Teacher Resistance to Oralism in the 1970s: A Case Study of a School for the Deaf

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As a thesis for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In September 2018

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

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Abstract

The central aim of this research was to investigate teacher resistance in a deaf school, in the South West of England, as they responded to contradictions in their careers during the oral method of deaf education. The most notable contradiction was that the oral methods failed a sizeable portion of deaf students who had no recourse to other methods. Other contradictions revolved around differences between the interpretation of deaf lives from a cultural or medical viewpoint and tensions between the influences of normalisation and the growing acceptance of diversity.

Giddens' (1984) ontological project of structuration is used as a sensitising lens for the study because of its focus on both structures, rules and resources for social actions, and individual agency blended in a recursive relationship. A bricolage of interviews and historical documents are used to create a history of the school outlining the dominant structures in deaf education and the development of the oral method through time, ultimately to the late 1970s when, in this case study, the oral method was augmented with Cued Speech and Sign Supported English. This case study focuses on thirteen teachers who taught mainly through the 1970s, of which eleven participated in semi-structured interviews. Grounded theory is used as a way of collecting and analysing data so that the findings were, in large, inductive.

Conformity to the oral method, in most cases, required a state of consciousness that Giddens (1984) called a practical consciousness, where teachers replicated existing patterns of society, including the more durable structures associated with their social positioning, that is their socially legitimated identities. Oppositional behaviours, including resistance, required a discursive consciousness where agents explored other opportunities triggered as a result of contradictions that arose in their lives. Most participants conformed to the oral method but a few employed occasional oppositional behaviours, for example allowing students to sign to those who could not profit from the oral teaching. Three participants resisted the oral method, evidenced by developing Deaf cultural competencies and with that a growing awareness of deaf epistemologies. This epistemic reflexivity led

them to value and learn sign language and Deaf culture and develop transformative practices, creating different deaf pedagogies in safe spaces away from the prying eyes of other teachers and the school leadership. From limited discussions with some pupils, who attended the school during the 1960s and 1970s, these behaviours and teaching styles were welcomed and appreciated by the students.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all the participants involved in this research, for their enthusiasm for deaf education and their willingness to share stories about their teaching lives. Some have been breathtakingly honest about events and their feelings and aspirations as Teachers of the Deaf which has made the whole research process a privilege.

I would like to thank Lynn Williams who initially inspired me to undertake a PhD. I would also like to thank my supervisors: Martin Levinson for encouraging me to begin this journey, Hannah Anglin-Jaffe for her passion for deaf education, Hazel Lawson and Alexandra Allan for getting me over the line. They have worked tirelessly with me for which I will always be grateful.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank my family for their support and belief in me and giving up time that could have been theirs. This is dedicated to Carole who has urged me on with unwavering faith in the project and our children; Holly, Leanne, Kimberley, Tiffany and Emma-Lee.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The first section of this chapter outlines the significance of the study, its primary research questions, the context in which the research was done, my positioning within the research project and then the theoretical framework and research design. The second section introduces a glossary of terms to introduce the reader to some of the concepts used in the research. Finally, the last section includes an outline of the remaining chapters of the thesis.

1.1 Context

1.1.1 Significance of the Study

The significance of this case study was to establish, historically, that oralism was not an uncontested stability between 1880 and 1980, in the school for the deaf in Exeter, and that some teachers at various times and stages in their lives were able to express oppositional behaviours and even resistance to the oralist hegemony. Through semi-structured interviews with teacher participants, I was able to establish that there was always a group of deaf students in the school who did not cope well with the oral method and that some participants felt that they would have been better served through the use of sign language. Most of the participants realised that the children in the school used sign language with each other, although this was officially banned, and some of the teachers in the school made use of this student method of communication, for example by allowing students to sign to those who did not understand, and a few even made efforts to learn sign language.

Throughout this project I have been, and remain, unaware of any study on the subject of individual teacher resistance to oralism in deaf schools, especially hearing teachers (as all the teachers were in the school throughout this time period). Barron (2017) discusses how a school in Manitoba, Canada made a collective resistance to oralism in the 1920s where, although articulation classes existed, the use of sign language was permitted and Burch (2002) discusses deaf teachers resisting the implementation of oralism in American schools in the early twentieth century. If anything, there appears to be a degree of

stereotyping of deaf educators during these years of oralism, at worse as "criminals" (Ladd, 1994; 12; Lane, 1984; 371) because of their anti-sign language stance, but this research identifies hearing staff who did not fit this description because they saw value in sign language and tried to create different deaf pedagogies. This thesis, then, adds to the knowledge of deaf education through stories of teachers choosing the path of resistance, triggered by dilemmas in their lives, and creating an emancipatory pedagogy.

What this research highlights, is that some Teachers of the Deaf, though few in number, had been able to resist the oral hegemony through the use of a discursive consciousness. This involved an epistemic reflexivity of deaf students as knowers and learners creating space for a pedagogy more grounded in the needs of deaf children as members of a cultural group as well as individuals whose thinking and learning skills differed from hearing peers. It also highlights that most teachers, however, were influenced by a practical consciousness, a grasp for the routines of the day without being able to express them discursively, who continued the hegemonic practices of the school so that only a few were 'transformative intellectuals' (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993). These transformative teachers critically examined previously unconscious assumptions about deafness, deaf education and deaf children as knowers and learners and were able to implement a degree of change (Finn, 2007).

I argue that these issues are still relevant today as many of the dominant discourses from forty years ago that privileged oral methods are still with us. If teachers entering the profession of teaching bilingual deaf children, for example, are unable to identify issues around domination and oppression in current ideologies (that exist as memory traces in their own consciousnesses) and if they are unable to identify that deaf children require a different way of teaching because they have different ways of knowing and learning with respect to their hearing peers, then the reproduction of these dominant discourses and teaching practices could present barriers and even have damaging effects on the education of deaf children.

1.1.2 Primary Research Questions

Although the focus of this research is on teacher oppositional behaviours and resistance to the oral method, used in the school almost exclusively between 1883 and 1979, the initial question that the research focused on was why the changes from oralism to including Cued Speech, Signed English and Sign Supported English occurred at the school in 1979. As the participants talked about their experiences around this institutional change, however, I became more aware of cultural issues that included opposition and resistance. I also started to realise that the histories that were recounted by the participants differed from some of the 'official' histories of the school, particularly the suppression of sign language usage within the school. I, therefore, review some of the history of the school and ask some questions about what types of knowledge were validated and what types of knowledge were suppressed. The research, then, had three aims, along with questions that would support these aims:

Aim of the study: To investigate how teachers responded to contradictions in their careers during the oral only method of deaf education.

Research questions:

1. What were the contradictions that teachers faced in their teaching lives?
2. As a consequence of these contradictions, what choices and barriers were the participants presented with?
3. What choices did some participants make as a result of identified contradictions and what were the consequences?

The answers to these questions created a complex picture of teacher lives in a school for the deaf, interweaving both acceptance of and compliance with the oral method with occasional opposition and resistance to the oral method. As a result of contradictions that existed, some participants made occasional forays into the world of oppositional behaviours. One participant created a semi-public space for the use of sign language and two created private spaces of resistance in their classrooms. The focus of Chapter 7 is to draw together the results of this aim and to answer the research questions that it posed.

Other aims of the study:

To determine how the oral method was augmented after 1979 and how this changed educational methods for teaching deaf children at the school.

Research questions:

1. What fostered change to the oral method?
2. What other methods became available in deaf education at the end of the 1970s and how were they chosen?
3. What was the impact of these changes on staff, students and parents?

The answers to these questions resulted in an understanding of institutional change, explored specifically in Chapter 6. Chapter 6 shows how the oral method slowly became augmented with Cued Speech and Sign Supported English in 1979 and how some decisions came about as a result of participant reactions to contradictions in their lives.

To reflect on the official histories of the school and how some events had been suppressed.

Research questions:

1. What events have been suppressed?
2. Why were these events suppressed?
3. What other perspectives exist of these events?

The answers to these questions highlighted the dominance of the social structures that supported the influence of oralism and how a narrow perspective of what it meant to be deaf was privileged above other viewpoints. This aim will be dealt with specifically in Chapter 5.1 and although only a brief space is given over to this discussion, it dovetails with an understanding of how the social structures that dominated the era created a bias that supported the oral method and also exposed contradictions within the education system at that time.

These overall aims and questions are the thread that not only interweaves throughout this thesis but are the laces that hold it together.

1.1.3 Background to the Research Project

The past forty years has seen unprecedented change in deaf education at an international level, in Britain generally and more specifically at the school for the deaf in Exeter, which is the focus of the study. From nearly one hundred years of oral education (from the 1880s until the late 1970s), deaf education has shifted, in many schools across Britain, from the oral method, particularly for the profoundly deaf, to methods using signs and specifically and currently, in Exeter, to a bilingual method of education. Bilingualism implies the use of two languages, British Sign Language (BSL) and English but the move to bilingualism was neither immediate nor apparent when changes in communication methodologies started to take place. The school used an oral only approach to deaf education from the mid-1880s up until the late 1950s when a small group of profoundly deaf children with additional special needs were taught using Sign Supported English. This group operated until 1965 when the school became wholly oral, again. Sign Supported English received semi-official backing in the school in 1973 when a remedial unit was set up in the school to teach deaf children with additional special needs. Then, in 1979 two manual support systems were introduced generally in the school, Cued Speech and Sign Supported English which were both used to augment oralism. Six years later, the school adopted a Total Communication approach which, although acknowledging the use of many manual systems including BSL, often meant simply using simultaneous speaking and signing in English word order (also known as sim-com). As a result, although Sign Supported English and Signed English (a system devised to sign all the content of spoken English) continued, Cued Speech use petered out (from about 1994 after 15 years of use in the school). It was not until 1998 that British Sign Language (BSL) was introduced into the curriculum and then only for children at Key Stage 4 (14 to 16 year olds). It would be a few more years before BSL was on the curriculum for all Secondary students and then later still for Primary children. The change in methodology to a sign-bilingual approach (using BSL and English separately) began in 2006.

As a result of an increase in research highlighting positive links between phonological processing skills and reading (Gillon and Dodd, 1997; Sodoro et al., 2002) the Department

for Education and Science published the Rose report in 2006 with its emphasis on synthetic phonics. Research on literacy with deaf children also began to emphasise the importance of developing phonological awareness (Harris & Beech, 1998; Goldin-Meadow & Mayberry, 2001; Kyle & Harris, 2006; Leitão, Hogben & Fletcher, 1997; Luetke-Stahlman & Neilsen, 2003; Perfetti & Sandak, 2000; Treiman & Hirsh-Pasek, 1983) when previously advice was often perceived to be rather negative:

> *The phonological view of reading has gloomy implications for the reading prospects of prelingually deaf children, for whom there is a strong prima facie case for supposing that this route to literacy is blocked. (Gray, 1995; 24)*

As a direct influence of the Rose Report (Rose, 2006), Cued Speech began to be reintroduced into the school in the September of that year. There seemed to be two promising ways to teach deaf children phonics, visual phonics and Cued Speech. Both are phonemic based systems which make spoken language accessible by using handshapes to represent the morphemes of sound. Visual phonics seemed to be able to offer morpheme and word level phonic information but was not quick enough to give information at the sentence level and running speech (which it was not designed to do). The school decided to re-embrace Cued Speech, as it could offer morpheme, whole word, sentence and running speech phonological information.

At the time the school was keen to measure the impact of Cued Speech on educational attainment. A tutor from the Cued Speech Foundation was brought in[1] and a part time researcher was appointed to measure the impact. After the first year, it was argued that "...late exposure to Cued Speech can positively impact the English skills of signing deaf pupils when considering lip-reading, lip-patterns and literacy, as well as confidence and attitude..." (Gratton, 2008; 40)

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[1] Although the Cued Speech Association asserts that Cued Speech can be learnt in 20 hours, this would be at word level cueing. The ability to use Cued Speech at sentence level (at the speed of running speech) would take months of practice, hence the need to buy in expertise while training the incumbent staff.

Some of the newer teachers in the school began to ask questions about why the school was going back to a system that fell out of usage twenty years previously. Another question also arose about the usage of Signed English and why that had been allowed to fall into misuse when it seemed relevant to bilingualism in being able to offer a manual bridge (signing) between BSL and English text.

These questions prompted me to make enquiries with some retired teachers, particularly those who had been teachers during the 1970s, with regards to their views about Cued Speech and Signed English. I was also interested in why and how the change from pure oralism to the use of Cued Speech, Sign Supported English and Signed English had occurred. During these interviews with the teachers, it became evident that some of the information they were giving me was different from the history being passed on by both current historical reviews on deaf education as well as the official histories of the school itself.

A simple example was that some historians (Evans, 1991; Lang, 2011) identified the influence of linguists such as Stokoe (1960), Lenneberg and Chomsky as having a critical influence on the change from oralism to the use of manual methods of teaching deaf children. Only one of the participants mentioned the influence of linguists and I am left to surmise that they had influence in their respective professional fields but seemingly had little influence in what actually happened in educational settings (this appears to be quite a common occurrence in the field of deaf education (Swanwick & Marschark, 2010)).

A more complicated example was that of the fact that the oral method was not seen to be working with a large number of students. Many British histories indicate the influential nature of Conrad's work in 1979, that he "...exploded all the myths that the majority of deaf school children were leaving school well educated with speech and lipreading skills good enough to cope in the wider world" (Jackson, 1990; 368). Oralism, however, was identified as failing a large number of children throughout its one hundred years of ascendancy in

deaf education, so it is improbable that Conrad's (1979a) work did anything but justify change rather than induce change. For example, Evans (1982; 17) wrote,

...how many children in how many places taught by how many teachers under differing oral regimes have to fail to make viable educational progress before it is admitted that the oral technique is not so much a soundly based methodology but more a way of life?

He was reflecting on the fact that oralism had not changed throughout an awful lot of failures but had still carried on in spite of them, simply because it was the 'way of life' or the culture of the larger society. I, therefore, do not feel that it was likely that Conrad's rather brutal summary of oralism was the cause of the change in this case study, it merely gave academic backing to what was already happening in the school and elsewhere.

In the interviews with teachers it also became clear that the information they were giving differed from the school's official histories. The school has had two official histories written on the event of the centennial anniversary of the school (1926) and the sesquicentennial anniversary (1976). On reading the official histories, it was evident that the second history, although using the initial history as a base outline for the first hundred years, differed in at least one significant way, it had omitted the signing history of the school pre-1880s that had been included in the centennial edition and made no mention of signing use in the school from the late 1950s until 1965 and which had semi-official acceptance for students with additional needs from 1973 onwards. It appeared that the school's history was written to fit with the societal and parental expectations of the time, that their children would be able to hear and speak.

1.1.4 Positioning

One of the outcomes of the research was the recognition that I, as a researcher in the making, needed to be reflexive throughout the whole process. Reflexivity can be described as the process of exploring the ways in which "researchers and their subjectivities affect what is and can be designed, gathered, interpreted, analysed, and reported in an

investigation" (Gemignani, 2017; 185). This reflexivity can be separated into two elements, prospective and retrospective reflexivity (Attia & Edge, 2017). Prospective reflexivity includes such concepts as researcher influence on the research whereas retrospective reflexivity concerns itself with the influence of the research on the researcher.

From the prospective reflexive standpoint, there are a number of researcher elements that have impacted on the research. First of all, I am a Teacher of the Deaf which would have enabled me to share similar world views as the participants and to grasp subtle nuanced reactions (Berger, 2015). Secondly, I was known to all the participants because I had also taught in the school involved in this case study, even though a few of the participants had retired before I started teaching there. I was, therefore, a colleague and an insider, which privileged me with access to the field, with researcher-researched relationships which were already well developed (Berger, 2015). An existing element of trust, therefore, enabled accurate and candid data to be gathered (Attia & Edge, 2017; Cutliffe, 2003) which strengthened validity and generalisation (Cresswell & Miller, 2000). Because of the spirit of collegiality, I had access to the participants at their homes where we were able to co-construct knowledge (Gemignani, 2017) through semi-structured interviews. Reflexivity, therefore, is an experiential and discursive process that can drive the co-construction of knowledge, aided in this case because of my own in-depth knowledge of what it means to be a Teacher of the Deaf and the professional relationship I had with each participant.

Trust in the researcher-researched relationship was further developed through the process of ethical considerations, including discussions around consent, the process of confidentiality and ascribing aliases to all the participants. As a result, some of the participants were able to share very personal moments such as oppositional behaviours that they were involved in, or reflections on their experiences that made them vulnerable to criticism in light of modern understandings of past events. Many of these experiences seemed to be previously unshared experiences.

I am also a profoundly deafened individual, and although some authors question disabled people in research disclosing their disability in order to be reflexive, because it leaves them vulnerable (Sheldon, 2017), this was an inevitability with me because my deafness was known to the participants and affected the research in that I chose, for example, not to record the interviews using tapes or video as I would not have access to them. Instead, I decided to write the interviews as they went along which allowed time for reflexivity during the interview itself and opened up avenues of enquiry that would possibly have not been there with the use of other methods.

In 1974, the NCTD had stated, "it is only deaf people themselves who know what it really feels like [to be deaf]" (NCTD, 1974a; 186) and this is an epistemological privilege which I hold in this research. Isasi-Diaz (1995; 130) captured the epistemological stance of the poor and oppressed in South America:

> ...the possibility the oppressed have to see and understand what the rich and powerful cannot see nor understand. It is not that their sight is perfect, it is the place where they are which makes the difference. Power and richness have a distortionary effect – they freeze our view on reality (Ibid; 131)

It has been argued that those who work in disability studies sometimes "reach conclusions that leave disabling personal, political, or practical barriers unchallenged" (Young & Ackerman, 2001; 179). Because deaf people view the world differently to hearing people (Knoors & Marschark, 2014; Lane, 1992; Stone, 2010), as a deaf researcher taking a critical approach, I was able to identify ways in which the researched either participated in the oppression of deaf children through the inappropriate use of the oral method or break from the method passed on to them and create different pedagogical spaces in their classrooms.

Reflexivity in research also leads the researcher to engage in ongoing questioning and to express certain doubts about the interpretation of the data. This was certainly the case in this research as the initial questions were aimed at eliciting information about institutional

change but, through asking why questions more than how or what questions, this reflexivity prompted the use of the grounded theory method (Charmaz, 2008) during the research project which led to the discovery of oppositional behaviours expressed in the data. At the macro-level, then, my questions and research focus changed, as the research progressed, from a focus on institutional change to a focus on teacher oppositional behaviours and resistance to the oral method of teaching. These changes, however, were because of micro-level changes at the interface between the researcher and the researched. I was able to be influenced by the participants themselves in what they felt were important things to say. 'Why' questions helped address issues about contradictions in the teachers' lives which they had to deal with. They wanted to tell me these stories even though they were not on the list of themes for discussion.

This was also an example of retrospective reflexivity because this was how the research changed me and, therefore, the research aims and questions and the way the research progressed. I allowed myself to be changed in terms of the focus for the research which changed the methodology from a case study to include the use of grounded theory as a way of analysing and responding to the data. I also noticed changes in my attitudes towards the participants. At the start of the research they were valuable as a source of data but as the research progressed, I also came to see them in a new light, to respect them as complex people who made choices in circumstances which included contradictions in ideology as well pressure from parents, school leadership, professional body and peers. I will expand on my retrospective reflexivity later in Chapter 8.4.

My own epistemological stance, particularly my understandings of deaf children as knowers and learners, also needs to be signposted as it is argued that the experiences of the researcher influence what they "select to look at" (Young & Temple, 2014; 43). I believe, for example that deaf children cannot be taught "as if they are hearing students who cannot hear" (Knoors & Marschark, 2014; 235) and as a result there are particular deaf pedagogies that can be utilised to optimise their learning, for example, to explicitly teach cognitive and metacognitive skills supporting language comprehension which hearing children largely acquire incidentally (Borgna et al., 2011). Conversely, I also

believe that there are some teaching methods that do not enhance learning experiences for deaf students, even if they are known to work for hearing populations (Knoors & Marschark, 2014). Teachers, for example, who are unaware that deaf children struggle with basic executive functioning skills unwittingly foster dependency in deaf students (Borgna et al., 2011; Knoors & Marschark, 2014; Maina et al., 2014).

1.1.5 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is based on a critical theory paradigm focusing on uncovering suppressed voices and exposing hidden interests in a section of history at the school for the deaf in Exeter.

Giddens' (1984) structuration theory provided the ontological framework for this research. Structuration proposes that social practices arise from structures, rules and resources, and individual agency in a recursive relationship. Based on this duality of structure and agency, structuration theory provides an ontological framework that can explore and expose teacher perspectives about the structures that supported oralism as well as their own agency, particularly when teachers identified contradictions in their teaching lives.

I utilise a critical epistemology, looking to uncover oppression in the oralist practice of deaf education and expose hidden voices of teachers who resisted this oppression. I contend that oralism was oppressive to both a broad section of deaf students as well as their teachers mainly through the suppression of sign language. Both students and staff could have benefitted from access to sign language but this was not an avenue that they could officially exploit.

1.1.6 Research Design

The methodology of the research was a case study because the research was an in-depth study of one place which I knew a lot about. Although the case study framed the research, grounded theory became an increasingly important strategy for conducting the research

and analysing the data. For methods, I was very much influenced by Denzin and Lincoln's (2005a; 2005b) conceptualisation of bricolage. I was trying to paint a picture of what was happening in the school during the 1970s utilising different qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviews and historical documents. I was also influenced by Kincheloe's (2001; 2005) concept of the critical bricoleur and the need to give a voice to the 'excluded' (Kincheloe, 2004a; 2004b), which, in this case, were the staff who involved themselves in oppositional and resistant behaviours to the oral methods.

