, which suggests that group stereotypes are generally organized along two fundamental dimensions: warmth and competence. Groups perceived as high on warmth (seen as friendly or trustworthy) but low on competence (seen as incapable or unskilled) often elicit emotions of pity and are subjected to highly specific paternalistic prejudice. The D/HH community frequently falls into this quadrant; hearing individuals may perceive them as deserving of sympathy and care (high warmth) but simultaneously view them as less capable of independent functioning, professional success, or complex tasks (low competence), particularly those involving rapid communication or abstract reasoning. This specific perception directly facilitates the paternalistic attitudes discussed previously, where hearing people feel entitled to "help" or "protect" the D/HH individual, inadvertently reinforcing their marginalized and dependent status. This specific combination of pity and perceived incompetence is highly detrimental because it provides a socially acceptable justification for setting lower expectations and limiting opportunities for advancement in education and employment.

Furthermore, **Attribution Theory** helps illuminate how hearing individuals interpret and assign causes to the behaviors and difficulties experienced by D/HH people, often in biased ways. When a D/HH person struggles in a communication-heavy environment, hearing individuals frequently make internal attributions, assuming the difficulty stems from the D/HH person's inherent characteristics (e.g., "They aren't trying hard enough to hear" or "They are intentionally being aloof"), rather than making external attributions (e.g., "The environment is too noisy," "The lighting is poor for lip-reading," or "The communication system is inaccessible"). This persistent tendency to blame the victim for their communication difficulties reinforces negative attitudes and excuses the hearing majority from taking responsibility for creating accessible and inclusive environments. Conversely, successes achieved by D/HH individuals are sometimes defensively attributed to external factors, such as luck, exceptional effort, or the assistance of a hearing mentor, rather than inherent ability, thus maintaining the pre-existing stereotype that D/HH people are generally less competent. These biased attribution patterns ensure that negative cognitive beliefs about capability remain resilient to contradictory evidence.

Impact of Attitudes on Mental Health and Life Outcomes

The cumulative effect of pervasive negative attitudes, encompassing both overt prejudice and

subtle audism, has profound and measurable negative impacts on the mental health and life outcomes of D/HH individuals across the lifespan. Exposure to continuous microaggressions, chronic communication barriers, and systemic discrimination leads to significantly higher rates of anxiety, depression, and chronic stress within the D/HH community compared to the general population. The constant cognitive and emotional effort required to navigate a world fundamentally designed for hearing people--coupled with the internalization of negative societal stereotypes--contributes significantly to low self-esteem, feelings of profound alienation, and social withdrawal. It is crucial for mental health professionals to recognize that many psychological issues faced by D/HH clients are not inherent properties of deafness itself, but are direct, trauma-inducing consequences of systemic societal oppression, audism, and inaccessible communication environments. The psychological burden of constantly having to educate the hearing majority, advocate for basic rights, and manage frequent communication breakdowns is immense and often entirely invisible to those who are not experiencing it.

In the realm of educational outcomes, negative attitudes manifest as low academic expectations from teachers, administrators, and peers, often resulting in the inappropriate tracking of D/HH students into vocational or less academically challenging programs, irrespective of the student's actual intellectual potential. The historical and contemporary bias toward oralism, driven by the attitude that speech acquisition is the paramount goal, has resulted in generations of D/HH students leaving school with poor literacy skills, not due to cognitive limitations related to deafness, but explicitly because of **language deprivation** caused by the systemic exclusion of effective, accessible sign language instruction. Even in supposedly inclusive mainstream settings, subtle negative attitudes among peers and educators--such as excluding the D/HH student from informal social communication, failing to utilize interpreters effectively, or overlooking their contributions in class--can severely limit social development and academic integration, reinforcing feelings of isolation and inadequacy. Therefore, negative attitudes directly perpetuate educational inequalities that dramatically restrict future opportunities and life choices.

Furthermore, negative attitudes critically affect employment opportunities and career progression for the D/HH population. Employers frequently harbor unfounded fears regarding the actual cost of providing accommodations, potential communication difficulties with clients, or the general competence and reliability of D/HH employees. These cognitive biases and stereotypes often result in D/HH applicants being unfairly overlooked for positions for which they are highly qualified, or being relegated to roles that are deemed not to require significant communication, thereby drastically limiting their long-term career growth potential. When employed, D/HH individuals frequently report chronic communication breakdowns and misunderstandings with supervisors and colleagues, often stemming from the hearing majority's unwillingness to adapt communication styles, utilize interpreters effectively, or simply ensure visual access. This entrenched lack of willingness reflects a deeply ingrained attitude that accessibility is an optional inconvenience, not a mandatory civil right, which ultimately prevents D/HH employees from realizing their full

professional potential and contributes significantly to higher rates of unemployment and underemployment within the community.

Promoting Positive Attitudes: Education and Contact Hypothesis

The most effective strategy for mitigating negative attitudes and fostering genuine inclusion is through comprehensive education coupled with structured, meaningful contact between hearing and D/HH individuals. The **Contact Hypothesis**, originally formulated by Gordon Allport, suggests that prejudice can be significantly reduced through direct personal interaction, provided that four key conditions are rigorously met: equal status between the groups, shared common goals that require cooperation, intergroup cooperation to achieve those goals, and strong support from institutional authorities for the interaction. When hearing individuals are able to interact with D/HH peers in collaborative environments, such as workplace teams or educational projects where communication is fully facilitated and status is clearly equalized, stereotypes about competence often rapidly dissolve, leading to significantly more positive affective attitudes, increased empathy, and reduced anxiety about communication.

Education plays an absolutely crucial role in dismantling the cognitive component of prejudice and stereotype maintenance. Formal education must move beyond a purely medical understanding of hearing loss and instead address the historical and cultural context of deafness, teaching students about **Deaf culture**, the linguistic richness and complexity of signed languages, and the systemic nature of audism. Simply teaching basic sign language vocabulary is insufficient for deep attitudinal change; true transformation requires understanding that deafness is a form of natural human variation and a basis for cultural identity, not merely a deficiency to be pitied or fixed. When hearing individuals learn that signed languages are complex, expressive, and fully capable of conveying abstract thought, the damaging stereotype that D/HH individuals are intellectually limited because they cannot speak is directly and powerfully challenged. Educational curricula should also place a heavy emphasis on the principles of accessibility, communication responsibility, and universal design, thereby shifting the perceived burden of communication accommodation from the D/HH individual to the environment and the hearing majority.

Moreover, promoting truly positive attitudes requires active advocacy and unwavering institutional commitment to policy change and enforcement. Institutions must visibly endorse and strictly enforce non-discriminatory practices, such as providing high-quality, readily available interpreting and captioning services, and ensuring all public-facing content is fully accessible. When institutional authorities actively and publicly support inclusion, it sends a powerful signal to the hearing majority that respectful, cooperative, and fully accessible interaction with D/HH individuals is the expected and non-negotiable social norm. Furthermore, mandatory training programs for professionals across all sectors (e.g., medical staff, educators, human resources personnel) must move beyond mere legal compliance training to focus on deep cultural humility, practical

communication strategies, and the recognition of inherent biases. The ultimate goal is not merely tolerance or grudging accommodation, but the genuine acceptance, respect, and appreciation of linguistic and sensory diversity, recognizing that the D/HH community brings unique perspectives and valuable contributions to society.

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