1.2 Glossary of Terms

1.2.1 Deafness

Deafness has been defined as a diminution of hearing sufficient to impair communication by the spoken word (Lindsey, 1990; Mayberry, 2002). For many, this may be an apt description but deafness, however, can be defined in many more ways than this simple audiological expression, it is "also a way of being" (Knoors & Marschark, 2014; 38) not simply because lack of one sense, "alters the integration and function of all the others" (Myklebust, 1964; 1) but also because of the challenges that deaf people face in a hearing dominated world where people are generally unaware of the strengths that they have (Knoors & Marschark, 2014).

Deafness is socially constructed and interpretations depend on various conceptual models people use to interpret it. They may view deafness in terms of a 'deficit' or 'difference'. The 'deficit' model assumes deaf people to be disabled, and that deafness, and its negative consequences, should be reduced as much as possible. This may involve the provision of hearing-aids and cochlear implants. Hearing is regarded as normal, impairment as abnormal, and sign language may also be viewed in negative terms. The 'deficit' model also encourages those who adhere to its principles "to exacerbate a child's handicap by attributing every problem which arises to the child's disability" (Webster, 1986; 4).

The 'difference' model views deaf people as being simply different from the hearing majority, and should be accepted by society, and treated as equals. With this model, there is no attempt to reduce the impairment, but to provide ways for adaptation, e.g. sign language opportunities, interpreters (Aldridge et al., 1999).

In this case study, the school was an eclectic mix of students from mild to profound loss, most born with some degree of deafness while a few became deaf in childhood, some with d/Deaf parents but the vast majority were from families where both parents were hearing. Following a convention proposed by Woodward (1982), the lowercase deaf is used when referring to the audiological condition of not hearing, and the uppercase Deaf when referring to a group of deaf people who share a language and a culture (Padden & Humprhies, 1988; 2).

1.2.2 The Deaf Community

The Deaf community refers to those Deaf people who form a distinct social group based on the use of Sign Language along with their own particular social practices and relations (Turner, 2007). The word Deaf is used here with a capitalised D as a way to distinguish culturally Deaf people who share a pride in their identity with the wider Deaf community and culture as opposed to the small 'd' deaf which refers to the audiological condition. Although this implies a binary position when the reality is more complex, it does imply that there is such a thing as a Deaf community and that although there are calls in the academic world to drop the distinction between deaf and Deaf, doing so would make it difficult to "distinguish culturally based epistemologies" (Young & Temple, 2014; 39). I use the definition of a deaf epistemology to mean what "constitutes the nature and extent of the knowledge that deaf individuals acquire growing up in a society that relies primarily on audition to navigate life" (Hauser et al., 2010).

The Deaf community is characterised by being a community of communication, a community of solidarity against the definition that deafness is a deficit and a community with an ethnic identity defined by the biological fact of diminished hearing (Erting, 1978;

Johnson, 1991). Education is seen to play a large role in the formation and maintaining of the Deaf community (Bagga-Gupta, 2007) as the vast majority of deaf children come from hearing families. Deaf schools in particular are seen to be places of cultural transmission (Anglin-Jaffe, 2013b; Deuchar, 1984; Ladd, 2003; McDonnell, 2016; Stokoe, 1983). One of the enduring problems with identifying a Deaf community, however, is the question, "just who is Deaf?" (Turner, 2007; 11). Ladd's (2003; 3) concept of Deafhood embraces a "process" where d/Deaf people are on a journey to discover what deafness means to them and other deaf people, especially the process of overcoming the oppression of the hearing societies in which they live. Bauman (2008) argues that the key concept is that Deaf people are actualising their Deaf identities and, of course, there is no single d/Deaf identity (Taylor & Darby, 2003). There also do not appear to be barriers for hearing people joining or being part of the Deaf community, so long as they are committed users of BSL (Densham, 1995; Dodds, 2003) but they would not share the characteristic of an ethnic minority. Critically, although they may share knowledge of the Deaf community and be able to use its language, they would not have the experience of being deaf (Young & Temple, 2014).

Deaf people do have cultural choices, however, they can identify mostly with hearing society, they can identify mostly with the Deaf community or they could be bi-cultural, although this cannot be assumed to be an additive state of two cultures but can be "more about states of tensions" (Padden, 1996; 95). The Deaf community, however, is seen to be a group rejection of hearing values (Kyle, 1993; Ladd, 2003).

As deaf people now come from increasingly diverse backgrounds (Haualand et al., 2015; Knoors & Marschark, 2014), coupled with the waning influence of the traditional Deaf communities which were based around the local deaf schools and Deaf clubs (Emery, 2015), the nature of the Deaf community is becoming more problematic. There is a new complexity formed around membership "that may exist through shared events, travel, and the use of Internet, media, and other communication technologies" (Hyde, 2006; 272) and how modern Deaf identities are created in local, national, and transnational contexts.

1.2.3 Communication Methods and Systems

In deaf education, there are a plethora of ways devised to communicate with deaf children. The following are some of the important ones for this thesis.

1.2.3.1 Finger Spelling

Finger spelling is a system which represents the alphabet manually. Each letter has its own sign and enables the user to convey letters and words, serially, using different hand configurations. The British use a two-handed system, whereas many other countries use a one-handed system. "It is useful for signing names, or for words where there is no sign available" (McCracken and Sutherland, 1991; 101, 102).

1.2.3.2 British Sign Language

Many people assume that signed languages are a manual code for the spoken language of the majority culture; thus the "sign language" in England must be a code to convey English words manually. Such codes do exist, but within each deaf community, a full, natural language independent of the majority culture evolved much earlier (Isham, 1995; 136).

Sign-codes which have been invented, presumably to give deaf people access to the spoken language of the community in which they live, have not been accepted as alternatives to their natural sign languages.

British Sign Language (BSL) is the visual-gestural language used in the Deaf community of Britain. Because it evolved independently, it does not necessarily translate directly into spoken English, and conversely, the grammar of BSL does not make a direct link with spoken English (Brennan and Colville, 1979) and is structurally independent from the spoken language (Lane et al., 2011). BSL is voiceless, has its own syntax, and body, facial and mouth patterns are an important feature.

Some authors have suggested that the structural organisation of sign languages is radically different from that of the majority of spoken languages (DeMatteo, 1977, in Brennan, 1986) and may be more usefully grouped with pidgins and creoles (Fischer, 1978; Edwards & Ladd, 1984). The sign order of BSL has been syntactically described as being a predicate classifier language (Kyle and Woll, 1985) or semantically described as a 'topic comment' language (Deuchar, 1984; Loncke et al., 1986).

The differences between English and sign languages has prompted Sacks (1989) to comment that deaf people, collectively, inhabit a different linguistic community. Recently sign languages have "achieved linguistic recognition as natural languages. This recognition has led Deaf people in many countries to redefine their situation, identifying themselves as members of a linguistic minority group rather than disabled persons" (Brien; x, 1992).

1.2.3.3 Signed English

Signed English makes use of signing and speech at the same time and is also described as a simultaneous method (Bornstein & Saulnier, 1984). SE is used to represent fully the spoken word, is not a language in its own right, and follows the syntax of the English language. In doing so it makes use of BSL signs, some generated signs and finger spelling. All the elements which are spoken (this method encourages the child to make best use of their residual hearing) have signs which represent them. Some signs are generated to represent various syntactical features of English e.g. verb inflections, adverbial endings, plurality, possession etc. which are not necessarily present in BSL.

1.2.3.4 Sign Supported English

Sign Supported English is based on Signed English, uses voice, follows English syntax, but omits tense inflections and many conjunctions (Bornstein & Saulnier; 1987). Sign Supported English does not, therefore, "attempt to represent the whole of the spoken

message in sign: key elements are signed in order to clarify what might be thought to be inaccessible parts of the spoken utterance" (Lynas, 1994a; 80).

The following table shows the relationships between the signed varieties described above, and also a pidgin variety of Signed English/BSL which is often used by children as a result of contact between the two languages:

***Table 1.1. Sign Language Continuum: Characteristics of Sign
Varieties Illustrated by English Glosses (adapted from Lawson 1981).***

"I have not seen you for a long time"				
	"I have not seen you for a long time"			
		"I not see you long time"		
			"I you see long"	
				"I you see no" (Idiom)
English	Signed English	Sign Supported English	Pidgin of BSL/ SE	BSL
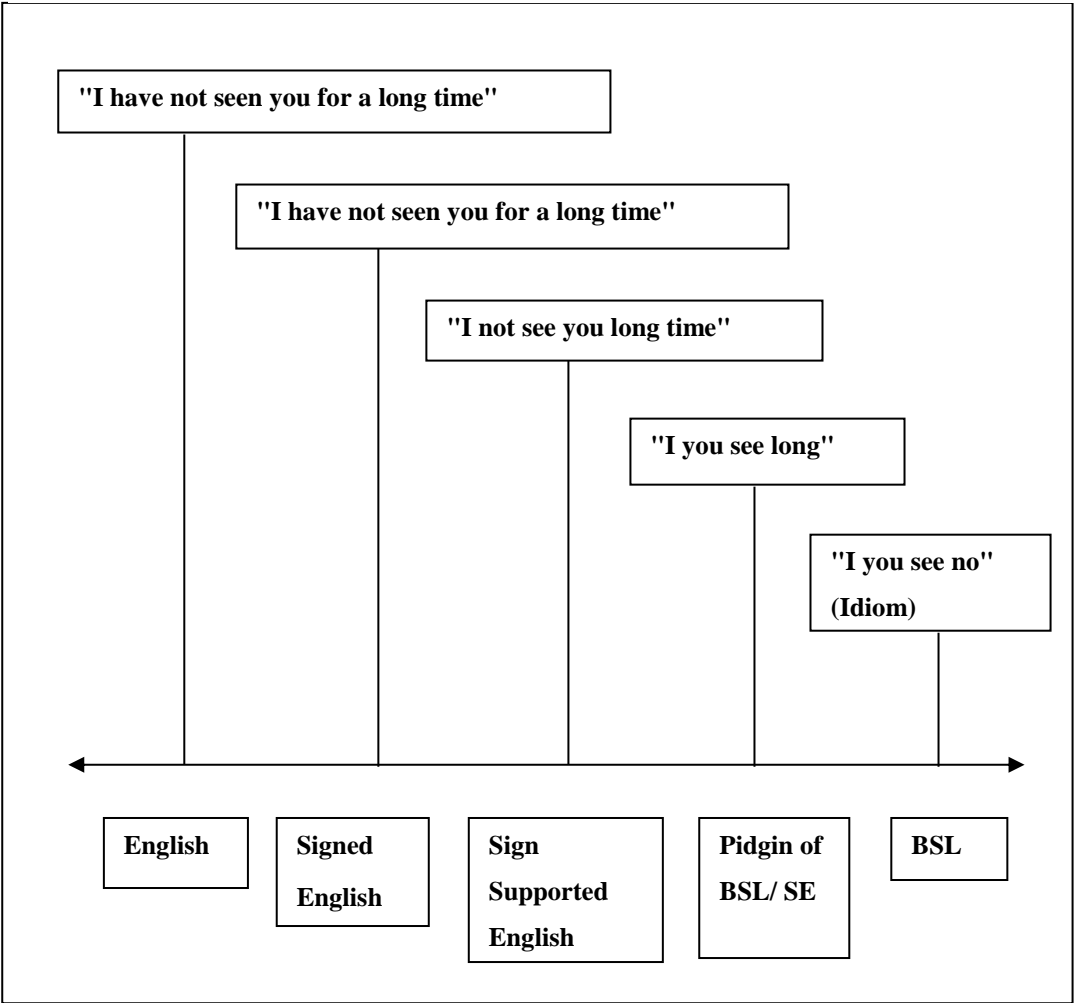
increase of inflectional markers	decrease in inflectional markers
increase of tense endings	decrease of tense endings
increase of English syntax	decrease of English syntax
increase of lip-reading	decrease of fingerspelling
increase of fingerspelling	increase of BSL syntax
increase of borrowed signs	increase of BSL idioms
decrease of rhythm of signing	increase of facial expressions

1.2.3.5 Oralism

Oralism is an educational philosophy for teaching the deaf that has been described as "an all-encompassing set of policies and discourses aimed at preventing [deaf children and their parents] from learning or using sign languages to communicate" (Ladd, 2003; 7). One of these discourses is a medical construction of deafness (Swanwick & Watson, 2005) which has resulted in an emphasis on the development of spoken language and literacy skills (Knight & Swanwick, 2002) as well as lipreading and the use of technology, including hearing aids, cochlear implants, and assistive listening devices (McCracken & Sutherland, 1991). The oral method can be considered in a number of separate veins: structured oralism, natural oralism and the oral-aural approach (Watson, 1998) from which a recent growing approach is Auditory Verbal therapy (AVT). Structured oralism involves systematic intervention using the oral method to teach language and speech in small steps using a sequenced approach. Such planned intervention not only relates to speech, but also to the development of vocabulary and syntax. Natural oralism is a method where deaf children acquire language in much the same way as hearing children; relying on meaningful interaction with the environment, utilising hearing as the primary sense through which language is accessed and allowing speech to develop upon the growth of auditory experience (Clark, 1978; 1989; Ling, 1986). Language is seen as the instrument through which the child's ideas begin to grow and auditory memory is essential for the development of speech but this is only built up through hours of listening (Courtman-Davies, 1979). The oral-aural approach is a development of the natural oral approach and it relies on technology to help children not only speak but hear. It relies heavily on technology such as digital hearing aids and cochlear implants (Watson, 1998). AVT is a further development that is a play-based intervention that tries to maximise the child's access to sound in its early years. AVT has been shown to improve receptive and productive vocabulary and language outcomes in children with cochlear implants (Percy-Smith et al., 2017) and has resulted in better academic outcomes, more generally, for children with a hearing loss compared to other interventions (Goldblat & Pinto, 2017).

Oralism, with its emphasis on compensating technology, embraces a medical model of deafness which emphasises impairment and deficit (Knight, 1998; Knoors & Marschark, 2014) and does not acknowledge Deaf communities with their own languages and cultures (Harris, 1995; Swanwick & Watson, 2005).

Oralism is often regarded as a response to the fact that 90 to 95% of deaf children have hearing parents (Clark, 1989; Ladd, 2003; Sterne, 2001). Another dominant discourse in favour of oralism is the concept of normality. Parents may want their children to be as 'normal' as possible and this is seen most effectively in the use of speech (Densham, 1995; Shaw, 1985). Shaw (1985), as a mother of a profoundly deaf child, pronounced her child's birthright to be one of integration and speech was the key to this. As Watson (1998) has summarised, oralism gives deaf children a language of thought that enables them to become literate as well as an option for communicating with the wider community, although, as Knoors and Marschark (2014) point out, this is not a certainty. To parents, though, "the oralist arguments sound very reasonable and appealing" (Densham, 1995; 68).

Most hearing people cannot begin to understand how "deafness could be perceived as anything other than a tragic loss and a disability" (Sparrow, 2005; 136). As such, the medical assimilationist model is more often embraced by them for deaf children as the "vast majority" of people would consider a deaf child as being disabled (Sparrow, 2002; 11). This perspective, however, does not reflect another reality, that Deaf communities exist with languages and cultural identities that should be recognised (Erting, 1985; Padden & Humphries, 1988; Ladd, 1988; 2003) which has a different perspective, one that sees deafness as a different way of life with "positive capabilities" (Harris, 1995; 9). These Deaf communities are also becoming more national and transnational in nature as the traditional deaf schools and Deaf clubs wane in influence and as deaf people, themselves, come from increasingly diverse backgrounds (Emery, 2015; Haualand et al., 2015).

1.2.3.6 Cued Speech

Cued speech is a one-handed manual supplement to spoken language devised by Orin Cornett in 1966 (Cornett & Daisey, 1992). There are eight handshapes which are used in four locations near the mouth, which together with the information visible on the mouth, helps to clarify phonemes of spoken language that are ambiguous or invisible to lip-reading.

1.2.3.7 Total Communication

Total Communication is not a communication method but a cluster of other communication methods. Total Communication should be considered "as an over-arching philosophy, not a method, which is inclusive of the use of spoken and signed language as appropriate for the individual. The common strengths of good practice can then be shared and not seen as exclusive to any one approach" (Knight and Swanwick, 1995).

Total Communication has been acknowledged as an approach which embodies the right of a deaf child to use all forms of communication for formal education (Denton, 1987), and implies that to access language, deaf children require some sort of visual symbol system as well as speech and their lip-reading ability. Total Communication, therefore, embodies an approach that involves the use of manual, auditory, and oral forms of communication used simultaneously to give a complete picture of a sentence (Clare, 1981).

1.2.3.8 Bilingual Approaches in Deaf Education

Bilingualism, as an approach, involves the introduction of BSL to the deaf child as soon after diagnosis as possible. Bouvet (1990; 143) writes that "...learning Sign language is an *absolute necessity* for deaf children and must be an integral part of their education. Being the one language they can learn without delay if simply given the opportunity."

Parents would be encouraged to use their own language at home, which for most children in England would be English, though they would also be encouraged to learn BSL or

provide signed support for their oral interaction. At school, BSL would be used as the main language for accessing the curriculum, and also to access both written and oral English. The bilingual approach also requires teachers who are highly competent (both hearing and deaf) in at least one of the languages (Arnold, 1992).

Sign Bilingualism is a pedagogical shift in deaf education from the oral method, where the language of the 'hearing' majority is the only focus (Ladd, 2003), to one where deaf children's language diversity and pluralism is used to inform pedagogy (Swanwick, 2017).

1.3 Thesis Outline

This outline will help the reader navigate the thesis and will help understand why it is organised in the way that it is. Chapter 2, for example is not a literature review in the formal sense but actually a conceptualisation of the main issues that I will focus on in my research and an overview of my theoretical framework, such as structuration theory. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology used and the ethical dilemmas that were addressed. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 contain an unfolding story of the history of deaf education that are relevant to the issues of the school in the case study and delineate the structural bias that allowed oralism and the oral method, while constantly being challenged by a minority of pro-manualists, to remain in force through much of the twentieth century. These chapters also include a review of the literature when discussing the salient topics of the time. The review of the history is part of this thesis itself because I use primary sources to vindicate or bring to the fore, on occasion, a different explanation from secondary sources. I have explored how a history may have come to be constructed and understood in the way it was and have offered some potentially different ways of reading and thinking about this. Chapter 4 introduces how modern deaf education began in Spain in the sixteenth century and how it spread to Europe and ultimately in Britain. This chapter ends with more focus on the Deaf School in Exeter, how it was created and how it embraced oralism. Chapter 5 reviews the time period from the Second World War to 1979 and is an eclectic mix of documentary sources and participant interviews as they are both integral to understanding the challenge and changes to the oral methods in 1979 and onwards. I also explore,

explicitly, the third aim of the thesis, namely, to reflect on the official histories of the school and how some events had been suppressed, offering alternative perspectives.

Chapter 6 focuses specifically on change in the school in Exeter from 1979 onwards and emphasises the participant views and the impact of socio-historical factors that influenced how they thought and the way they recounted practices and circumstances. Another contribution to the thesis is that it outlines the softening of the oral method and how it was augmented with Sign Supported English, Signed English and Cued Speech.

Chapter 7 summarises the primary aim: How teachers responded to the contradictions in their careers during the oral only method of deaf education. I discuss some of the choices that the participants made and how choices were constrained by social structures as well as how structures also changed as a result of choice. I also discuss what motivated participant action and how participants used practical and discursive consciousness in their teaching lives. Conforming to oral values was most often the result of a practical consciousness but discursive consciousness was required to respond differently to contradictions they recognised in their lives. Reflexive teachers, using a discursive consciousness, could engage in oppositional and resistant behaviours, although they could also continue to conform. I also discuss how the acquisition of sign language by some participants was a key action that not only showed cultural competence and a growing awareness of deaf epistemologies but was a key indicator of resistance. This resistance, however, was isolated and the participants had not discussed their resistant behaviours with colleagues, even with those who shared common beliefs. This is not just a collective story, then, but a collection of individual stories. In this way, this thesis is about making public hidden moments that describe individual resistance. This thesis also outlines the differences between teacher oppositional behaviours and resistance. Some forms of opposition were fairly common among the school teaching staff but resistance was not. I also discuss resistance as it relates to teacher positioning in society and the personal costs of resistance and compliance.

Chapter 8 outlines a model (derived from Hall (1973)) that outlines teacher choices from conforming to oralism to oppositional behaviours and resistance, linking these behaviours with consciousness. I also discuss the impact that the research has for teachers in bilingual deaf education today and how it is relevant in terms of teachers being able to resist the dominant discourses of society so that they can develop cultural competence and embrace deaf epistemologies as an ethical good for both students and teachers. This ethical good is a focus on deaf pedagogies that can enhance deaf learners knowing and learning.

Chapter 2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I outline some of the salient issues that will be discussed or used within this thesis. Initially I present the concept of oralism and then the rise of minority rights and how these concepts helped challenge the monopoly of oral education. I also discuss the concept of colonisation of the deaf and how this has been useful in outlining how colonial type hegemony has dominated Deaf culture and deaf education and how developing cultural competence can help teachers of deaf children identify cultural domination and oppression. This leads to a discussion on social reproduction theories in education and how agency should be an important aspect of these discussions which leads to an outline of structuration theory and the duality of structure, how institutions such as schools mobilise bias towards certain rules and resources but how teachers, as agents, can comply or occasionally choose different ways of acting. An important element of structuration is an acknowledgement of different ways of accessing social knowledge and I introduce discursive and critical consciousness. There follows a discussion on ideology, focusing on the dialectical nature of common sense, and social positioning, another influence on the way teachers are taught to think and act. Teachers, however, have space in their lives to enact decisions they favour and I next discuss the concept of resistance in education. Finally, as an example of the dialectical interplay of structures in teachers' lives, I discuss the competing discourses of normalisation and diversity and how these concepts can create space and opportunity for compliance or resistance.

2.2 Minority Rights

The medical model of deafness constructs deaf people as the 'other' (Taylor & Darby, 2003). Such constructs emphasise deficits in deaf people rather than the positive pride that Deaf people ascribe to their community and way of life. Until the late 1970s, most academic literature focused on deafness as a pathology (Senghas & Monaghan, 2002). The way that Deaf people describe themselves has been given more prominence with the rise of minority rights. Within most cultures there are groups of people who differ in some

custom, habit, or practice from the general macroculture. These groups are sometimes called minorities, subcultures, microcultures, or co-cultures but they are identifiable, in some way, and share a set of values, beliefs, behaviours and often a different language. As such, these groups have the right to remain as a separate group from the macroculture and should be afforded some protection to maintain their status as a minority group.

The designation, 'Minority rights,' is a legal term and refers to the rights of minorities as groups and individuals within those groups (Baldwin et al., 2007). For many years, people have been trying to define what a minority group was, often with very different concepts of what constituted a minority group and what did not. For example in South Africa, up until 1994, Afrikaners were a minority race, numerically, but they held all the legislative and economic power. Native African people, although the numerical majority of the country, were the subordinate group in that society, had cultural traits that were held in low esteem and were bound together by skin colour which brought about their social disadvantage and disenfranchisement. I have used a macro cultural perspective to prove a point, here, because both the Afrikaners and the indigenous Africans could be further segregated into smaller ethnic groups (Afrikaners: Dutch, German, French, English etc. and native peoples: Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Sotho, Khoi-San, Shangaan, Venda etc.) and the Afrikaners were also not the only minority group in South Africa (e.g. Indian Asians). Just before the end of apartheid, however, it could be said to be in the interests of some political groups to try and exploit a growing sense of nationalism over 'tribalism' amongst native peoples of South Africa (Vail, 1989). Examples like this have led to people to interpret minorities in terms of their social position rather than where they fit numerically within their society (Tajfel 1978). However, problems still exist in some circles, even at government level but generally speaking "what matters is whether the minorities lack power… It is those minorities that minority rights are designed to protect" (Baldwin et al., 2007; 4).

History has shown that the hegemonic influences of Western European nationalism have led to the decline and loss of many minority languages in the last four hundred years (Mufwene, 2002), due, in part, to the influences of integration and assimilation that

nationalism inspires (McEntee-Atalianis, 2006). In recent years however, in parallel with supranationalism, minority groups and Linguistic Human Rights advocates have promoted equitable rights for all (Chapman, 2008). Education has always been crucial to minority protection. Firstly, it has the ability to transmit minority culture, language or religion to the children through instruction, which is intrinsic for the survival of minorities as a distinct community. Secondly, accessing an education of equal value as that received by the majority is crucial in enabling minority members to achieve equal social and professional opportunities, "Accordingly, education can be both a means of identity preservation and of social inclusion; a vehicle for maintaining their distinctiveness and an instrument of integration into mainstream society" (Ringelheim, 2013; 91).

Some minority groups, however, would see the influence of mainstream education as a potentially dangerous foreign element that may lead to an erosion of their own culture. Romani children, for example, are known to experience difficulties with school because of their nomadic lifestyle, radically different uses of space (both social and physical) (Levinson & Sparkes, 2005) and resistance to literacy (Levinson, 2007). "These difficulties are exacerbated by suspicions on the part of Gypsy parents that schooling is likely to inculcate youngsters with values and social behaviours that are incompatible with traditional Gypsy life" (Levinson & Sparkes, 2005; 752). Unfortunately, the reality of mainstream education is that it is often not flexible enough to offer minority support in an integrated setting:

> *Research indicates little attention in school curricula to the culture, history and way of life of the Roma. The Romani language is very rarely available whether as language of instruction or as optional second language classes. (Wilson, 2002; 78)*

Similarities can be drawn here to deaf education because deaf children often use a different sense of space to their teachers because they are visual (Erting, 1985; 1988; Ling, 1976; Myklebust, 1964; Stokoe, 2001; Thoutenhoofd, 2000) and have difficulties with the acquisition of literacy, despite the focus of deaf education being the development of reading and writing (Power & Leigh, 2000; Mayer, 2007; Mayer & Akamatsu, 1999). The

curriculum is often delivered ineffectively (Marschark & Knoors, 2012; Knoors & Marschark, 2014) and hearing staff, even if they are able to use sign language efficiently, may operate from a medical view of deafness (Erting, 1978; 1985) which sets them at odds with the Deaf community and the students themselves (Erting, 1985; Harris, 1995).

One of the issues, here, is that there is no clearly defined model for educating minority groups, only to outline the importance of giving minorities "the dual effects of identity transmission and equal opportunities" (Ringelheim, 2013; 93) Henrard (2011) has argued that there is a strong emphasis of the law on socio-economic integration. Even when the issues of minority languages are addressed, they are still addressed in relation to socio-economic integration, "…making minorities proficient in the official state language so that their access to employment and social services would be improved" (Henrard, 2011; 62).

Freire (1970) has outlined how education can be used to eliminate minority oppression. He focuses on liberation from oppressive practices through an education that is problem posing as opposed to what he calls the 'banking' concept of the larger society. The 'banking' concept is where more powerful others decide on what is worth knowing and deliver education to empty vessels, as if they were delivering a commodity such as milk: "Liberating education consists of cognition, not transferrals of information" (Freire, 2005; 262). His vision of a problem posing education was where teachers and students developed a different relationship based on mutual exploration of education through dialogue. Problem posing education is based on developing critical thinking to liberate both student and teacher from oppression. Literacy is an integral part of this education because without it, access to the wider world would be limited and exploitation would still occur through an inability to control contact through reading and writing.

Whilst power, traditionally in feudal times, was based on ownership of land and property, the advent of the industrial revolution shifted the power base to one of production and ownership of the means of production, factories and their workers. Our current age, however, is one where power is shifting to access and control of information (Stone, 1996).

Access to the information carried through the world's superhighways would be impossible without good literacy skills and this, as I have already mentioned, is problematic for many deaf children as they traditionally have poorly developed print based literacy skills (Conrad, 1979; Loeterman, Paul & Donahue, 2002; Marschark & Spencer, 2003; Paul,1998; 2003; Perfetti & Sandak, 2000; Powers, Gregory & Thoutenhoofd , 1998; Quigley and Paul, 1984; Sterne, 1997; 2001; Swanwick & Watson, 2005).

2.3 Minority Rights and the Deaf Community

Whether deafness is defined as a disability or a culture is an emotionally charged argument, according to Jones (2002). For some Deaf scholars, the social disability lens is contested (Ladd, 2003; Padden & Humphries, 1998; 2005) because it is not an adequate construction of deafness in the way that the cultural and linguistic model is (Obasi, 2008) or because it constructs deafness as an oversimplified binary of ability and disability (Esmail, 2013). However, the cultural linguistic model has also been criticised for underscoring the issues of deafness as an impairment (Esmail, 2013). Deaf people have historically been seen as "pathological and fundamentally deficient" (Padden & Humphries, 1988; 10) with the need to be fixed but Deaf people are defining themselves as belonging to a culture (Dolnick, 1993) that regards "deafness as a trait" (Jones, 2002; 51).

It would seem that making a case for the Deaf as a minority group may be controversial: they lack a territory they could call their own (Wrigley, 1996; Fullwood and Williams, 2000); their culture is rarely inherited (Padden & Humphries, 1988); their language is rarely acquired in the family home that would give them native competency (Humphries et al., 2012). Neuliep (2012) maintains that the Deaf may be described more appropriately as a microculture because most people are members of a microcultural group yet have much in common with the larger microculture. This concept of a microcultural group is similar in notion to that of the hyphenated identity because "A growing number of people define themselves in terms of multiple national attachments and feel at ease with subjectivities that encompass plural and fluid cultural identities" (Caglar, 1997; 169).

A hyphenated identity is one where a member of a minority group has its own culture but also shares many characteristics as the macroculture such as "African-American" or "Hispanic-American." This shows that "…one description does not fit their life experiences or their perception of who they are" (Parasnis, 1996; 10). The Deaf, therefore, could be Deaf-British, Deaf-French or even show multiple allegiances such as Deaf-British-Asian as they are unable to live in a mono-cultural environment and will inevitably acquire part of the 'hearing' culture around them. This is, in large part, because the vast majority of deaf children are born to hearing parents (Ladd, 2003) and often do not have access to Deaf culture until they go to a deaf school (if they go to a deaf school[2]), mix with Deaf peers and acquire BSL. Some authors have suggested that all children who have not acquired spoken language and culture, because of hearing impairment, are culturally Deaf (Lane, Hoffmeister and Bahan, 1996). They come to the school from a 'hearing' cultural background, but a lot of their experiences have not been mediated with language and any cultural acquisition is in its infancy. Before the advent of them coming to the deaf school, depending on their access to Deaf peers, they may not have had any access to Deaf culture. In this sense, deaf children can be compared to involuntary immigrants and they come to school inhabiting a borderland between two cultures, Deaf, and 'hearing.'

Involuntary or non-immigrant minorities are "…people who have been conquered, colonised, or enslaved" (Ogbu & Simons, 1998; 165). This sort of language, a colonised people, has been used by other authors to describe the situation of the deaf in the phonocentric mainstream society (Stone, 1996; Ladd, 2003). Deaf children of hearing parents, then, 'emigrate' to a deaf school but this is forced upon them by their parents. They can be classified as being both voluntary and involuntary immigrants at the same time. Voluntary immigrants are those who choose to move to a new culture in search of a better life (whether economic improvement, political freedoms etc.) and the education of the dominant culture, which perpetuates the existing power relationships, serves them well, "It is in fact the reason they came" (Stone, 1996; 174). Involuntary immigrants, however, suffer at the hands of the 'banking' education provided by the dominant group and continue to be disenfranchised. If the school was solely oral and unwelcoming of the

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[2] In 2017 only 3% of 45,631 deaf children in England attended a school for the deaf (CRIDE, 2017)

use of sign language, the students would still acquire it (Anglin-Jaffe, 2013b; Deuchar, 1984).

Some Deaf people have chosen to reframe the way they look at themselves and their community and instead of choosing a position that identifies loss and deficit, they have chosen to identify the benefits of deafness, or 'Deaf Gain'. Deaf Gain has been described as the intellectual, creative and cultural benefits that deaf individuals bring to the biocultural diversity of life (Bauman & Murray, 2014). These benefits can usually be ascribed to the enhanced visuospatial abilities of Deaf sign language users (Young & Temple, 2014).

2.4 Colonisation of the Deaf

A discourse that some histories of deaf education have as its central theme is the colonisation of the deaf (Branson and Miller, 2002; Ladd, 2003; 2008; Lane, 1992; Lewis, 2007; Stone, 1996; Woll and Ladd, 2003). Colonisation can be described simply as "the conquest and control of other people's land and goods" (Loomba, 2005; 8). Ladd (2003) has argued that although the deaf are not, in the traditional sense of the word, a colony the use of colonial type models to interpret their marginalised status in society is a useful one (Ladd, 2003).

There have been arguments forwarded that economics is the root force to the colonisation of deaf people and that there is profit to be made from the medical interventions into deafness, particularly cochlear implants (Lane, 1992; Lane & Bahan, 1998). Colonialism is more than just economics, however, as it also involves imposing the dominant cultural order onto the marginalised group:

> *…culture is often the battleground upon which the colonial hegemony is established, and that colonial liberation or independence cannot be successful without the 'de-colonisation of the mind.' (Ladd, 2003; 80)*

The acquisition of the dominant culture comes with the imposition of its world view and values. Therefore, colonisation is a process which involves both body and mind and with regards to the deaf, began in the deaf schools of the nineteenth century:

> *The methods of surveillance, the scheduling of time, the regimentation and ritualization of life, and the uncompromising control of the body in action and repose that emerged from tactics of the nineteenth century remain the dominant features visible in current approaches to educating deaf children. (Wrigley, 1996; 77)*

The main colonial features in deaf education were the banning of sign language, effectively after the Congress of Milan (1880) (Lane, 1992), the imposition of speaking and listening, or lip-reading (Ladd, 2003) and the adoption of the medical model of deafness where deaf people were treated as pathological specimens (Erting, 1985; Hodgson, 1953) as part of the notion of 'othering' (Esmail, 2013; Taylor & Darby, 2003). Othering is a process by which an "empire can define itself against those it colonises, excludes and marginalises" (Aschcroft et al., 2013). Othering, in the context of deaf education, however, is not just based on marginalising differences but on power (Brice & Strauss, 2016), for example the discourse of normalisation that promotes assimilation (Boréus, 2007).

All of this was by a hearing bureaucracy which adopted paternalistic attitudes to deaf children (Wrigley, 1996). Nevertheless, "the history of colonialism is being rewritten as one of resistance and struggle" (Wrigley, 1996; 73) and this thesis aims to highlight the roles of some teachers in this process. Resistance, then, is not just a student domain. Teachers could be seen as showing resistance to the oralist methods by developing cultural competence.

2.5 Cultural Competence

For teachers, cultural competence is a set of behaviours and attitudes and a culture within schools that respects and takes into account the students' cultural backgrounds, cultural beliefs, and values and incorporates this into the way education is delivered (Betancourt,

Green & Carrillo, 2002). As Williams (2006) has suggested, cultural competency is not often conceptualised in a way that promotes effective practice. She argues that an epistemological understanding of cultural competence defines beliefs and worldviews that will guide professionals in choosing methods for investigating culture and working with it in practice. From a critical perspective, she argues that professionals need to understand the structures that marginalise certain groups and would require teacher "engagement with the historical, political, and economic structures that have contributed to formulations of …group identity" (Williams, 2006; 213). While a teacher using this perspective identifies inequity in the way the hearing world deals with deaf people and identifies domination and control, the teacher should also acknowledge the strengths of belonging to a Deaf community (Gutiérrez & Lewis, 1999) and how these affiliations can bring about power.

As Burnell and Schnackenberg (2015; xiii) have observed, cultural competence for teachers requires them to develop an ethical behavioural sensitivity that produces a developing culturally competent set of knowledge and skills. For these authors, cultural competence is not a destination but a journey, "In reality, the idea is to engage in the work, or start down the road, to examine ourselves and the ethical and culturally competent practices from whatever point we currently find ourselves."

2.6 Social Reproduction Theories in Education

Whereas liberal educational theorists foster the notion that schools are neutral agencies which provide all students with opportunities for individual development and upward mobility (Gorlewski, 2011; Sever, 2012) and in fact "most teachers believe in meritocracy, that there's a level playing field, and so those who don't make it have only themselves to blame" (Finn, 2009; 252), reproduction theorists argue that schools are agencies of control. As such, they promulgate the idea that educational institutions reinforce existing relationships, behaviours and ideologies that serve the best interests of those in power (Giroux, 2001; Demaine, 2003).

Gibson (1986) suggests that there are three main macro-approaches to social reproduction which have been applied to education: the reproduction of economic relationships; the reproduction of state power; the reproduction of culture. From the first approach, social relations at school are seen as replicating the patterns of the workplace, the hierarchal division of labour. This economic reproduction model has been called the theory of correspondence because "schooling reflects work" (Gibson, 1986; 47). It was first formulated by Gintis (1972) and further expanded by Bowles and Gintis (1976) (cited in Giroux, 1980). Giroux (1981; 91) explains further:

> *…the correspondence theory posits that the hierarchically structured patterns of values, norms, and skills that characterise the workforce and the dynamics of class interaction under capitalism are mirrored in the social dynamics of the daily classroom encounter.*

The second model is one where education reproduces state power. Because it is in the interests of the state to reproduce its economic and ideological structures, the state directs education through law, even to the extent of curriculum matters and central testing (Gibson, 1986). Gramsci (1971) conceived of this concept of reproduction as ideological hegemony. From this view, schools can be seen as agencies under the control of the dominant classes. As such, they produce and legitimise the economic and ideological functions of control, "A form of control that not only manipulated consciousness but also saturated the daily routines and practices that guided everyday behaviour" (Giroux, 1988; 76, 77).

According to Morrow and Torres (1995; 9), regardless of the differences that these models of social reproduction portray, they are all "linked with power, knowledge, and the moral bases of cultural production and acquisition." Bourdieu proposed a model that saw a school's function to be that of the reproduction of the dominant culture. This is achieved through Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence, cultural capital and habitus. Symbolic violence is where children are forced into a competitive cultural system that rewards only those who exhibit the dominant cultural capital "that subtle process whereby subordinate

classes come to take as 'natural' and 'common sense' ideas and practices that are actually against their own best interests" (Gibson, 1986; 55).

The "subtle process", or symbolic power, is the part of culture that ensures that "inequalities are seen as necessary and inevitable, rather than as man-made and changeable" (Gibson, 1986; 55). What is also important about symbolic violence is that it "is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2004; 272) and Willis' (1977) study of working-class boys is a good example of this. Willis argued that the boys understood that the educational system had no impact on the economic conditions of their social class and would not give them any opportunities for upward mobility. Therefore, they subverted their school experiences resisting not only the curriculum but also the teachers and rejected peers who engaged with education. The boys, however, reinforced their social position with the end result that they embraced factory life as their future. But this was not done behind their backs, they were complicit with the anti-achievement norms of their social class by disrupting their school life and consigning themselves to working on the shop floor of a factory.

For deaf people, one of the main institutions of symbolic violence can be identified as education (Branson & Miller, 1993; 2002; Rose & Smith, 2000). During the period of time of this research, this violence is expressed in the oral communication mode, mandating speaking, listening and lip-reading while forbidding and punishing the use of sign language. Deaf children are, inevitably, complicit with their domination and this is expressed with their use of speech with the hearing world. Although this does not deny them opportunities to resist, "'resistance' often if not inevitably perpetuates a dualist mode of thought (resistance/submission)" (Rose & Smith, 2000; 374). Deaf students, then, show oral compliance with the staff and resist with peers through the use of sign language, creating a dual world with different communication methods.

Symbolic violence, cultural capital and habitus are all interlinked concepts that maintain class inequalities, and "Success in the education system is facilitated by the possession of

cultural capital and of higher-class habitus" (Sullivan, 2002; 144). There are some exceptions, with some members of the working class, for example, attending University, but these exceptions only strengthen the system of inequality by "contributing to the appearance of meritocracy" (Sullivan, 2002; 146). The last concept, habitus, which "is culture internalised by the person as dispositions and values which guide behaviour" (Gibson, 1986; 56) is evidenced in, for example, working-class children entering manual occupations simply because socialisation processes predisposes them to do so. Education is, therefore, more than just a cognitive process, it is also a cultural process.

With these three models, however, what they concentrate on are the structural properties of society which influence education. Concepts such as symbolic violence are helpful in identifying discourses in oral education that promote manual systems with deaf children (Branson & Miller, 1993; 2004) as are notions of compliance with oral values. What they fail to deliver, is "a theory of schooling that dialectically links structure and human agency" (Giroux, 2001; 75) involving "the complexity and disjunctions of social life, and the competence and intelligence of individuals" (Gibson, 1986; 52). In short, these models make no account for human agency and their ability to make a difference. Although models of social reproduction have been questioned as to their helpfulness for educational practitioners (Demaine, 2003), they do highlight the need to question the structural properties that constrain teachers, which either enhance or limit outcomes for some children based on their position in society.

School life, according to Giroux (1988; 167), can be seen as "an arena brimming with contestation, struggle and resistance." He is not speaking only of the students but all those who inhabit this sphere:

> *Furthermore, school life can be a plurality of conflicting discourses and struggles, a mobile terrain wherein classroom and streetcorner cultures collide and teachers, students, administrators affirm, negotiate, and sometimes resist how school experience and practice are named and accomplished. (Giroux, 1988; 167)*

There is always room, then, for oppositional behaviours and resistance by all agents who belong to school. This is because the structural determinants in society are sometimes resisted by these agents.

2.7 Structuration Theory

I have chosen structuration theory as a sensitising lens for my research for two reasons. Firstly because of its focus on the duality of structure, recognising that teachers may appear to be victims of structure but still having agency to comply or resist institutional bias. This has implications for the types of thinking styles of the teachers but which I will deal with in the next section. Secondly, structuration theory is also a good fit for analysing institutional change because, as Giddens (1984) has argued, institutions continue or change over time because structure, the rules and resources for social actions, and individual agency exist in a recursive relationship:

> …agency and structure are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality. They are at the same time, the medium and outcome of the practices and activities they recursively organise in the duality of structure. (Busco, 2009; 250)

Giddens, therefore, is open to change and as I focus somewhat on both teacher agency and institutional change, I believe structuration theory is sensitive to both of these things in that structuration's primary focus is on emergent social structures (Thompson, 2012). Although there has been some criticism of Giddens' structuration theory, such as ascribing too much power to agents (Gaventa, 2003), other theories, such as Foucault's (1991) discourses of power and knowledge, although acknowledging resistance as a form of power, underplays intentionality (Caldwell, 2007; Gaventa, 2003) and does not include moral imperatives or political possibilities for changing the world (Caldwell, 2007; Woermann, 2012). In other words, it neglects the idea that change may happen simply because someone wants to make a difference. Bourdieu, while able to capture the complexity of resistance and how tensions and contradictions that people encounter can lead to both resistance and compliance (Moncrieffe, 2006), regards agency as largely opportunistic (Whittington, 2015) and he neglects the impact of agent reflexivity (although

it is a possibility (Yang, 2014)). For Archer and Bhaskar, from a critical realist perspective, "agency is not easy" (Whittington, 2015; 117). Archer neglects the importance of the routinisation of social life (Akram & Hogan, 2015) which I viewed as an incredibly important element in teacher lives and which Giddens (1984) captures in his notion of practical consciousness.

Part of the focus of this research was on institutional change and the part that agents had in this process, so Giddens seemed a good fit even if he is overly optimistic of individual impact. His theory of structuration also looks at resistance from a standpoint of practice, the here and now and he involved a notion of practical consciousness, where agents are acknowledged to have implicit knowledge about social realities and power.

Intrinsic to structuration is the identifying of "social practices ordered across space and time" (Giddens, 1984; 2) into which individual agency then plays a role to either "reproduce or transform them, remaking what is already made in the continuity of praxis" (Giddens, 1984; 171).

> *The constitution of agents and structures are not independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality… Structure is not 'external' to individuals: as memory traces, and as instantiated in social practices, it is in a certain sense more 'internal' than exterior to their activities… (Giddens, 1984; 25)*

Structures are the patterns of social relationships that exist in society, the rules (the organisational procedures and methods) and resources (the material equipment as well as organisational capacity which combine to give the agent power) that are internalised by agents (Turner, 1986). When analysing institutional change, "the emphasis in structuration theory then is on the transformative capacity of human agency that makes change possible" (den Hond et al., 2012; 239). People are free to act but draw upon and replicate structures of power through their own actions. Power, for Giddens (1979: 91), is seen as both "transformative capacity (the characteristic view held by those treating power in terms

of the conduct of agents), and as domination (the main focus of those concentrating upon power as a structural quality)." Transformative capacity is "the capability of actors to enact decisions which they favour" (Giddens, 1984: 15) and domination is the "the 'mobilisation of bias' that is built into institutions" (Giddens, 1984: 15).

For Giddens (1984; 14), power is both the "capability of the individual to 'make a difference' to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events" as well as the influence of embedded structural properties in institutions. This is what Giddens calls the duality of structure. Power, therefore, has a two-way character to it. The continuity of oralism over almost 100 years imbued deaf schools with taken for granted bias. This bias is an influence of power over the teachers to continue using oral teaching in the same manner. The teachers, although dependent on the school's rules and traditions for teaching oral education such as speech lessons and punishing the use of sign language, nevertheless have agency, certainly within their classrooms, to enact these prescribed ways of doing things or create something new. Although teachers are subordinates to the leadership team, they have resources, such as their subject curricula and private classroom spaces, where they can influence the school's rules. This is what Giddens (1984) called the dialectic of control.

Structures are the patterns of social relationships that exist in society, the rules and resources that are internalised by agents. Giddens (1984) outlined three structural properties of social systems:
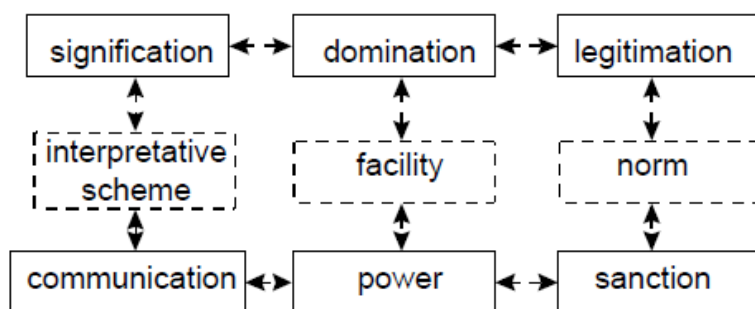
Figure 2.1 Dimensions of the Duality of Structure (Rose & Scheepers, 2001;5)

Signification is concerned with the communication of meaning, for example the discourses of society. Identifying discourses around deafness, for example, reveals that despite some shift in emphasis from a medical to a social model of disability (Lang, 2001; Obasi, 2008; Sullivan, 2011), the discourse that labels deafness as a disability is still very much dominant. As a result, high value continues to be placed on getting deaf children to speak and use residual hearing (Corbett, 1996; Ladd, 2003; Andrews et al., 2004).

Rules are the organisational procedures and methods and resources are both the material equipment as well as organisational capacity which combine to give the agent power (Turner, 1986). But "power is never a possession" (den Hond et al., 2012; 243), it comes as a result of authoritative resources, relationships and interaction. Giddens (1984) argued that agents always have some autonomy in making choices, and that society and institutions do not "go behind the backs of people" (Layder, 1994; 135).

Giddens does not agree with the Functionalist notion of structures which exercise constraint on agent's initiative but as something that is "both constraining and enabling" (Giddens, 1984; 25). When analysing institutional change, "the emphasis in structuration theory then is on the transformative capacity of human agency that makes change possible" (den Hond et al., 2012; 239).

Agents discursively reproduce practices, often in routinised ways, and these practices have structural properties in that they consist of rules and resources. Rules involve "the constitution of meaning" and "the sanctioning of modes of social conduct" (Giddens, 1984; 18) whereas domination involves the use of two types of resources: allocative and authoritative resources. Allocative resources refer to capabilities "generating command over objects, goods or material phenomena" whereas authoritative resources refer to capabilities "generating command over persons or actors" (Giddens, 1984; 33). As Layder (1994; 211) suggests, "This is, perhaps, the greatest strength of structuration theory – its attempt to incorporate the full force of the human ability to make a difference in the social world while recognising the limitations imposed by the social context."

Agency is the power that human actors have to reproduce the 'structural properties' or to operate, occasionally, independently of these constraints. The domination of structures is rarely complete leaving space and opportunity for alternative practices and, therefore, institutional change. Less powerful actors can still exercise control over more powerful actors through the way they manage their own resources. Control, then, is a two-way affair. The structure, with its rules and resources, exerts influence on the agents. The agents, because they have choice, both reproduce the rules and social norms in their everyday actions but can still exercise intentionality as "structure is always both enabling and constraining, in virtue of the inherent relation between structure and agency" (Giddens, 1984; 169).

While Giddens (1984) developed structuration theory in order to bring together the theories on structure and agency, he also considers understandings of consciousness, developed specifically to deal with social knowledge (Haugaard, 1997).

2.8 Consciousness

Giddens (1984) argued that there are three types of consciousness: unconscious motives (the basic or ontological security system), practical consciousness and discursive consciousness. Unconscious knowledge, or ontological security, is based on the need for

predictability, safety and routine in an individual's life. In this sense, ontological security is a motivation from within each agent:

> *Structural reproduction does not take place because the social system consists of structures which need to be reproduced. Instead, Social structures are reproduced because living people need ontological security. The unintended consequence of social actors fulfilling their desire for ontological security is that structuration takes place. (Haugaard, 1997; 105)*

A practical consciousness "involves recall to which the agent has access to the durée of action without being able to express what he or she thereby 'knows'" (Giddens, 1984; 49). This type of consciousness, or 'intransitive' consciousness, as Freire (1973) labelled it, is closely linked to the predictable routines of a day which people cannot "express discursively" (Giddens, 1984; 375). A discursive consciousness, however, involves "those forms of recall which the actor is able to express verbally." It is possible, therefore, for actors to unintentionally reproduce the durable patterns of an institution without reflecting on them but it is also possible that actors can express intentionality to do certain things but in doing so they "reproduce the social fabric which underpins the rules" (Layder, 1994; 134). This is what Giddens (1984; xxiii) called "the recursive nature of social life. (By its recursive nature I mean that the structured properties of social activity – via the duality of structure – are constantly recreated out of the very resources which constitute them.)"

One criticism of structuration theory is that it does not deal with the ethical and moral imperatives that are often significant in critical theories (Bryant & Jary, 2011). This is one of my reasons for introducing Freire and his theories of consciousness. Freire (1973), used the term "conscientização" (Goulet, 1973; vii) or critical consciousness, rather than discursive consciousness, which he argued was an essential part of the makeup of a teacher who creates an educational experience that liberates rather than oppresses. Freire's focus on consciousness, then, was a socio-political construct with the aim of social change (Watts et al., 2011) and student empowerment (Christens et al., 2016).

Whilst it is beyond the scope of this thesis to argue for or against the higher-order theories of consciousness (see, for example Carruthers, 2011), it is useful in this analysis to use both Giddens' (1984) and Freire's (1970, 1973, 1998a, 1998b) concept. Perhaps consciousness needs some explanation, however:

> *The word 'consciousness' is notoriously ambiguous. This is mainly because it is not a term of art, but a mundane word we all use quite frequently, for different purposes and in different everyday contexts. (Kiegel, 2003; 103)*

Consciousness, here, will be referring to self-consciousness or self-awareness and will concentrate on the practical or intransitive consciousness and discursive or critical consciousness as a frame for agency, discursive knowledge as a higher level of consciousness from practical knowledge. Freire (1973) also writes of stages of consciousness, the magical, naïve and ultimately critical, arguing that one can move through these different states through a burgeoning awareness of causality and effect. It would appear, importantly for teachers and students, that critical consciousness, like cultural competence, is a journey. It can be developed, in teachers and students alike for the purposes of creating an education system that is just, equitable and liberating (Gay & Kirkland, 2003; Jemal, 2017; Rodriguez & Magill, 2017). Unfortunately, for teachers and students, the development of critical consciousness is not given a priority in education (McLaren, 2017) and the result is "residual inequity in perpetuity" (Jemal, 2017; 602). Despite the political overtones in developing a critical consciousness for students, Pennycook (2001) reminds us that it is a work based on compassion, founded on sharp critique of inequalities that relieves pain and is the basis for change.

Another definition that is important to delineate at this point is the difference between reflection and reflexivity and how these terms relate to a discursive and critical consciousness. "Reflection is often described as 'structured' or organized thinking" (Ghaye, 2011; 1), usually about ways of doing (Hibbert et al., 2010) whereas reflexivity is "a process of exposing or questioning our ways of doing" (Hibbert et al., 2010; 48). Archer (2007) also expresses the idea that reflexive action mediates between structural or cultural powers and social actions and outcomes. In dealing with issues of mismatches in

individual lives, reflection may bring about a recognition of contradictions, but goes no further (Door, 2014). Reflection and reflexivity, however, are linked by the process of recursion, or returning to our ways of doing, which ultimately means that reflexivity can bring about change that the process of reflection, alone, will not (Hibbert et al. 2010; Feucht et al., 2017). The following figure is adapted from Hibbert et al. (2010) and shows this process:

Practice

Amended practice

Reflection
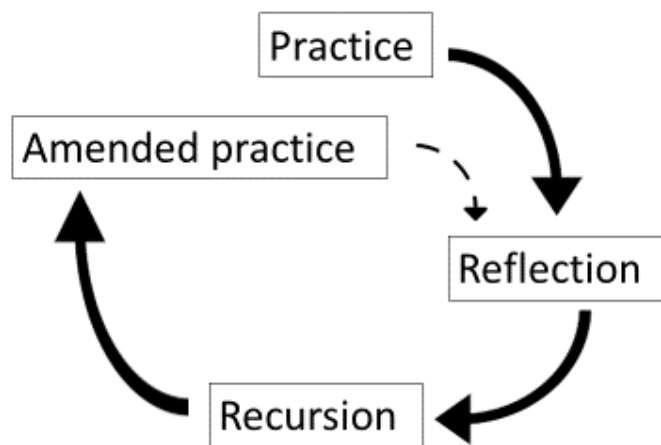
Recursion

Figure 2.2 Reflexivity

Recursion, though, is both an active and passive cognitive process. In the first instance recursion is a process that brings potential for people to transform the world (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; 1993; Freire, 1998b; Giroux, 2001). However, recursion can also be passive in that people either feel dominated by structure, and thus feel powerless to affect change, or they feel so liberated by their own agency that they miss the influences of dominant structures and discourses with the result that, in both instances, current social practices are unchanged and structural influences remain largely undisturbed (Hibbert et al., 2014).

Reflexivity is also concerned with self-consciousness with relation to our own assumptions and prejudices (Hibbert et al., 2014). In other words, we need to be aware of the structural properties of society that constrain and enable us. Reflexivity can bring about a critical consciousness as long as mismatches in structures and goals are recognised or signposted. A high degree of reflexivity is reflected in an individual resisting cultural conditions whereas a low level of reflexive thinking could be characterised by acquiescing to prevailing norms and pressures (Sayer, 2010).

Erting (1985) points out that there are cultural differences between hearing teachers and their deaf students. Hearing teachers are often unaware that they understand deafness in terms of a pathology and that they have a clear bias towards speaking and listening. This creates a schism between them and the Deaf community as well as creating discrepancies between their goals and student goals and achievements. If deaf children do not learn to speak, lipread and listen in preparing them for the hearing world and fail to acquire competent literacy skills, then the teachers have failed in their desired educational outcomes. Teachers with high levels of reflexivity, however, can identify that existing programmes are inadequate and can find other success criteria to justify their position and goals. Certainly, teaching deaf children and trying to be successful in the face of poor oral and literacy outcomes is challenging and throws up a host of dilemmas regarding teacher ideology.

2.9 Ideology

Ideology, "can be viewed as a set of representations produced and inscribed in human consciousness and behaviour, in discourse and in lived experiences. On the other hand, ideology is concretised in various 'texts', material practices and material forms" (Giroux, 1984; 312).

Although ideology has always been associated with socially shared ideas, it has also been associated with hegemony, ideas that are accepted by the dominated, often as common-sense notions about society and their place in it (Giroux, 1984; van Dijk, 1998). Ideology, however, while directly received through structure (Patnaik, 1988) and exerting force through "the 'weight' it assumes in dominant discourses" (Giroux, 2001; 145), nevertheless also promotes agency (Giddens, 1984). Gramsci (1971) indicated that ideology, especially those ideas that are understood to be common sense, is dialectical in nature, as Giroux (2001; 152) explains, "Disorder, rather than harmony characterises common sense; it contains a dialectical interplay of hegemonic and insightful beliefs and practices."

It is in the interplay between hegemonic ideology and the agents lived experiences along with their insight and practice that creates opportunity for breaking with the logic of domination. This is especially the case with teachers:

> *Teachers cannot escape from their own ideologies and it is important to understand what society has made of us, what we believe in, and how we can minimise the effects on our students of those parts of our 'sedimented' histories that reproduce dominant interests and values. (Giroux, 1983; 241)*

Sedimented histories are the ideological histories that become embedded in us as memory traces. They include constraints that limit our participation in ideology by establishing parameters of action (Giroux, 1984). If these sedimented histories remain unevaluated in a teacher, it can lead to alienation between teacher and student. Freire (1998a; 49) has provided an example of how teachers can react to the ideology of their students that is different to their own:

> *When inexperienced middle-class teachers take teaching positions in peripheral areas of the city, class-specific tastes, values, language, discourse, syntax, semantics, everything about the students may seem contradictory to the point of being shocking and frightening.*

It would appear, then, that when teachers meet with students whose cultural backgrounds are different from their own, a number of things may happen: Firstly, they may not

recognise the importance of the differences between their own ideologies and those of their students and simply continue teaching in the way they have always done. This is Gramsci's (1971; 324) idea of conformity, "We are all conformists of some conformism or other, always man-in-the-mass or collective mass." Secondly, we can become aware of the differences and critically consider the implications of these differences. This can still lead back to conformity, however, because creating a critical pedagogy involves risk and could lead to "losing job, security, and in some cases friends" (Giroux, 2001; 242). The difference in this type of conformity is that the teachers are aware of differences but feel they cannot do anything about it.

Some teachers are convinced that "schools are neutral agencies which provide the necessary tools for individual development and upward mobility" (Sever, 2012; 656). They, therefore, ignore what functions might be accomplished at the cultural level and naively promote their own cultural ideology as either equivalent or superior to their students (Willis, 1977). They could also, however, critically interrogate the historical genesis of their own inner histories and experiences and question the interests they embody and serve (Giroux, 2001) because "teaching requires the recognition of our conditioning" (Freire, 1998b; xiii). They could, therefore, implement a radical pedagogy based on their own 'conscientisation' (Freire, 1970) – a term which refers to agents becoming more aware of the world with its social and political contradictions. Once an awareness has been formed, teachers, as agents, can take action against these oppressive elements. Another important element to consider for teachers, however, is their social positioning.

2.10 Teacher Social Positioning

Teachers occupy a social position within the school, the community and society as a whole. This social position, according to Giddens (1979; 117), is "a social identity that carries with it a certain range of prerogatives and obligations that an actor who is accorded that identity may activate or carry out." These organisational obligations and roles tend to privilege a narrow range of perspectives which:

…tends to imply a claim that these roles have essential qualities, including an essential authority to define what is right, to decide what should be valued, to exercise a creative power for good. (Miraglia, 1997; 422)

Teachers are positioned by various normative structures that they take on in their career but, as in this case, teachers may have different and even contradictory goals to their students as well as themselves (Kelly et al., 2013). Teachers inherit a curriculum, a timetable and recipes for enacting their role and often replicate the way they themselves were taught (Knoors & Marschark, 2014). Teachers, though, as all people, have agency that comes as a result of reflexively monitoring their actions and the conduct of others. They are not "powerless victims trapped in a web of hegemonic power" (Ollins, 2005; 151). Giddens has generated a layered theory of agency based on capability, knowledgeability and motivation. Because of the dialectic of control, although the institution, in this case, exerted power through the "mobilisation of bias" (Giddens, 1984; 15) that supported oralist ideologies, teachers were certainly capable of exerting power to "enact decisions which they favour[ed]" (Ibid). Knowledgeability includes both discursive and practical consciousness – teachers are able to talk about their practice and why they are doing things and at the same time have stocks of knowledge and routines that they are not able to explain but which still make up a significant part of their actions in a day. The next level, however, involves motivation and Giddens introduces his concept of ontological security to explain why most people reproduce certain norms of behaviour. They do so not because they are necessarily committed to oralism but because the alternative ways of acting run contrary to their inclinations of what is 'natural.' The interplay between incongruent ideologies, however, may lead to oppositional behaviours and even resistance.

2.11 Theories of Resistance in Education

Most theories of resistance in education focus on the student perspective, for example their reaction to alienation and class dominance (Apple, 1982; Willis, 1977; Wolpe, 1985), social injustice (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001), minority students' reactions to cultural dominance (Fordham, 1996; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 1991; Ogbu, 2003) etc. Teacher resistance has been theorised as well but usually in terms of resisting curriculum change (Easley, 2011; Terhart, 2013), because they feel that they are the victims of ill-

rewarded roles (Cole, 1984) or as resistance to the dominant hegemony enabling them to become critical educators (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985, 1993; Freire, 1970; Giroux, 1983, 2001; Kincheloe, 1993; McLaren, 1991). For teachers in deaf education, becoming a critical educator would involve the creation of a deaf pedagogy that is more embracing of the skills and knowledge that the children start with.

Here, and throughout this thesis, I talk of a deaf pedagogy meaning "a theory of how deaf children learn and how teachers can help" (Swanwick, 2017; 3). Under the auspices of oralism a deaf pedagogy reflected the influences of the cultural hegemony of the hearing community, for example the discourse of normalisation and its focus on deaf people learning to speak and listen. The goals of a bilingual deaf education, however, may include providing deaf children with "a positive sense of their own identity" (Gregory, 1996) but a deaf pedagogy is more than just access to BSL lessons and Deaf studies. A deaf pedagogy acknowledges that deaf children are cognitively different from hearing students (Marschark & Knoors, 2012; Knoors & Marschark, 2014) and that their experience of deafness can change how they learn (Swanwick, 2017). A simple example of difference being that deaf people have improved visual vigilance compared to hearing people, leading to a more efficient utilisation of visual information (Dittmar et al., 1982). It has been found that better visual-spatial abilities in deaf children, compared to hearing children, are as a result of access to sign language in the early years, rather than practice (Emmorey et al., 1993) and that the use of visual imagery enhances the learning of deaf children (Gesueli & Moura, 2006; Lebedeff, 2010). Teachers of deaf children, then, need to develop critical thinking skills so that they can incorporate deaf student differences into their teaching styles and would do well to consider critical theory to develop their praxis.

Critical theory is distinguished by its multidisciplinary perspectives and its development of a dialectical and material social theory (Kellner, 1989). Giroux (1988; 167) argues that school life is "an arena brimming with contestation, struggle and resistance." The field of education, then, is replete with multiple contradictions that ensure that there is opportunity for interplay between dynamic opposites. Giroux, like Giddens, embraced the duality of structure and agency not in opposition to each other but as "forces, while somewhat

distinct, affect each other" (Giroux, 1983; 61). In terms of schools, Giroux (1983; 62) argued that:

> *…schooling must be analysed as a societal process, one in which different social groups both accept and reject the complex mediations of culture, knowledge, and power that give form and meaning to the process of schooling.*

McLaren (1991; 247), using Foucault's (1972) concept of discursive fields, highlights the need for teachers to make ethical choices in this milieu:

> *A critical pedagogy should speak against the notion that all cultural realities need to follow one dominant narrative or that all diverse cultural realities need to be given a voice, since it is obvious that many of these realities harbour racist, classist, and sexist assumptions. The key here isn't to insist simply on cultural diversity, transforming culture into a living museum of contemporary choices (e.g. pluralism) but a critical diversity. A critical diversity means that choices need to be seen as social practices which are themselves historically and socially constructed and teachers need to distinguish cultural choices as liberating or oppressive.*

Discursive fields may contain social and political contradictions but identifying these contradictions is another thing altogether. Some discourses have more power than others. Institutions, for example, exert power through the "mobilisation of bias" (Giddens, 1984; 15). Given the power of this bias and coupled with Giddens' concept of ontological security and Gramsci's (1971) concept of people having an inner wish to conform in order to be part of a "mass", it is understandable that identifying liberating and oppressive cultural choices is not easy because the alternative ways of acting run contrary to people's natural inclinations. In other words, the practical consciousness is often what governs a teacher's life when only a discursive consciousness can penetrate the educational fug so that teachers can make decisions on what constitutes oppression and liberation. An example of these sorts of issues can be seen in the way the cultural and medical models of deafness are intertwined in deaf education. This will be explored in more depth in the next section.

For Giddens and Giroux, power is both a positive and a negative force. Domination is never complete such that power is experienced exclusively as a negative force because power is within all agents as well which can be expressed through forms of resistance where people struggle and fight for a better world. The danger is in people, as agents, participating in their own oppression through allowing power, expressed as technology and ideology, to silence them by being internalised (Giroux, 1988).

I return to Willis' (1977) study as an example of how the oppressed internalise and participate in their own oppression. He studied the underachievement of twelve working class boys in mid Britain. He used ethnographic methods to study the 'lads' motivation in their secondary school and found that they were happy to settle for average grades and "having a laff" (Willis, 1977; 14). They seemed content to reject school and then move into manual work or lower level white-collar jobs. Their oppositional behaviour towards education, the teachers and other students, however, meant that they actually enforced the reproduction of capitalist social and economic structures on themselves. "The 'lads' are condemned, both by the system and *by their own chosen actions,* to the labouring life" (authors own use of italics, Gibson, 1986; 60).

For Giroux, oppositional behaviours are "produced amidst contradictory discourses and values" (Giroux, 1983; 103). Resistance, however, although an oppositional behaviour in itself, "has less to do with deviance, individual pathology, learned helplessness, and a great deal to do with …the logic of moral and political indignation" (Giroux, 1983; 107). The key difference between oppositional behaviours and resistance according to Giroux (2001; 110), is that resistance has "emancipatory interests" and therefore any research on resistance needs to link the behaviour with the "interest it embodies." Giroux embraces Freire's (1970) injunction that teachers have a loyalty to marginalised communities and that they should therefore develop a praxis that helps these communities understand and resist oppression. They should, in the last analysis, foster social transformation. Oppositional and resistant behaviours, however, are not the norm:

> *Compliance occurs in many circumstances because other types of behaviour*
> *are inconceivable; routines are followed because they are taken for granted as*

the way to do things. Institutions are thus repositories of taken-for-granted cognitive schemata that shape people's understandings of the world they live in and provide scripts to guide their action. (Meyer & Rowan, 2006; 16)

Giroux (2001) has suggested that the construct of resistance makes three assumptions that help distinguish it from other oppositional behaviours. The first assumption is the dialectical notion of human agency. Mirroring Giddens (1984), Giroux accepts that agents are not simply passive in the face of domination but can express choice. Secondly is the presumption that power is not unidirectional but is expressed as both domination and resistance. Subordinates can enact in ways that are informed by a different logic or perspective. Thirdly, embedded in acts of resistance, there "is an expressed hope, an element of transcendence for radical transformation" (Giroux, 2001; 108). Resistance, therefore, has emancipatory interests and is made in the hope of a transformation of educational fortunes.

Hall (1973), writing specifically about viewers of television programmes, claimed that viewers derive their own meaning from the content. Although encoding and decoding are related, they are never identical and Hall (1973) proposed three ways in which viewers derive meaning: dominant hegemonic; negotiated code; oppositional code. These decoding strategies could be seen to be mirrored in the way teachers at the school reacted to the tenets of oralism. They could conform to oralist practice, they could occasionally engage in oppositional behaviours, moments of cultural and creative expression, or they could exercise resistant behaviours with a view to the emancipation of students. Lacey (1977) seems to be influenced by Hall's categories and devised a set of social strategies that explained how teachers react to the pressures of socialisation in education. They could: show 'Internalised adjustment', where teachers comply and believe in the constraints; show 'Strategic compliance', where they go along with the wishes of authority but have reservations; exercise 'Strategic redefinition' by changing the constraints of their situation through broadening the range of acceptable behaviours in the setting. I have chosen to use Hall's critique because it fits better with the categories of compliance and

resistance shown in this case. Lacey's strategies, for example, do not allow the same flexibility for teachers moving between compliance and oppositional behaviours as Hall's.

Scott's (1990) work on public and private transcripts also has resonance in this study because teachers inhabit both public and private spaces. Scott (1990) looked at power relations in terms of both public and private transcripts. Public transcripts are those acts and practices that are enacted in the open between the dominant and the oppressed. Private transcripts, however have a "restricted 'public' that excludes – that is hidden from – certain specified others" and that the frontier between these public and hidden transcripts "is a zone of constant struggle between dominant and subordinate – not a solid wall" (Scott, 1990; 14). Resistance then, is not a lone thread but is intertwined by periods of submission, mirroring Hall's (1973) concept of negotiated code. Agents who resist are aware that certain norms need to be accepted, especially in public, so that others may be resisted, in private.

Resistance in education is a "complex phenomena" because of "the multiple contradictions" that are found in schools (Moss & Osborn, 2010; 2). I am using the word contradiction to mean both the "opposition of structural principles, such that each depends upon the other and yet negates each other" (Giddens, 1984; 373) and "the fundamental misalignment between the existing social arrangements and the interests and needs of actors who constitute and inhabit those very arrangements" (Seo & Creed, 2002; 232). An example of the first type of contradiction are the competing discourses of normalisation and differentiation. Whereas normalisation focuses on standard attainment and statistical trends and operation, differentiation is a philosophy which treats education as an individual affair because "Students who are the same age differ in their readiness to learn, their interests, their styles of learning, their experiences, and their life circumstances" (Tomlinson, 2000; 6).

Giroux (2001; 166) has commented on how school organisations create a "cellular structure that isolates most teachers and prevents them from working collectively." The

very organisation of school life, then, reduces the opportunities for collective resistance. When teachers do get together, however, such as in staff rooms, the rituals and experiences of staff rooms usually reinforce institutional norms. Staff rooms have been seen as places which enhance teacher solidarity and the rituals of teaching (Woods, 1979) and enforce strategic compliance (Cole, 1984) through the acceptance "of common sense assumptions which answer the need to cope with the structural constraints of class-size, syllabuses, examinations, timetables, resources etc." (Cole, 1985; 101). According to Cole (1984) staff rooms are the places where the socialising of teachers takes place, for the "continual regrooving of established attitudes and cognitive outlooks" (Giddens, 1979; 128). Staff rooms reinforce an institutionalised consciousness (Woods, 1979) through routinisation and the establishment of a practical consciousness with "a very low degree of discursive consciousness" Cole (1984; 60).

Mardle and Walker (1980) have suggested that perhaps the structures of teaching ensure that only the critically unreflexive enter into the profession. Schools, on the other hand, have also been argued to discourage the discursive thinking of teachers and encourage practical consciousness (Cole, 1984). A practical consciousness is important for teachers because it reduces anxiety through "the continual 'regrooving' of the familiar in circumstances of substantial ontological security" (Giddens, 1984; 104). For teachers, this involves the routinised following of recipes and guidelines for being a successful teacher (Cole, 1984), staffroom humour and solidarity that brings the esteem and security of colleagues (Woods, 1979), and embeds routines that sustain teachers from day to day (Cole, 1984). Cole (1984) goes further to suggest that if teachers consider themselves to be happy, then they rarely have recourse for discursive functions. Questions that are asked at the discursive level would include, "Do I believe in what I'm doing as a teacher?" (Cole, 1984; 67) and it is at this level that contradictions and ambiguities of school life would be revealed. Being able to identify contradictions seems to be a defining ability of individuals using discursive consciousness as opposed to those who are almost perpetually anchored in practical consciousness.

Cole (1984; 60, 61) acknowledges that discursive consciousness is utilised by some teachers. In his work with teachers in school staff rooms he made an attempt to break down the concept of discursive consciousness into a number of component dimensions that might be recognisable in transcript data. I have used these dimensions to help make judgments about participant states of consciousness which I discuss further in chapter 3.

While staff rooms are places for the institutional socialisation of teachers, classrooms are places where there is an increased opportunity for private resistance as part of a teacher's "underlife" (Goffman, 1961). If resistance is in a private space only, then publicly the teachers need to be seen to conform to the principles of oralism and resistance is camouflaged. Publicly staff are seen to support the oralist aims but in private, the teacher has some autonomy to implement work they believe in. As De Certeau (1984; 25) has argued, the worker's own work has to be "disguised as work for his employer." De Certeau calls this type of work *La perruque,* meaning 'the wig.' This type of work is concealed from the employer and De Certeau provides examples: a secretary writing a love letter on company time, or a worker using a factory lathe for making his own furniture. This work is "free, creative, and precisely not directed towards profit" (Ibid.) but is the worker's own work and capability. For a teacher in the era of oralism, the teacher needed to be publicly seen to be colluding with the principle but in the classroom they had spaces to do otherwise.

2.12 Normalisation and Diversity

Normalisation and diversity are competing discourses in this research and it is important at the outset to identify how I am choosing to interpret these concepts as they can both be interpreted in a number of ways (Brah, 1996; Osburn & Caruso, 2011).

Simply stated, for this thesis, the concept of normalisation is concerned with bringing deaf people into line with the idea of the 'normal mode'. The word 'normal' first appeared in 1829 (Branson & Miller, 2002) and by the 1850s the concept of 'abnormal' was in use and accompanied by the word 'disabled'. As the deaf were adjudged to fall into both of these

categories, attempts to normalise them were interpreted to mean bringing them into the fold of hearing society through the use of speech (Branson & Miller, 2002; Kyle & Ackerman, 1990; McDonnell, 2016; McQuigg, 2003; Silvers, 1998a, 1998b; Wallin 1994) and through banning 'abnormal' sign language (Silvers 1998a, 1998b). Although from the 1830s onwards there was a large growth in residential deaf schools in Britain, an exclusive environment for deaf children, normalisation meant concentrating on providing a "cure rather than simply to confine" (Branson & Miller, 2002; 40) through the use of speech training. In the confining and grouping, there was a "shift of priorities from personal to social improvement, and the correlated elevation of the importance of collective over idiosyncratic individualistic identities" (Silvers, 1998a; 112). In other words, difference came to mean a collective commonality of experience over an individual experience (Brah, 1992) and it was this blanket theory of normalisation that encouraged oral education and discouraged the use of sign as the modus operandi for almost one hundred years. Normalisation was further supported in the 1950s onwards because of the growth of assistive technological devices such as hearing aids and latterly cochlear implants (Power, 2005). This raises a further interesting issue in deaf education regarding not only normalisation but also the medical and cultural models of deafness. When cochlear implants are regarded as an essential part of normalisation, the medical model of deafness, then the Deaf community view them as a threat but if sign language is not denied to cochlear implant users, then cochlear implants are perceived to assist deaf people with better access to the hearing world. In this way, the identities of deaf people as Deaf people are not necessarily destroyed but the cultural model of deafness is enhanced through choice (Power, 2005). Since the late nineteenth century science and technologies have started to merge with social sciences to create a new social dimension. In this day of cochlear implants, this reality is expressed with a definite blurring between the medical and cultural models of deafness (Thoutenhoofd, 2007). Although once vilified by the Deaf community as a tool of normalisation (Hyde & Power, 2006; Lee, C.; 2012), cochlear implants are becoming more accepted as enhancing cultural choices in an increasingly bilingual world (Mitchiner & Sass-Lehrer, 2011).

Normalisation was an influence in the 1944 Education Act and was strengthened in the Warnock Report (1978) but this thrust of normalisation was to pave the way for the

increasing inclusion of deaf children into their local mainstream schools. It was an attempt to offer deaf children "more normal and humane experiences something that was being denied them if they were segregated from mainstream society" (McDonnell, 2016; 779).

In the late 1960s and 1970s, another concept of normalisation was proffered to service providers of those with disabilities which was largely a reaction to large institutions where life for their inmates "was deprived and abnormal compared with the lives of ordinary people" (Cocks, 2001; 12). This brand of normalisation tried to remove the stigma of disability by emphasising cultural normativeness and creating opportunities for disabled people to live their lives as closely as other citizens (Wolfensberger, 1970; 1983). It did not talk about making people 'normal' and, perhaps due to this, this concept of normalisation was later renamed social role valorisation (Cocks, 2001; Wolfensberger, 1983).

Normalisation was still confusing, however, because for some it was about integration, acknowledging different characteristics yet making available opportunities afforded others. For others, however, normalisation was about assimilation and the celebration of sameness (Enerstvedt, 1995). In deaf education, the concept of normalisation was further clouded in the 1980s by the Deaf community expressing its wishes that deaf children be afforded access to sign language and Deaf culture so that normalisation was turned on its head. Smith (1996) argued that, from a Deaf cultural perspective, deaf children should be taught to value sign language, a unique difference in their lives and make the difference normal.

Whereas normalisation focuses on standard attainment and statistical trends and operation, diversity, an acknowledgement of difference, is a philosophy which treats education as an individual affair because it recognises that all students differ in their readiness to learn, styles of learning and interests (Tomlinson, 2000). Diversity, then, was a growing awareness of wider social contexts as well as individual life experiences and identity that impacted on access to learning (Knowles & Lander, 2011).

Although the concept of diversity was enthroned in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948), its place in education only became prominent in the 1990s and 2000s (Knowles & Lander, 2011). Despite this, there was a growing awareness of diversity in schools during the period of this research, albeit with a low profile. The Plowden Report (1967), for example, placed the child at the heart of education believing that the teacher's role was to guide and stimulate the children.

Normalisation and diversity, then, are two concepts that are somewhat at odds with each other. While normalisation promotes sameness of life chances and opportunities, the concept of diversity emphasises difference. This contradiction is what Giddens (1984; 373) would call, an opposition of structural principles. In this era of globalisation, normalisation and diversity are still two contradictory discourses deeply in opposition to each other as "ordinary people are made as homogenous as possible to ensure that diversity and difference do not interrupt the easy substitution of one worker for another, one consumer for another, one commodity for another" (Davies, 2006; xi).

Normalisation and differentiation, as competing discourses, constitute a misalignment in existing social arrangements. This is an example of how disjunctions in policy can create spaces that may be exploited by teachers with their own individualised responses. It is in these interstitial spaces that teachers have room for manoeuvre, to either comply or resist existing practices.

I now move on to explain the methodology used in this research.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The initial focus of the research process was to understand the changes to the oral method of teaching deaf children, from the perception of the teachers who taught in one school when that change transpired in 1979. The original aim of the study was to determine how the oral method was augmented after 1979 and how this changed the methods for teaching deaf children at the school. Research questions for this aim were: What fostered change to the oral method? What other methods became available in deaf education at the end of the 1970s and how were they chosen? What was the impact of these changes on staff, students and parents?

I have used Structuration Theory to provide the "sensitizing devices" (Giddens, 1984; 326) through which to view those changes. Giddens (1991; 213) insisted that structuration theory should also "be used in a selective way in thinking about research questions or interpreting findings." He argued that institutions continue or change over time because structure, the rules and resources for social actions, and individual agency exist in a recursive relationship:

> …agency and structure are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality. They are at the same time, the medium and outcome of the practices and activities they recursively organise in the duality of structure. (Busco, 2009; 250)

Intrinsic to structuration is the identifying of "social practices ordered across space and time" (Giddens, 1984; 2) into which individual agency then plays a role to either "reproduce or transform them, remaking what is already made in the continuity of praxis" (Giddens, 1984; 171). Agency, then, is the power that human actors have to reproduce the 'structures' or to operate, occasionally, independently of these constraints. This research explores teacher agency through semi-structured interviews. Throughout the first set of participant interviews, themes about culture were introduced by the staff as well as

anecdotes about how difficult the oral methods were for some children and how some staff, including themselves, had engaged in oppositional behaviours. These answers prompted a further set of questions to the participants. Although the initial focus, then, was on institutional change, the main focus of this research changed to investigate how teachers responded to contradictions in their careers during the oral only method of deaf education. The research questions, then changed to enquire: What were the contradictions that teachers faced in their teaching lives? As a consequence of these contradictions, what choices and barriers were the participants presented with? What choices did some participants make as a result of identified contradictions and what were the consequences?

The domination of structures is rarely complete leaving space and opportunity for alternative practices and, therefore, institutional change. Giddens (1984; 374) called this the "dialectic of control." Less powerful actors can still exercise control over more powerful actors through their choices and how they manage their own resources. Control, then, is a two-way affair. The structure, with its rules and resources, exerts influence on agents. Agents, because they have choice, both reproduce the rules and social norms in their everyday actions but can still exercise intentionality:

> *…structuration theory is based on the proposition that structure is always both enabling and constraining, in virtue of the inherent relation between structure and agency. (Giddens, 1984; 169)*

The emphasis in Structuration Theory is on the "transformative capacity of human agency that makes change possible" (den Hond et al., 2012; 239). In order to understand change, then, a study of the structures, the rules and resources that are internalised by agents, and how they historically developed became essential. In researching the local history of the school, it became quickly apparent that the accounts of the participants differed from the official histories of the school. It appeared that some events in the history of the school had been suppressed and so the uncovering of these events became another aim of the research with the following questions: What events have been suppressed? Why were these events suppressed? What other perspectives exist of these events?

I have not only looked at the local history of the school but have also looked at the broader picture in Britain and sometimes the international picture. I have used both primary and secondary historical sources as well as semi-structured interviews to explore the histories of the structures that propped up the oral values and communication methods of the time.

Although the focus of the research was on teacher experiences, I did have some opportunities to interview a selection of previous pupils through semi-structured interviews in order to add breadth and more 'colour' to the narrative and to verify some teacher perspectives. This chapter presents the sampling procedures and tools used to gather the data and present a history of oral teaching in one school and teachers' views of why oralism was finally augmented with Signed English, Sign Supported English and Cued Speech. It also outlines the basic tenets of structuration and the interlocking problems that were addressed to highlight and analyse the school's structures as well as agent choices as a result of these structural features that revealed conformity or oppositional behaviours.

3.1.1 Ontology

I use Giddens' (1984) ontological framework of the duality of structure and agency, that social reality is governed by practices that are ordered across space and time and are the result of the interaction between structures and agents in a recursive process.

3.1.2 Epistemology

Giddens paid relatively little heed to epistemological issues (Jones, 2016) in his structuration theory. This research, therefore, uses a critical epistemological perspective in which knowledge and critical analysis are intertwined (Harvey, 1990). Critical epistemology goes beyond participants ascribing meaning to their actions, a social constructionist exercise, where "our understanding of this world is inevitably a construction from our own perspectives and standpoint" (Maxwell, 2012; 5), and endeavours to place participant actions into contexts which are often unacknowledged (Easton, 2010). The participant

views were the focus of this research but they were interpreted within the framework of structural constraints that paved the way for the oral method as well as opportunities for resistance that the participants were not necessarily able to see the full ramifications of.

Accepted social processes are not taken for granted and critical social research attempts to dig beneath the surface to expose hidden structures of oppression. Critical research is therefore, rooted in the emancipatory interests of minority groups, such as deaf students, with the hope of transforming their educational experiences in a positive fashion.

Epistemological considerations, outside of the methodological critique of the research, have also driven this research project. While the main focus has been on hearing Teachers of the Deaf from forty years ago, the findings, in many ways, have centred on their treatment of deaf students, not just as learners but as knowers, what was to be known and in what form this knowledge was transmitted. Because of this view, some of the participants were also previous students who all belonged to the Deaf community. Getting their views was not just to explore deaf epistemologies or simply to get more 'colour' to the narrative but also to verify the truth of what the teachers were saying from their perspective and to highlight epistemological differences between staff and students.

My own epistemological considerations were considered in Chapter 1.1.4, where I outline my insights into deaf education as a Teacher of the Deaf and as a deafened person with an experience of disability and therefore an epistemologically privileged position in the research. Epistemological considerations, then, are more than the traditional assigning of an epistemological stance of a paradigm but also include considerations of the researcher and those being researched.

3.1.3 Methodology and Methods

Critical research does not have a circumscribed set of methods because the aim is to provide knowledge about oppressive social structures and the actions of agents in this social milieu (Harvey, 1990). The methodology of this research is a case study because of its idiographic nature, that is, "the researcher is usually concerned to elucidate the unique

features of the case" (Bryman, 2008; 54). The boundaries of the study were within one school, therefore the focus was on "a detailed examination of one setting" (Wellington, 2000; 91). The collection of data from one place, however, does not necessarily lead to the use of case study methodology (Bryman, 2008). In this case, the focus of analysis was on the teacher's perceptions of communication change and "Case studies …are designed to bring out details from the viewpoint of the participants by using multiple sources of data" (Tellis, 1997; 1). The multiple sources being semi-structured interviews and historical sources. The school itself, however, was also part of the unit of analysis because there were many deaf schools at the time that resisted change and continued to use speaking and listening as their only method of communication. The research, therefore, aimed to uncover the "'how' and the 'why' of the process" (Thomas, 2011; 75), telling the story that led to communication change, unique to the school, from the teacher perspective. The case study methodology, then, was chosen because the research focused on a sample of one school. It, therefore, had low representativeness but allowed me to explore the phenomenon of change in depth and more comprehensively.

From an ontological position, the case study tries to tread a middle ground between idiographic and nomothetic positions. Units of study should neither be completely unique nor should they be ubiquitous as Gerring (2004; 351) has indicated:

> *If adjacent units are thought to be entirely noncomparable, the case study method is impossible. The perfectly idiographic universe displays such uniqueness among units that absolutely nothing can be learned about one unit by studying another. The notion of a "case study" is nonsensical. At the other extreme, where all units of a given type are perfectly comparable, the case study is equally nonsensical. Why focus on a single unit when other units will do just as well? This is the nomothet's way of looking at things.*

This case study, while embracing an idiographic point of view in identifying issues particular to the unit, or case, under study, also embraced a nomothetic view, in that the teacher's view of cultural clashes between hearing and deaf people may be similar to the situation teachers find themselves in today. Their experiences could provide benefit for present day staff in the school and in other bilingual deaf schools, nationally. "The case

study thus occupies a tenuous ontological ground midway between idiographic and nomothetic extremes" (Gerring, 2004; 352). By making proposals for change, this study also avoids the notion "that the findings of research are one of many discourses" (Andrews, 2012; 6). Critical research is not neutral and can generate debate which leads to change.

The methods employed in this research include an analysis of historical documents and semi-structured interviews, both qualitative approaches. A critical approach of reality includes a "view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context" (Crotty, 1998:42). This research was constructed through the process of interviewing and joint revisiting of data constructed with the participants through negotiation. Documents, as well as interviews, were used to provide the social context. "The qualitative data analysis process is a highly intuitive activity. As such, it is its epistemological nature and assumptions that make qualitative data analysis a rich and often intricate exercise" (Krauss, 2005; 764). Geertz (1973) calls this type of data 'thick,' which differs from a 'thin' description. A 'thin' description is a simple statement about what happened whereas a 'thick' description reveals the meaning behind the action (Stephens, 2009). A 'thick' description also "…orients to the purportedly deeper and more authentic value of the subject's feelings. It emphasises sentiment and emotion, the ostensible core of human experience" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997; 118). These constructions, however, were also reviewed critically to discover the power relations behind the events and experiences.

3.1.4 Case study

A case study, essentially, "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context and addresses a situation in which the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin, 1993; 59). A strength of a case study approach lies in the fact that design and data collection can be tailored to answer the research question (Baxter & Jack, 2008). This, however, can also be its weakness, because a loose design

can lead to poor research (Meyer, 2001; Cohen et al.; 2007). In order to provide a reliable design, I have followed Thomas' (2011) typology for case studies. He proposed four categories for categorising the focus of a study: subject, purpose, approach and process.

3.1.4.1 Case Study Subject

By case study subject, Thomas (2011; 76) argued that the focus of a study starts with the question of whether the researcher is familiar with the case or not. If the case study is in the workplace of researchers who "know and can 'read' the people who inhabit the arena" then this is what he calls a local knowledge case. In this study, the subject is a local knowledge case as I have a good understanding of the institution, having been employed there on two separate occasions as a Teacher of the Deaf. I have an in-depth knowledge, then, of the needs of deaf children and their education as well as the stresses and strains on Teachers of the Deaf. I also knew all of the participants personally and had been colleagues with most of them. Clearly my experiences sensitised me to some of the issues in the research, for example resistance. I have tried, however, to be open to what the participants told me and have represented their words accurately. I am aware, however, that I myself am part of this data in my selection of what I consider significant in the coding processes.

3.1.4.2 Case Study Purpose

According to Zucker (2009), the purpose of a case study is its object, which will inform the remainder of the case study design. The purpose of a case study is usually either evaluative or exploratory (Thomas, 2011). The purpose of this study is both exploratory and explanatory as it seeks to both explore and explain how and why oralism remained as powerful as it did in the school for so long, how and why change eventually transpired and how teachers reacted to this situation in terms of conforming or opposing. This was achieved by using structuration theory as a lens to analyse teacher agency in conjunction with the structural properties of the institution.

3.1.4.3 Case Study Approach

As the purpose of the case study is exploratory and explanatory, the approach required to create the products of the case can now be considered. A particular strength of a case study is that theory or conceptual categories can be introduced from the start, whereas, for example, in grounded theory and ethnography, perspectives emerge from the data. A benefit of being able to start with a pre-understanding of the phenomenon at hand is that it will speed up data collection as research starts with some basic understandings (Meyer, 2001). In this instance, there was already a body of work around oral education from a national, international and even a local perspective from which to guide the school's case study with the original aim to uncover reasons for institutional change. One of the theories to test was that poor literacy outcomes of deaf children eventually paved the way for the introduction of sign language usage and the use of Cued Speech. As the research progressed, however, the use of grounded theory became increasingly important as this allowed me to change aims to look at oppositional behaviours and resistance to the oral method as this data emerged from the interviews. It also allowed the creation of an aim focused on rewriting the history of the school as the data from the official school history did not match what the participants were telling me.

Secondly, the case sought to build a theory of why oral education began to be eroded at this time, as the national picture was not found to fit this case and another theory has been put forward. This case study, then, although it began with a deductive focus, evolved into an inductive exercise as theory emerged from the data. The data from the initial teacher interviews proposed a different theory for understanding the changes to oralism as well as raising a set of issues around culture that led to the creation of another set of interviews which resulted in another set of themes, most notably conformity and oppositional behaviours. These behaviours will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 and a model has been proposed in Chapter 8.

Thirdly, this case study was also interpretive as it sought to understand the perspectives of the teachers from the 1940s until the 1980s towards deafness and deaf education. For example, the competing doctrines of integration and diversity had the capacity for teachers

to develop quite polarised beliefs about their educational goals. This brought into relief the object of deaf education, whether it was to prepare deaf students to be integrated into the hearing world, able to speak, or to prepare them to embrace the Deaf world where they could enjoy meaningful social relations and develop as proud Deaf individuals or even a mixture of the two.

3.1.4.4 Case Study Process

Thomas (2011) has indicated that the process of a case study summarises the essence of how it is conducted. For this case study, the process was retrospective, seeking to collect data on communication policy change from 1979 into the early 1980s. However, in order to put this time period into perspective, the context of the situation needed an historical explanation. In order to investigate an event in time the study used documents and interviews with teachers who had experienced, first-hand, the changes and their effects on the school. Documents were also used to compare the journey of the school with other schools, both nationally and internationally.

The use of both documents and interviews allowed for the triangulation of the data, enhancing confidence in the findings by crosschecking various perspectives (Wolcott, 1988) validating the claims of the data (Bryman, 2008; Cohen et al. 2007; Flick, 2006) as well as the quality of the research findings (Seale, 1999). Triangulation provides a more complete picture as there is an assumption that by using several data sources from different methods, one can neutralise bias inherent in one particular data source or method (Jick, 1979). As Trahar (2009) has pointed out, for example, interviews are notoriously difficult, on their own, to make reliable judgments about because memory is always selective and plays tricks on us. Megill (2004; 98) also argued that "memory needs to be confirmed by material traces before they can be history." For Denzin (1970), however, triangulation was not just constrained to methodological triangulation as he also encouraged data triangulation, involving time, space or person and investigator triangulation (In Wellington, 2000). Whereas methodological triangulation refers to using mixed methods (such as interviews and documents) the research also involved triangulation of time as it explored a diachronic dimension of oralism. The research also

used observer triangulation. Although the data from the interviews was collected by me, a colleague reviewed the data collected, the coding and also reviewed the interpretation and weight of data used in the analysis. The following table (*Table 3.2*) shows the sources of data:

Table 3.2 Sources of data

Type of Data	Number	Comments
Interviews with ex-teaching staff	11	Covering education from the 1940s until the early 1980s. Interviewed from 2011 till 2014.
Interviews with former pupils	8	Interviewed in 2013
Memoirs of an ex teacher	1	1944 – 1975
Signs of the Times – 1 hour DVD	28 former pupils	Former pupils' living histories from the 1940s to the 1970s. They discuss four topics: Language, Employment, Education & Community and Relationships with Hearing People.
British Association of the Teacher of the Deaf Journals	Usually 5 per year	1903 – present The journal focuses on British issues of deaf education
Conference of Headmaster of Institutions for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb	Held every two or three years	1841 – 1934

		The conferences focus on British issues of deaf education
Conference of the Governing Bodies of Institutions for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb	Intermittent	1841 – 1934 The conferences focus on British issues of deaf education
School Annual Reports	Annually	From 1827 – 2007 The reports are an opportunity for the headmaster and chair of governors to share information about the school with stake holders such as parents, local authorities etc.
School official Histories	2	1926, 1976
General published works on deafness	Unknown	Available from general libraries but good libraries are the Universities of Leeds and Central Lancashire

Data collection procedures were guided by the research aims and questions and the choice of design. The case study approach combines data collection methods such as archives, interviews, questionnaires, and observations (Yin, 2018). The primary sources in this study were the interview and historical documents. The main participants were teachers who had taught in the school during the changes that occurred in 1979. The Annual Report for 1979/80 recorded twenty-four teachers at the school in March 1980. Of

these, four were dead, three had moved away with no known addresses and three were critically ill. Of the remaining fourteen, eleven were successfully contacted for interview. Two other teachers, who started at the school in the early 1980s, were also involved in the interviews as change, although begun in 1979, took many years to take effect. The memoirs of another teacher, who taught at the school from the 1940s till 1975, were used as it added to the understanding of the context of the study. In this regard the original sample was a census study but was manageable because of the small numbers involved. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with teachers who had witnessed, first-hand, the changes from oralism in the 1970s and 80s. To put these interviews into the context of the national picture I also explored the journals of the National College of Teachers of the Deaf as well as more general publications on histories of the education of the deaf for another view of the national as well as international picture.

The objective of the analysis was to highlight the impact and power of oralism on the school, from the school's inception in 1826 until the early 1980s. Although I have focused on the teachers' view, I have also included data from previous students in order to 'paint a broader picture' of this history. Woven into this narrative, however, are national and local historical documents that may or may not have been consistent with the teachers' perspective but provided a form of triangulation.

3.1.5 Documents

Although the word 'document' is often seen as being synonymous with text, documents can be a wide range of artefacts such as, "Architectural drawings, books, paintings, x-ray images, film, World Wide Web pages, CD-ROM discs, bus tickets, shopping lists, tapestries and sequences of DNA… depending on the use…" (Prior, 2011; 94).

Documents, then, can be thought of as being "…a durable repository for textual, visual and audio representations that may be retained and used in different times and spaces…" (Lee, B., 2012; 391). In this study, I have not limited the interpretation of 'documents' to mean only books or journals but have also included the use of DVDs.

The focus on the use of documents in this research has been to investigate the history of oral education in the school through a process of critical enquiry which aimed to produce an accurate description and interpretation of those events using primary sources wherever possible (Wiersma, 1986). Primary historical documents in this research consisted of the Teacher of the Deaf Journals, Conferences of Headmasters and Governing Bodies of institutions, Annual Reports, the school's histories (where the writer covered the history they had experienced), the memoirs of a teacher who wrote about her life as a teacher from 1944 to 1975 and a DVD capturing signed experiences of previous pupils at the school. This case study also counterpoints the primary data with secondary historical documents which describe the 'official' narrative. Secondary documents included histories of deaf education and the school's histories, where the author was recounting history outside of their immediate experience.

Scott (1990) has suggested four criteria for assessing the quality of documents:

1. Authenticity
2. Credibility
3. Representativeness
4. Meaning

Firstly, authenticity refers to authorship, whether the author can be identified and verified and whether the author was a primary or secondary source. Secondly, credibility is concerned with accuracy, whether a document is free from error and distortion. Thirdly, representativeness relates to whether the documents are typical, however, "it can also be a good starting point if you know a specific document is untypical and to ask yourself what that means for your research question" (Flick, 2006; 248). This research utilised documents that both corroborated the national view of oralism but also highlighted 'untypical' arguments for the use of other communication methods and they are presented side by side. Fourthly, meaning is concerned with the intentions of the author as well as

the meaning attributed to the text by the reader. An example of this is the sesquicentennial history of the school. In this document Olding (1976) did not mention that any sign language had been used in the history of the school. He also highlighted the benefits of oral practice throughout the one hundred and fifty years of the school's existence. At the first reading, one may consider that other forms of knowledge, such as the successes of sign language, both previous to the school's adoption of pure oralist techniques in the 1890s and even during his Headship, as Kincheloe (2004a; 7) described, "were relegated to the junk heap of history." Hammersley and Atkinson (1995; 168), however, in their treatise on documents, warn:

> *The argument is that rather than being viewed as more or less biased sources of data, official documents and enumerations should be treated as social products: they must be examined not relied on uncritically as a research resource.*

Documents as social products, with cultural values attached to them (Atkinson & Coffey, 2011), must be analysed to determine what meaning the author wishes to convey to the readers, not simply determining if they are perceived to be choosing what pieces of history they depict and what they discard. Teachers from the time have suggested that Olding wanted the school to be seen as progressive, it was a new building with all the modern state of the art acoustic arrangements with loop systems and other innovations to support the oral approach to teaching and, therefore, would have wanted to emphasise the success of oralism over all others.

Part of this thesis, then, is to highlight power relationships in the history of the school and validate other knowledges. As "…we tend to see phenomena as those with the most power to shape our consciousness want us to" (Kincheloe, 2004a; 7) the focus is on the unrecorded views of the teaching staff, giving a voice to the "excluded" (Kincheloe, 2004b; 48) rather than those of the leadership of the school.[3]

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[3] At the time of this research, all the leadership team had died.

There is clearly a need, then, to identify "who has produced the document and for what purpose" Flick (2006; 250) as well as the type of access to the documents (Scott, 1990). These considerations have been drawn together in the next table:

Table 3.3. Documents: Purpose and Access.

Document	Produced by:	Purpose:	Access:
Memoirs of an ex teacher	A teacher	Personal experiences of teaching life at the school	Author has a personal copy
Signs of the Times – 1 hour DVD	Exeter Royal Academy for Deaf Education	Produce a visual history of former pupils	Open access (ERADE website)
Journal and Magazine of the Teachers of the Deaf	National College for Teachers of the Deaf (1903 – 1976) British Association of Teachers of the Deaf (1977 - Present)	To represent the interests of Teachers of the Deaf	Open published
Conference of Headmaster of Institutions for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb	Conference secretary	Minutes of the meetings	Open archival (Devon records office)
Conference of the Governing Bodies of Institutions for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb	Conference secretary	Minutes of the meetings	Open archival (Devon records office)
School Annual Reports	Chair of governors and Headmaster	Report to parents and other stakeholders	Open archival (Devon records office)
School official Histories	1926 - Woodbridge 1976 – Olding		Open archival (Devon records office)
General published works on deafness	Various	Information to general readers on deaf education	Open published

Who the documents were produced by is important, for example, the initial College for Teachers of the Deaf, which produced the journal for Teachers of the Deaf, was first conceived in 1885 as an association concerned for teaching Teachers of the Deaf the oral method of educating deaf children. When the first journal was published, in 1903, the first editor of the journal was Susanna Hull, known to be an ardent oralist and continued the aims of the profession in promoting oralism (Branson and Miller, 2002). The main influences on the teaching of Teachers of the Deaf, up to the 1950s, was the College and the Department at the University of Manchester (now known as the Centre for Human Communication and Deafness) (Chippendale, 2001). The sole focus of this Department was on the oral teaching of deaf children, which has been well established (Markides, 1983). It should come as no surprise, then, to see the journal, especially between 1903 and 1950, promoting the doctrines of oral education whereas, from the 1950s onwards, there was a gradual acquisition of a more pluralistic approach to deaf education.

The purpose of the documents used in the research is important to establish, as what is written and how it is written has implications for understanding the meaning of it. In chapter 6, for example, I use the school's Annual Report to highlight the way it presented the school's communication policy to parents. One of the purposes of the Annual Report was to keep parents up to date with what was happening in the school. Parents were a huge influence on the direction and policy of the school because they were the ones, ultimately, who had their children placed at the school. The school was non-maintained and although the Local Authorities paid the pupil fees, they were not necessarily the ones who recommended the school as the appropriate place for those children in the first place. Parental choice and decision making had a large influence on the numbers of children who attended the school. Parents, generally, wanted their children to be normalised (Ladd, 2003), to speak and make the most of their residual hearing. The Annual Report, then, had a function to persuade parents that their child's placement was still appropriate. During the 1980s, the reports were a few years out of step with what was actually happening in school and when change was mentioned, the reports were careful to promote parental involvement in that change, show how the school's leadership was carefully orchestrating this change and above all promote oralism as the ultimate policy.

Some of the documents used in this research are unpublished, for example, the Annual Reports and the school histories but copies have been deposited by the school in the Devon Records Office and can be accessed there. The memoirs of the teacher were placed in the school's teacher resources and can be accessed there.

In writing up the history of the school, the data was organised sequentially by date, up until the 1940s and, after that, was organised both sequentially and in themes. Critiques of the documents were made as they arose. These critiques highlighted different viewpoints, for example showing that although oralism dominated the education of the deaf for a large period of time, it did not go unchallenged.

Documents, on their own, however, are unlikely to identify a changing institution because they "rarely contain the detailed data necessary for documenting the link between everyday acts and the creation of an institution" (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; 90). This is another reason for combining historical data with interviews, as they would capture more detail in agent's actions, including the intent behind them.

3.1.6 Interviews

An interview "is a process of directing a conversation so as to collect information" (Angrosino, 2007). As case studies try to "…portray 'what it is like' to be in a particular situation, to catch the close up reality and 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of participants' lived experiences of, thoughts about and feelings for a situation" (Cohen et al., 2007; 254) the interview has been central to this research.

Methodologically, 'thick' descriptions come from the concept of the hermeneutic circle. From superficial observations, the researcher deciphers the hidden meaning in the apparent meaning. As the research progresses, different levels of meaning unfold, like a circle as the researcher constantly reviews anticipated explanations of the parts and the

whole together (Myers, 1997). Meaning, however, "requires critical reflection on how the research materials were socially constructed through the interaction between the researchers and the participants" (Klein & Myers, 1999; 72).

The concept of the hermeneutic circle, the need for constant interaction between researcher and participants, is also linked to the concept of communicative validity. Flick (2007; 18), in her arguments for reformulating traditional quantitative criteria to match the needs of qualitative research, said,

> *Validity is reformulated into communicative validity and pragmatic validity. Valid then no longer means to define an abstract criterion and to match results and procedures with it, but is turned into a reflection at several levels, while valid is what finds the consensus of members and what works in the field.*

Meyer (2001) suggested a number of ways to strengthen the validity of interviews, including an increase in data collections with the intentions of improving the depth of the study and developing a pluralist perspective. Flick's (2007) concept of communicative validation encourages at least a second meeting with the interviewee to review a transcription of the first interview, trying to find consensus. The interviewee then has the opportunity to review their statements to ensure that they reflected not only what was said but also their intentions. The aim of this study was to interview each participant on at least two occasions to increase the depth of the interviews by reviewing the first interview, asking further questions, and then validating the interview by agreeing that their intentions were accurately reflected in print. Two of the participants, due to health, were unable to allow a follow up visit but I was able to use email to follow up with one. The pluralistic perspective was encouraged by using semi-structured interviews so that participants could introduce their own views. The interviews that I conducted were recorded by note taking. I thought, initially, that this would slow down the process of the interview, maybe making it more of a stilted experience but what actually happened was that I was able to use this experience to the benefit of the research. As the participants knew I was deaf and that I would not have access to recorded data, I was actually able to review their statements as we went along, a reflexive process in itself. This gave me more time to identify other

interesting avenues of enquiry to follow. For example, Peter Taylor responded to the first question I asked him about methods of communication he had used, by responding:

When we started here in 1959 pure oralism reigned. Children were positively discouraged from signing, even punished. After a relatively short time it was obvious that a significant portion of the deaf children were lagging behind and dependent on the partials for help. (Peter)

I was then able to follow up that response by asking, "How did the partially deaf help the profoundly deaf understand what was happening in the classroom if they were not allowed to sign?" He was able to respond by explaining how some children helped others in the class room by signing when staff were not looking. He also discussed a colleague of his, in the 1950s, who used sign language in the classroom with a class of boys with additional special needs. Later in the conversation he also divulged that some staff actually used student "interpreters" in the classroom to help with the flow of information between staff and students who found listening and lip reading very difficult. In this way, information about oppositional behaviours and resistance to oralism started to surface as a result of this co-construction of knowledge.

This was ultimately, theory constructing research. At the start of the interviewing process, my research questions centred on institutional change and I did not realise the significance of what Peter and others were telling me when they mentioned oppositional behaviours to oralism, although we did discuss the issues. This was second generation grounded theory because new questions were formulated as the research evolved (Corbin, 2009). It also used a variety of data sources, for example I also used historical records to corroborate or establish a point of view. In other words, grounded theory places actions within the larger historical or social context (Corbin, 2009). Grounded theory emphasises giving a voice to the participants and allowing the strategic direction of the research to change, as this research has, notably from the initial research on institutional change with the introduction of Cued Speech and Sign Supported English to building theories on teacher oppositional behaviours and resistance.

A criticism sometimes weighed against case studies is the issue of generalisability of its findings (Cohen et al., 2007; Wellington, 2000). Bryman (2008), however, argues that because the purpose of a case study is not to generalise beyond the case itself, then external validity is beyond the purpose of a case study in the first place.

In this study, the main interviewees where teachers who had taught in the school during the late 1970s and early 1980s. Other interviewees, however, included previous pupils who were interviewed to add more detail to the picture of deaf education being created, especially the use of signing in the school by themselves and teachers. Each teacher was asked a specific set of questions in what can be said to be a semi-structured interview. Before the interview, when a convenient date for the interview was agreed on, the participants were given a list of themes covered in the interview. Each interview lasted between an hour and two hours. Although there were several themes that were explored, for example participant views on communication methods and literacy, the interviews were semi-structured, allowing participants to talk about and introduce their own themes. As Flick (2006; 155) has pointed out, the participants "have a complex stock of knowledge about the topic under study" and asking open ended questions allows them to articulate this knowledge. In this way, the process of data collection has been both deductive and inductive: the study was initially driven by asking questions about what had already been suggested within the domain of oralism but, because of the open questions used, data emerged that could not have been predicted by the original theories and have been used to reformulate the original domain (Bryman, 2008). For example, some authors have posited the theory that the poor literacy abilities of deaf students, highlighted in Conrad's (1979) book *The Deaf School Child,* prompted communication changes in many deaf schools (Densham, 1995; Gregory & Hartley, 1991; Gregory, 1996; Jackson, 1990; Ladd, 2003; Lewis, 2016). With the aim to encourage responses to this issue, participants were asked: "Looking back over your career, what have been the major changes in deaf education and how do you feel about those changes?" This allowed participants to use literacy as a critical influence for change but, as this was not explicit, the interviewees were able to introduce their own themes and none of the responses reinforced the view that poor literacy was the critical influence. In fact, they introduced themes such as conformity and opposition.

As the first set of interviews unfolded, there was mention, by quite a few teachers, of the differences in cultures between the hearing staff, as all teaching staff were hearing, and the deaf pupils. As a consequence of this, another set of questions was drafted that explored participant views on Deaf and hearing culture. As the story of the history of oral education in the school unfolded, in order to add more breadth and colour to the data, some stories and views from the students from the post Second World War era were introduced. A DVD, *Signs of the Times* (ERADE, 2011), produced by the school, exploring the school lives and memories of twenty-eight former pupils between the period of 1945 to the 1990s was used for much of this information. In addition to this I also interviewed, individually and in small groups, some former pupils who were members of the committee of the Exeter Deaf Old Pupils Association.

There was a focus on the interviewer and interviewee co-creating the findings of the inquiry (McNabb, 2002; Krauss, 2005). As a Teacher of the Deaf who had been either a colleague or known to the participants, I was an informed insider on many issues that related to the lives of the teachers as well as deaf education and would not be regarded as an "incompetent interlocutor" (Flick, 2006; 165). As the participants could be regarded as experts in their field, questions needed to be focused not only on open ended questions, but also theory-driven, hypothesis directed questions (Flick, 2006). For example, in the second set of interviews, aimed at exploring rifts in possible cultural differences between the hearing teachers and their deaf students, participants were read the following passage, by Henry Wolcott (1994; 270), who had written of his experiences as a white American teaching Canadian First Nation children, was read to the teachers who were being interviewed:

> *In a setting in which critical differences between a teacher and his pupils are rooted in antagonisms of cultural rather than classroom origins, I believe that the teacher might succeed in coping more effectively with conflict and in capitalizing on his instructional efforts if he were to recognize and to analyse his ascribed role as "enemy" rather than attempts to ignore or deny it. To those educators who insist that a teacher must always present a facade of cheery optimism in the classroom, the notion of the teacher as an enemy may seem unacceptable, overly negative, perhaps even dangerous. One might question,*

however, whether cheery optimism and a determination to accomplish "good" inevitably serve the best interests of culturally different pupils...

Teachers were then asked: Did you ever feel that you were an "enemy" to the students in any way because of culture differences? If so, how? Because the participants were experts in their field, they were more than capable of reflecting on theory driven and confrontational questions. During the second interview, where participants were initially asked to review the statements that they had made in the first interview, they were also asked to reflect on their statements "in the light of competing alternatives" (Flick, 2006; 157). For example, participants were asked if they agreed with the theory that change to the way deaf children were taught was as a direct result of research on poor literacy attainment. This was also part of the validation process, to be challenged on what they had said and to be given the opportunity to reflect on alternative theories.

The semi-structured interview, however, is difficult to replicate so although it may have high validity, "an account is valid or true if it represents accurately those features of the phenomena, that it is intended to describe, explain or theorise" (Hammersley, 1987; 69), it may not have high reliability, the ability to replicate findings. When the interview becomes more unstructured and dynamic, however,

> *One cannot simply expect answers on one occasion to replicate those on another because they emerge from different circumstances of production. Similarly, the validity of answers derives not from their correspondence to meanings held within the respondent, but from their ability to convey situated experiential realities in terms that are locally comprehensible. (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997; 117)*

Semi-structured interviews start with general preformed questions, but then explore respondent responses with the intent of deriving at a greater depth on the topic. The positive side to interviews is their flexibility, deriving highly detailed data in a naturalistic way with high validity and without 'pigeon-holing' (Bryman, 2008). Issues with reliability were reduced by having participants review their statements and having a colleague review the coding (Flick, 2006).

The next tables give more information about the data collection with the participants:

Table 3.4. Data collection with teachers.

Teacher (Pseudonym)	How contact was made	Number of contacts	Dates of employment in school
Peter Taylor	Interview Email	3 4	1950s – 1980s
Trish	Interview	2	1950s – 1990s
Nigel Munn	Interview	2	1950s – 1980s
Faye	Interview Email	2 3	1970s – 2010s
Mark	Interview	2	1970s – 2010s
Alice	Interview	**2**	1970s – 1980s
Sophie	Interview Email	1 3	1970s – 1990s
Marie	Interview	1	1970s – 2000s
Esther	Interview	2	1980s – 1990s
Rae	Interview	2	1970s – 1990s
May	Interview Email	2 3	1980s – 2000s
Joan	Memoirs	n/a	1940s – 1970s
Fran	Conversations	2	1940s – 1970s

Table 3.5. Data collection with ex-students.

Student (Pseudonym)	How contact was made	Number of contacts	Dates of school attendance
Denise	Interview	2	1973 – 1982
Derek	Interview	2	1947 – 1956
Jonathan	Interview	1	1957 – 1964
Colin	Interview	1	1968 – 1979
Sandra	Interview	1	1959 – 1973
Paul	Interview	1	1960 – 1973
Tracey	Interview	1	1958 – 1970
Daffyd	Interview	1	1942 – 1953

As many of the teachers interviewed were in their 70s and 80s, sensitivity was needed in terms of the number of contacts as some of the teachers, or their spouses, were critically ill. Fortunately contact could be made by email if face-to-face contact proved difficult. Only one teacher was not seen face to face for the initial interview, however, and an 'interview' was conducted through email. Email was also used with some participants to review their contributions, to show them how their interview was woven into the broader narrative and to ask for further comments. Before the interview, the participants were given a list of themes that the interview would explore with them (see appendix 2). The first interview was then centred on eleven questions that concentrated on changes in communication methods and literacy with deaf students (see appendix 3).

3.1.7 Analysing Data

The interviews were recorded by written notes, rather than the use of a camera or tape recorder. The initial reason for this was that, being deaf, I would not be able to access the

recordings myself but would have to rely on a hearing person to transcribe. The use of notetaking, however, meant that the interviews were more informal and they also provided an opportunity to revisit and go through the data with the participants to revisit themes and ensure correct interpretations as the interviews went along. In this sense, there was genuine feeling of reflexive analysis and recursion in the participant homes.

There are two forms of data analysis from interviews: descriptive and theoretical. Descriptive analysis involves identifying themes from the data and theoretical analysis involves explaining the patterns in the data (Angrosino, 2007; Burnard et al., 2008). There were three steps taken in the descriptive analysis of the data: the first step was to read and review the transcripts; the second step being to label words, sentences or phrases; the third step was to bring together the coding into themes.

The first step, then, is line by line coding to identify what Strauss and Corbin (1998) refer to as 'phenomena'. For example, the first question put to the participants asked, "What have been the major changes in deaf education?" The participant responses were identified and colour coded, constituting seven phenomena: Oralism was not working for all the children; The introduction of signing was beneficial for some children; The introduction of Cued Speech was a benefit for some children; Inclusive practice impacted on the numbers of deaf children at the school; Linguistic research changed the implementation of oralism as well as the perception of signing; The impact of advanced hearing technologies was positive for oralism; That deaf children lived in a milieu of multiple and competing cultural dimensions. Once the interviews were completed and coded, then a colleague read through the interviews and coding to ensure that there was a general agreement with the phenomena identified. This not only helped with establishing reliability of the coding but also helped with issues of researcher bias because, as Geertz (1973; 9) has rightly pointed out, it is the researcher who sorts "out the structures of signification…and [determines] their social ground and import."

The impact of coding the responses and organising them into phenomena and themes was that there were unexpected cultural dimensions that arose from the data which prompted me to create a further set of questions on these themes (see appendix 4). This was the inductive part of the research, where a new set of questions with a different focus helped create theory from this new data. This new data, for example, brought to light more oppositional behaviours and resistance to the oral method which has been theorised more fully in Chapter 8.

Initially, the coding was focused on the responses of the participants to the questions that they were asked around institutional change and did not include the fabulous wealth of history that they introduced as well as the instances of oppositional behaviours. Grounded theory, however, emphasises the need to interact with the research setting, the data, colleagues and myself (Charmaz, 2008). Thus, the growing importance of the context in which the participants found themselves, that is the domination of oralism, my flexibility in allowing multiple realities to be expressed and my own experience of resistance in deaf education helped me identify, from the data, elements of their accounts which showed the influence of the bias towards the oral method as well as oppositional behaviours that crucially becoming the dominant focus of the research. This prompted more discussions with the individuals who had revealed these oppositional behaviours to get more information about the pedagogies that they had employed in the school. From these interviews, data coding tried to answer three questions that get to the heart of agency: 1. How do social structures shape practice? 2. How does the practice shape social structures? 3. What motivated action? (Downey, 2005; Ortner, 1984). The answers to these questions helped identify how and why the institute changed in 1979, how the participants were constrained by social structures and what the motivating forces were which allowed the participants to think more deeply about their practice and either continue with the oral method or make some changes.

The data that did not make it into the thesis tended to be information about the positioning of the particular participant, information that had already been given by others, or personal whimsies and reflections, usually about students and how they had kept in touch etc.

Later in the analysis of data I also used Cole's (1984) categories for identifying whether teachers used their discursive consciousness or not in our discussions (see appendix 5). Cole asked a series of questions which could be used to identify if the participants were analytical in the interview rather than just being descriptive and whether the answers were extended and introduced abstract concepts and scepticism. The analysis of the transcripts, then, reflected these categories and helped make judgements about whether the answers from the participants were based on a practical consciousness or a discursive consciousness.

In the interviews with the teacher participants, it was apparent that some of them did not engage in anything other than a purely descriptive view of events and did not try to explain why events had happened only that they did. Some did dip into discursive functions but at a shallow level and a few did show evidence of a discursive consciousness but even then, some were analytical and gave explanations but did not discuss ambiguity and scepticism or introduce abstract concepts. Analysing transcripts for definitive evidence of discursive consciousness is, therefore, difficult because despite categories it is still subjective. For example, some participants mentioned Deaf culture as if it was something that they knew of rather than something they knew about. I made a decision to discount the introduction of an abstract concept, then, if they just mentioned it rather than discussed and explained its meaning.

The organisation of this thesis has, in part, been organised around some of the important themes raised by the participants and partly to do with advice from a document. For example, Chapter 5 has themes to do with professionalism, normalisation, integration and technology which were themes raised by McLoughlin (1987) in her book on the education of the deaf. However, the themes of oralism not working for some students, issues with culture, the ideology of common sense and ultimately a discussion on agency, opposition and resistance were all themes raised by the participants.

In the analysis, I have chosen to focus on Gidden's (1984) concept of the dialectic of control as the incongruencies in teacher lives was an important element in teacher agency. From the interviews with participants, three elements surfaced that contributed to teachers thinking about their roles as teachers and about how they would conduct themselves in the school: that oralism did not work with all deaf students when staff were led to believe that it would; the contradictions that arose in using a medical or cultural lens to view deafness; the contradictions exposed by the concepts of normalisation and diversity. As a result of these contradictions in the teachers' daily lives, three showed a degree of resistance which I explore in a cross-case analysis. I then link agency with types of consciousness, again using Giddens' (1984) concepts of practical and discursive consciousness to highlight he relationship between agency and action. I then discuss the oppositional and resistant behaviours in more detail to show what it looked like and how it was expressed.

In Chapter 8 I present a model based on Hall's (1973) model of Encoding/Decoding to explain the data summarising conformity and oppositional behaviours linked with consciousness. I also discuss how this data should be used with modern teachers involved in bilingual education.

3.2 Ethical Considerations

At a general level, ethics in research is concerned with treating people with respect, not harming them in any way and informing them about the processes that they are involved with during the research and what is being done to their data (Oliver, 2003), protecting privacy (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012) while not compromising the validity of the research (Kimmel, 1998).

Not harming the participants involves a number of issues, the first of which is voluntary informed consent (BERA, 2011; Wiles et al., 2007). Before the research began, participants were given a consent form (see appendix 1) which outlined the focus of the research and requested voluntary consent. Throughout the interview process, participants were also given themes so that they would be aware of the types of questions they would

be asked. As all but one of the teachers I interviewed had been, at one time, colleagues of mine, I tried to ensure that friendship patterns did not interfere with their right to decide not to participate. No pressure was put on them to participate.

Another issue in not harming the participants is that of anonymity and confidentiality, central to practice (Wiles et al., 2007) but terms which are often conflated (Wiles et al., 2006; Wiles, 2013). Firstly, on the issues of anonymity, Bryman (2008; 119) has said,

> *In quantitative research, it is relatively easy to make records anonymous and to report findings in a way that does not allow individuals to be identified. However, this is often less easy with qualitative research, where particular care has to be taken with regard to the possible identification of persons and places.*

Walford (2005; 83) has said, "it is usually impossible to ensure anonymity and that it is often undesirable to try to do so." Despite this, however, it is regarded good practice to try. This involves not only the use of pseudonyms but also, as Wiles et al. (2006) have suggested, that information that may identify the participants should not be revealed. They argue that this is not always easy because it may mean changing the identities and characteristics of individuals, which in turn can impact on the integrity of the data.

All ex-pupils have been given anonymity though the use of a pseudonym even if they had given permission for the use of their name (e.g. past pupils who appeared in the DVD "Signs of the Times"). The participant teachers, also, were assigned an alias although after consideration, the school was named in the study for a number of reasons: Firstly, anonymised research "…might suggest that a primary goal of case study is generalisation rather than the portrayal of a unique case" (Cohen et al., 2007; 261, 262). Secondly, it has been suggested that "anonymising reports might render them anodyne" (Cohen et al., 2007; 262) because they become decontextualised and dislocated from reality (Nespor, 2000). Thirdly, I have included historical documents to substantiate what was being said by the participants. The school was affected by national and international discourses and global flows of culture and ethics and the use of historical documents helped corroborate

this. The use of historical documents also resulted in uncovering political dimensions in the 'official' histories of the institution, as well as the broader histories of deaf education, that required the juxtaposition of another voice. This led to an historical analysis for which anonymity was difficult to provide as both the school, as well as some key members of staff, were mentioned in documents that were within the public domain. As a result, some staff had historical events attributed to them by name but all these individuals were no longer living. Being dead, however, does not reduce ethical considerations as their good name should still be respected. In writing history, however, "the promise of truth is ethically primary" (Megill, 2004; 49). Reviewing one headmaster's history of the school, for example, led me to discover that some events, such as the use of sign language both before his time as a Head teacher and even during his time as a Head teacher, was not given a voice. Some truths in his history had been hidden to promote, in my opinion, the political reflections and context of his day. This is not an exercise in 'naming and shaming' but one where I can use and document references such as the unpublished school histories (Woodbridge (1926) and Olding (1976)) and Headmaster reports. If the school was given anonymity, these documents could not be used as their place in the bibliography would reveal the location. Here, I am guided by Nespor (2000; 556) who has argued that:

> *…naming places and tracing their constitutive processes allows researchers to emphasise connections among people, places, and events and to highlight the systems of relations and processes of articulation that produce boundaries and entities.*

Nespor (2000) suggests that the practice of giving anonymity to places be turned on its head and instead of giving anonymity automatically, researchers could consider not doing so unless there are compelling reasons otherwise. I do not think that naming the school necessarily undermines or harms the privacy of individuals given the fragility of anonymising exercises anyway. Heley (2012), for example, gives an account of how a newspaper was able to uncover the identity of the location of his research, despite the pseudonym for the place but that it was unable to identify any of the individuals in the study, who were also protected by pseudonyms. He argued that the discovery of the place did not lead to an invasion of privacy in the participants, "no one was overly fazed by the

newspaper article or the loss of anonymity it had brought with it" (Heley, 2012; 12). Plows et al. (2012; 18) argue "practically, it is not ever possible really to anonymise a place; someone, somewhere, will always be able to make an educated guess as to where the research site is."

This does not mean that researchers, who feel that this is in the best interests of the participants, should not attempt to but they cannot promise anonymity even though they could promise to use a pseudonym. The use of a pseudonym may prevent the identification of an individual's specific contribution but it would not prevent an outsider from identifying the possible pool of participants.

The historical references were, in my view, non-contentious references to the school, although some of these events were not recorded in the previous official histories of the school. The use of teacher perspectives on the changes that happened to the school from 1979 onwards, however, do record conversations that are potentially sensitive because they reflect on differences between hearing teachers' views on Deaf culture and mainstream culture. In some instances, I have used the term, "a member of staff reported…" as a way of giving additional anonymity, especially if the participant was commenting on the attitudes of other members of staff even though aliases were already assigned to all the participants.

The issue of confidentiality was tackled, initially, with ethical clearance from the University of Exeter (see Appendix 6) and also in the consent form as it is primarily about the storage of data. The transcripts of the data were from handwritten notes made from the interviews as well as any 'interviews' completed by email. It was agreed in the consent form, signed by the participants (see Appendix 1), that data would only be used for the research and would not be shared with third parties but could be held indefinitely in an anonymous form.

Potential emotional distress on the part of the participant is often an issue "as the methods of interpretive research are more intimate and open-ended than scientific research" (Scotland, 2012; 12). Emotional distress can be justified if the benefits of the research outweigh the risks (Long, 2007a). Risks and benefits cannot be scientifically measured, however, and rely on the subjective judgement of the researcher (Long, 2007b). Teachers may have felt some stress or anxiety talking about cultural issues as the world of human rights and cultural understandings have changed from those that existed in their teaching careers. It may be an emotional experience at the end of one's career to look back and think that the methods that were used in the teaching process were not appropriate and may have damaged the students' educational chances. Research on sensitive topics, however, often show how resilient participants are and that "adverse reactions are rare" (Draucker et al., 2009). If present staff can learn from the histories of their predecessors, then the current education of deaf children may be furthered because of these insights. In this way, the research is also looking to show some loyalty to a vulnerable population (Potter, 1972), deaf children, and balances the risk of possible emotional distress to the participants with positive outcomes for current deaf children in bilingual settings.

As previously discussed, because the participants were deemed to be experts in their field, they were asked a series of challenging questions, such as, "Some modern researchers have described oralism as an oppressive practice. When you were in school, do you think there was any awareness that oralism oppressed the cultural rights of deaf children?" Asking whether they were part of an oppressive oralist practice may seem unnecessarily blunt, and even controversial, but the question confronts issues of culture and the relationship of hearing teachers and Deaf culture. In order to protect the teachers from unnecessary emotional distress, however, four safeguards were implemented. First of all, the participants were informed of their right to withdraw from the research at any time. Secondly, the participants were given a list of themes to help them prepare for the interview. This allowed them to make an informed decision about whether they were happy to participate or not before the interview took place. Thirdly, the decision was made to offer teachers anonymity in the chapter that discussed these sensitive issues through the use of a pseudonym. Informed consent is a priority here, as Smith (2003) has indicated, "When

done properly, the consent process ensures that individuals are voluntarily participating in the research with full knowledge of relevant risks and benefits."

Fourthly, after transcribing the interview, I revisited the participants so that they could check for accuracy their contributions and to give them a further opportunity to make comments. Only two participants were not able to review the initial interviews because they only granted me one interview. These processes ensured three things: firstly, that the participants felt safeguarded and felt that they had a voice and did not feel that I was putting words in their mouths. Secondly, they were happy that their words had not been taken out of context or misinterpreted; participants can feel that they have limited control and are vulnerable to researchers imposing their own subjective interpretations upon them (Scotland, 2012). Thirdly, that shared meanings emerged from the interactions between the participant and researcher, a central theme in hermeneutics (Klein & Myers, 1999). This opportunity to create shared meanings allowed me to explore, for example, oppositional behaviours and resistance, a theme that did not exist, initially. This also highlights the importance of why "…researchers need to consider ethical issues throughout the entirety of their research" (Wiles, 2013; 3). The focus of this research had seen a shift from the original theme in the consent form (see Appendix 1), exploring the reasons for change from pure oralism, to include another focus on cultural issues that helped develop my understanding of teacher oppositional behaviours.

Research should reflect the needs and benefits of marginalised groups by presenting their worldviews and beliefs, even if it is in opposition to both researchers and those of the dominant society. This requires researchers to be cross-culturally aware (Marshall & Batten, 2004) and to express cultural competence in research by acknowledging people in their cultural context (Gil & Bob, 1999). Despite the fact that the focus of the research has been on the teacher's view, the student view has also been sought, in some situations, through either interview or through the use of a DVD, "Signs of the Times" which was produced by the school. One reason for this is that they represent the marginalised group central to the research, and "creating a partnership with research participants as both individuals and as a group may reduce the risk of unethical or unintentionally insensitive

action or treatment" (Marshall & Batten, 2004; 3). Some authors have likened the power relationship between hearing culture and Deaf culture as one of colonialism (Lane, 1992; Branson and Miller, 2002; Ladd, 2003, 2008; Lewis, 2007; Stone, 1996) so the involvement of this marginalised group is also a way to try and redress this imbalance through the inclusion of their world view, albeit a minor one. Nevertheless, in all research, it is "to values, not to factions" that researchers should give their commitment (Troyna & Carrington, 1989; 190). In this research, the focus has been on the educational environment in which the students have been taught. The focus is not on, per se, a marginalised group or even the pre-eminence of colonial type power in the institution but on "social justice, equality and participatory democracy" (Troyna & Carrington, 1989; 190). In this sense, ethics is interwoven throughout the research trying to find balance between the views and rights of different perspectives; hearing teachers, deaf students, institutional leadership and my own views as the researcher.

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The next chapter addresses the beginnings of deaf education and introduces the major structures that allowed for the domination of oral education from 1880 onwards.

Chapter 4 A History of the Education of the Deaf: Early Years to 1944

In order to understand the growth of the oral methods of teaching deaf students, and how it supplanted the combined use of oral and manual methods in the late 1880s and early 1890s, a brief history will help place these considerations into perspective. This history will delineate the structural properties that led to the domination of the oral methods. Structures are the patterns of social relationships that exist in society, the rules that are internalised by agents, and resources (Turner, 1986). These structural properties, then, exist "only in its instantiations in such practices and memory traces orientating the conduct of knowledgeable human agents" (Giddens, 1984; 17).

This history is part of my thesis not only because it forms the foundations of how the bias for the oralist philosophy and the oral method was created but because I use primary sources to try and verify the reflections of deaf education in some of the general histories that I have used. I am able, on occasion, to put forward a different perspective which has the potential for different interpretations.

4.1 The Beginnings of Deaf Education in Britain and Europe

Hebraic law and Greek philosophy were the twin paths by which deaf people entered the stage in human history, the former to afford them some legal protection and the latter to condemn them to two thousand years of misunderstanding (McLoughlin, 1987; 1).

Whereas the Hebrews displayed anciently an enlightened attitude towards the deaf "Thou shalt not curse the deaf ..." (Leviticus XIX. 14), the Greeks were of the opinion that speech was of divine origin and that deaf people should be denied education on the grounds that the decree of the Gods should not be tampered with. The deaf were thus denied any meaningful place in Greek society and children born deaf "were pitilessly destroyed" (Roe,

1917; ix). A similar attitude affected the interpretation of scripture in early Christian times and led to the deaf being denied access to religion throughout Europe. For example:

> St. Paul's dictum in the Epistle to the Romans (X. 17) "faith is obtained through hearing" was quoted time and again in support of this dogma and eventually it was taken to mean that the deaf were deprived of salvation (Markides, 1985; 145).

Despite this, some instances in history have shown that deaf people could be educated and taught to speak. The Venerable Bede (674 - 735) relates the story of St. John of Beverley who taught a deaf mute to speak by first getting him to repeat letters and syllables, and then words and sentences (Eichholz, 1925).[4] These events were regarded as being miracles, however, rather than the benefit of effective teaching (Markides, 1985).

The Roman body of law of Justinian (sixth century), which was adopted by the neo-Latin nations, was absolute in its denial of civil rights to the congenitally deaf. Independently, feudal laws also "made similar prohibitions, the deaf not being permitted the enjoyment of fiefs and of feudal privileges" (Farrar, 1923; 3). There may be a direct link between the legal status of the deaf in these countries and the rise of schools for the deaf. For example, the first teacher of the deaf in the modern era is regarded to have been Pedro Ponce de Léon (1510 - 1584)[5].

The wealth and power of Spain, at this time, lay in the hands of a few noble families. Possibly as a result of frequent intermarriage between these families, the occasional congenitally deaf son was born. Heirs apparent to vast estates and wealth, such children were disinherited by laws which considered the deaf and dumb to be legally incapable, and thus ineligible to own property or make wills. Encouragement for teaching the deaf to speak, then, would likely have come from the ruling class, whose deaf children stood to

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[4]Jackson (1990; vi) claims that the boy taught by St. John of Beverley "…was never deaf at all; what he had was, in present day terminology, a speech impediment". Bede, apparently, did not use the word 'surdus' in describing the boy, only 'mutus', and was therefore not deaf, simply mute.

[5] Many texts record Pedro Ponce de Léon's lifespan as (1520 - 1584) although Löwe (1990) argues that 1510 is his correct date of birth.

benefit both legally and financially if they could be taught to speak. As a result, many male children from Spain's ruling class were placed in the care of monasteries (Lang, 2003).

Pedro Ponce was a Benedictine monk who came in contact with some of these boys in the monastery at San Salvador, where he resided. He "decided to teach them the 'comforts of religious belief' and in doing so he found a way of communicating with them" (Markides, 1985; 146). It appears that with his first charge he initially tried written communication, but then progressed to oral communication, eventually getting him to produce speech. Having shown that this deaf boy could be taught to speak and act in an educated manner "...great ingenuity had to be exercised to explain away the old law, by which he was excluded from the rights of primogeniture to which he was otherwise entitled" (Farrar, 1923; 3,4).

Ponce is also credited as the most likely originator of the one-handed manual alphabet, "the ancestor of most of the manual alphabets in use today" (Woll, 1987; 26).[6] The acknowledged inventor of speech training for the deaf was also a Spaniard, Manuel Ramírez de Carrión (1579 - 1652)[7]. He taught speech through the phonetic method, presenting individual letters of the alphabet in the way that they should be spoken. By reducing individual letters to their sound value, Ramírez claimed that he could teach intelligent people to read and write in two weeks, and using the same methods, could teach deaf people to speak (Markides, 1985).

Even during these early years of deaf education, "a strong view has been held that reading and writing can substitute for the diminished capacity to hear and speak." (Power & Leigh, 2000; 3) Girolamo Cardano (1501 – 1576) was ascribed as saying that "...we can accomplish that a mute hear by reading and speak by writing" (cited in Power & Leigh, 2000; 3).

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[6]The two-handed manual alphabet, which is in use in Britain today, probably existed in some places in mainland Europe until the one-handed alphabet superseded it through the establishment of education for the deaf (Jackson, 1990; 3).
[7] Some authors record his lifespan as (1584 - 1650) e.g. Read (1977)

Another important figure, who probably recorded the work of Ponce, Ramírez and others, (although he claimed the work to be solely his own (Markides, 1985)) was Juan Pablo Martin Bonet (1579 - 1633)[8]. He was the first writer to publish a method for educating the deaf. They would primarily be taught to read, write, and use the one-handed manual alphabet before progressing to learning speech. Speech consisted of learning to make the vowel sounds, often copying a crude model of a tongue, and then progressing to consonants and monosyllabic words.

Language development, as well as education generally, was considered to be very structured, and great emphasis was placed upon the written word. Pedro Ponce, Ramírez and Bonet introduced writing before attempting speech, although Pedro Ponce and Bonet also relied on the introduction of the manual alphabet. Rée commented that these pioneers had started the linguistic education of their deaf charges "exactly where their hearing brothers and sisters would have finished: with reading and writing, that is to say, not meaning and sound" (Rée, 1999; 112). The author further commented that often these deaf children never fully comprehended what they were able to read and write, and further, that through the teaching of speech, the deaf were "being forced to act a part in a ridiculous masquerade, bringing possible amusement to others, but no benefit whatever to themselves" (Rée, 1999; 113).

The influence of the Spanish pioneers spread throughout Europe and, towards the latter part of the eighteenth century, there were developments in France that would eventually influence the provision of education in Britain. Charles Michel, Abbé de l'Epée, fighting against the notion held by fellow priests that teaching the deaf to speak was contrary to God's will, was developing his own teaching methods (Markides, 1985). He had first been introduced to two deaf sisters in 1760 and was able to teach them, first to read, write and finger spell familiar objects but realised that he would have to implement the use of sign

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[8] Many texts record Juan Pablo Martin Bonet's lifespan as (1570 - 1629). Löwe (1990), however, argues that the date given (1579 – 1633) is correct.

language if the girls were to be able to grasp the concepts of non-concrete things such as ideas and spirituality (Rée, 1999). In 1760 he had opened the first Institution of the deaf in Paris (Grant, 1990). Previous to this time, education for the deaf had been limited to the male offspring of the rich. Now with the first public school open, the Abbé de l'Epée was soon inundated with deaf children from all sections of society, girls and boys, but particularly deaf children of poor parents (Van Cleve and Crouch, 1989). In order to cope with such large numbers, he decided that manual methods would be more appropriate (McLoughlin, 1990). Little or no effort was made to teach speech, and education was silent. His manual system was very structured and "he put very little emphasis on original composition and conversation, apparently believing it more within the deaf student's capabilities to memorise sentences for the student's needs and wants" (Quigley & Paul, 1984; 14). He used signs from within the deaf community, but also added his own signs and devices generated to function for inflections, tenses, articles, and other grammatical parts of French. His system for teaching the deaf became known as 'the French Method' (Quigley & Paul, 1984).

The Abbé de l'Epée may have been prompted, initially, to introduce manual methods for teaching out of necessity because of sheer weight of numbers, but academic support for his methods was not long in coming. In fact, previous to the opening of the Institute in Paris, the French philosopher, Condillac, had suggested that human communication had in fact begun with signs and had later been replaced with articulate sound (Pennisi, 1995). Manual signing was, therefore, regarded by many eighteenth and nineteenth century French academics, in quite a positive light:

> *...manual signs of deaf-mutes give us more exact and precise ideas than those usually acquired with the aid of hearing (Condillac, 1776).*

> *...spoken languages cannot represent ideas other than through the mediation of sounds. The language of signs represents them directly. Our languages are thus, so as to speak, further from objects than is the language of signs (Desloges, 1779)*

> *...manual signs...are produced by and produce ideas and thoughts as clear as those of chemical nomenclature...I thus believe that if manual language has any*

kind of superiority, this can be seen above all in its expounding of the acts of the understanding (Bébian, 1817) (all quotes from Pennisi, 1995; 93,94).

A student of de l'Epée, the Abbé Sicard, continued his work, and not only continued working with the deaf, but opened a school of his own. Also, in 1818, he published his life's work on sign language, *Théorie des Signes*, which was a grammar and dictionary of sign language.

At a similar time to the Abbé de l'Epée, Samuel Heinicke (1720 – 1790) was proving successful with his own method of teaching the deaf, based solely on the oral method. His method involved connecting vowel sounds with taste, and he proposed that he could teach speech through different flavours on the tongue. Heinicke was invited to open the first school for the deaf in Germany, which he did in Saxony in 1778. His oral teaching system, albeit without the benefits of taste, became known as the German Method. Heinicke was influenced by Johann Konrad Amman (1669 - 1729) who published a book about his methods in 1692, *Surdus Loquens* (The Speaking Deaf) (Farrar, 1923). Amman did not consider the lack of hearing to be insurmountable to the task of speaking. Practice was considered more important for articulation of sounds, not the passive role of hearing. "Anyone who has learned to speak, whether deaf or endowed with hearing, thus [has] need of prolonged practice so that his organs can acquire the necessary aptitude and flexibility" (in Pennisi, 1995; 109).

Amman used a structural approach in the teaching of speech, and education in general, and placed an important emphasis on writing. In speech training, he would first encourage the production of sound, followed by the production and constant repetition of vowels and then consonants. These sounds would be related to the written form, and later whole words would be attempted from reading. Amman regarded speech as bestowing a certain superior quality upon humanity: "It is chiefly in the voice that the spirit of life which animates us dwells, and through the voice that it finds outer expression; the voice is the interpreter of the heart, the sign of passions and concupiscence" (Pennisi, 1995; 95). An

absence of speech was therefore considered to be less than human as speech was of Divine origin, "which led him to the exaggerated view that it is the only means of expression which could be regarded as language" (Farrar, 1923; 30).

Heinicke's method of teaching the deaf evolved with time, and he later differed from Amman's instructional methods in that he believed that spoken language could be taught before writing. Heinicke believed that a deaf child could learn language in the same way as a hearing child (Ewing and Ewing, 1954). The oral methods, in Germany, were also extended by Moritz Hill (1805 – 1874). He also believed that deaf children could acquire language in much the same way as hearing children, through the use of speech which became known as the 'natural method' (French St. George & Stoker, 1988).

With the Abbé de l'Epée and Heinicke, the disagreement began in earnest "between the supporters of artificial semiotics (re-education based on manual signs) and supporters of natural semiotics (pedagogical techniques for rehabilitating subjects to the spoken word)" (Pennisi, 1995; 93). Despite the differences in approach, however, both the 'French' and 'German' methods of educating the deaf were still very much centred on assimilation into the dominant hearing culture and language. The German method advocated the use of an oral only approach and the acquisition of speech. The French method, though using sign language based upon signs taken from the deaf community, nevertheless created its own version of sign language so that the syntax followed that of the spoken language. As Prilleltensky and Fox (1997) have suggested, the underlying values and institutions of societies often reinforce misguided efforts to obtain human fulfilment while maintaining inequality and oppression. The oppression in this instance was that of linguistic colonialism (Ladd, 2003).

4.2 Education of the Deaf in Britain - Seventeenth Century to 1880

John Bulwer (1606 – 1656) was the first Briton to write extensively on the subject of deafness. In 1648 he published the book *Philocophus, or the Deafe and Dumbe Man's Friend*, in which he dealt with the principles of teaching speech and language to the deaf,

and "contrary to the teachings of the Spanish pioneers, made lip-reading ... the sine qua non of his teaching system" (Markides, 1985; 148). He also suggested the idea of an institution purely for the education of the deaf. His ideas, however, did not bear fruition, and the impetus of deaf education was left to John Wallis (1616-1703). In 1653 he published his book *Grammatica Lingua Anglicanae*, in which he wrote a chapter on speech, and published copious amounts on the subject of educating the deaf. In these later writings, he concluded that "it was very possible to teach a deaf person to speak, by directing him, so as to apply the organs of speech, as the sound of each letter required" (Markides, 1985; 149). John Wallis became known as the father of deaf education in Britain, although it has been suggested that the true recipient of this title should be George Dalgarno (c 1626-1687) (Densham, 1995), whose ideas may have been plagiarised by Wallis (Markides, 1985). He wrote *The Art of Signs, a Universal Alphabet and Philosophical language* (1661) and *Didascalocophus or Deaf and Dumb Man's Tutor* (1680). Dalgarno was also the first British writer to record the manual alphabet (Eichholz, 1925). He believed that the deaf could be taught through writing and finger-spelling but could not learn to speak or lip-read. He also believed that the deaf, though denied speech and language, possessed "not a defective but a trapped and frustrated intelligence" (Wright, 1990; 135).

Wallis and Dalgarno both used manual signing and writing for communication purposes but their language approaches were very different. Wallis used a structural approach through formal grammatical instruction. He developed vocabulary by building up word lists, and then worked them into sentences. His vocabulary, however, was developed initially from signs, gestures and pantomime. He tried to establish a manual language base in the deaf child's mind before making connections between these signs and the written word. Dalgarno, however, believed that language should be learned naturally. As with a hearing child, this input would be provided by the mother, the difference being that the deaf child's mother would be constantly using finger-spelling throughout her day in place of speech. In this way the child would first develop a receptive language based on practical use and direct experience. The more structural approaches, however, dominated the teaching of language until the 1970s (Quigley and Paul, 1984).

The first school for the deaf in Britain was opened in Edinburgh by Thomas Braidwood (1715 - 1806) in 1760, at the same time as de l'Epée was opening his public school in Paris (Löwe, 1990). Although secretive about his teaching methods, Braidwood stimulated public interest and curiosity, both inside and outside the world of deaf education, and thus paved the way for the founding of similar institutions throughout Britain. Dr Samuel Johnson was one of the intelligentsia to visit Braidwood's school, and wrote: "There is one subject of philosophical curiosity to be found in Edinburgh, which no city has to shew; a college of the deaf and dumb ... It was pleasing to see one of the most desperate of human calamities capable of so much help ..." (Grant, 1990; 2). Braidwood's method of education and the instruction for speech was called the combined approach. This involved the use of an oral approach, combined with finger spelling, and therefore brought together elements of both the French and German methods of teaching the deaf. His secrecy, however, alienated people in the world of deaf education. Thomas Gallaudet came to Britain from America with the intention of studying the oral method, but Braidwood refused to divulge his methods (Lane, 1984a). As a consequence, Gallaudet went to France to learn the French manual method, which was then introduced to schools in America and remained the dominant force in education there for the next century (Markides, 1985).

In 1783 Braidwood moved his school to East London. Fees were payable, so only those children from families who could afford the expense were enrolled. The opening of the Bermondsey school in 1792, however, began an era when children would be admitted without fees. The first headmaster, Joseph Watson, was a nephew of Braidwood and had been personally inducted into his uncle's methods of teaching the deaf. Watson, himself, did not give the benefit of his teaching to the school's charity intake. He taught private fee-paying pupils in his own home in order to augment his salary from the school (McLoughlin, 1987). Following the death of Braidwood, Watson published a book entitled *The Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb: or a Theoretical and Practical View of the Means by which They are Taught to Speak and Understand Language (*1809). This book helped to dispel the secrecy that had hitherto surrounded Braidwood and his method of educating the deaf (Grant, 1990). This did not mean, however, that there would be a new openness from

schools and their methods of teaching. One of the reasons for the education of the deaf to be shrouded in mystery, is that no one really knew the best way, if there was one, to teach deaf children:

> *The education of children with impaired hearing has been a subject of controversy in this country ever since the first school for the deaf in England was opened in London in 1792. The controversy was related to the methods of teaching, that is, whether a manual or an oral approach was the more suitable vehicle of instruction (DES, 1967; 1)*

Other charitable institutions and asylums, similar to Watson's, began to be established throughout the country. The first thirty years of the nineteenth century represented the main period for the establishment of residential schools. These were charity schools which depended on public begging for funds; "There was the famous 'annual display' where the children were paraded and taught for the benefit of a somewhat bored audience, with the hope that the collection at the end of the performance would justify the effort made" (Denmark, 1945; 137).[9]

These schools did not get state support but, as Branson and Miller (2002; 41) have suggested, "a strong protestant ethic stressed the importance of charitable works through the establishment and private support of charitable institutions that were orientated toward moral uplift." An example of this moral management can be found in thirteenth report of the Yorkshire Institute for the Deaf and Dumb to their subscribers:

> *They rejoice that you have been thus enabled to participate in the happiness diffused amongst so many friends of pupils educated in it. They humbly trust that the mental and moral improvement of the children – their becoming thus fit to maintain themselves in their rank in society – but, especially, the successful opening of their minds to the truths of revealed religion – bespeak the blessings of God, influencing the means used for the amelioration of this afflicted class of our fellow creatures. (Fenton, 1842; 3, 4)*

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[9]These displays were stopped in the West of England institution in the 1840s (McLoughlin, 1987).

These same principles were echoed in the First Report of the West of England Institution (1826) in Exeter,

…the Deaf Mute is either a ferocious and mischievous, or else a sullen, stupid, and useless being.

Perhaps it is those only who have had the opportunity of observing the instructed Deaf and Dumb who are able to reverse the picture. They cannot fail to have remarked, that as information, and especially religious instruction was imparted, countenances which previously were sullen, vacant, or stupid, gradually beamed with intelligence, hope and benevolence… those who have hitherto been too often regarded as beyond the reach of relief, and almost of hope, have been, through similar Institutions already established, elevated to the rank of social and intelligent beings, have had opened to their ardent and inquisitive minds the sources of intellectual and moral improvement… (West of England Institution, 1826; 10, 11)

The teaching methods in these schools remained rather esoteric, and the exponents of such practices described them as an "art and a mystery" (Story, 1925; 41). Despite the huge secrecy about methods, it is known that teaching became almost exclusively manual as the nineteenth century progressed, and that the teaching of speech "declined very rapidly and eventually disappeared almost completely" (Markides, 1985; 152). It has been remarked that even "speaking children, of lost hearing history, were often reduced to dumbness" (Story, 1925; 41). As de l'Epée had found a hundred years earlier, many schools found that the large numbers of pupils were better taught using finger-spelling and signing. One of the chief exponents of the manual system was Louis du Puget, born in Switzerland, and an ardent supporter of the methods of de L'Epée. He took up the headship of the school in Birmingham in 1825, and in some part due to him the manual method of teaching the deaf was to remain in force in Britain until the 1880s (Markides, 1983).

The level of educational achievement was noted to be very good, perhaps better than that achieved a hundred years later under the auspices of the oral method (Denmark, 1945). The winds of change began to blow in 1859 when a young Dutchman, Gerrit van Asch, was brought to England to teach privately a Jewish family in Manchester. He had been

trained in the German method, and after his initial success in Manchester, moved to London in 1865and opened a school there, later publishing an article urging the revival of the teaching of speech (McLoughlin, 1987).

The Baroness Mayer de Rothschild had founded a school for deaf Jewish children in Whitechapel, London (1863). The school's education system utilised the French method, mainly because it was the current way for teaching the deaf. In 1868, however, another Dutchman, William van Praagh, was hired to teach in the school using the German method. Acker (1874) has argued that van Praagh was essentially the first teacher to publicly promulgate the German method in Britain. The successes he achieved in getting the deaf to speak prompted the Baroness to make attempts at solidifying oralist methods in this country.

In 1870, the Education Act compelled school attendance up to the age of thirteen and set up School Boards, but it studiously ignored provision for deaf children. As Woodall (1882; 5), chairman of the 1881 Conference of Head Masters of Institutions as well as serving as an MP, commented, that "while the State practically subsidises the education of all classes of the community, to whom education is a very great advantage and benefit, it practically leaves outside its system those to whom education is an actual necessity."

He further went on to lament, "I despair of inducing Parliament at present to make those provisions compulsory which are now permissive" (Woodall, 1882; 6). One reason for this was because they were reluctant to take on the responsibility for a portion of education for which they were not experts. Another would have been because educational establishments had already been set up as charitable institutions. Clearly this was a cheaper option for the government than to have to fund these schools themselves. As Woodall (1882) indicated, however, charity could never ensure all deaf children received an education in the same way as the local authorities. Charity was, inevitably, varied and unequal. As a consequence of being ignored by central government these Institutions for

the deaf, for most of the nineteenth century, led a largely isolated and independent existence.

Change began in 1872, when the Baroness Mayer de Rothschild founded the Association for the Oral Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, followed six years later by the foundation of the Society for Training Teachers of the Deaf and for the diffusion of the German System (Farrar, 1923). As their names suggest, both organisations were committed to the oral system of deaf education. Oralism was about to become the dominant force in Britain that culminated with the resolutions that would be adopted from the International Congress on the Education of the Deaf in Milan in1880.

The Devon and Cornwall Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb was started in 1826[10] from the encouragement of a Mrs Tuckfield and Miss Fursdon (Woodbridge, 1926). They had had their attention drawn to the plight of deaf children when they became interested in the educational potential of a local farm labourer's deaf child. They recognised that nothing officially could be done, and that only a charitable foundation could help him. With this in mind they pressed for the establishment of an institution for the education of deaf children in Exeter and collected donations and subscriptions for this cause. Through their persistence a property was secured and five children were admitted to the school.

The first headmaster was Henry Bingham but little is known of him and his educational techniques, although we do know that they were an "admirable system" from which the children derived "the greatest benefit" (Olding, 1976; 2). Addison (1890a; 10) asserted that Bingham combined "the two systems of teaching, (articulation and finger spelling)." Bingham's signature remains on the opening page of Ladebat's (1815) book, *A collection*

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[10]Dodds, the seventh Headmaster (1900 – 1923), added a hand written preface to the First Report (West of England Institution, 1826) in which he wrote: The first meeting for the purpose of establishing an Institution was held 6th April 1826. Soon after that date a house was taken in the Alphington Rd., but previous to that Mrs. Hippesley Tuckfield had visit (sic) the Paris Deaf & Dumb Inst. & on her return hunted up two mutes, who were taken to Fursdon & in a cottage there, endeavours were made to educate them by a Miss Fursdon. This was the real beginning.

of the most remarkable definitions and answers of Massieu and Clerc, Deaf and Dumb, in the Exeter school library. Massieu was a deaf teacher, in the same school as the Abbé Sicard and one of their pupils was Clerc. Sicard spent time in prison as a sympathiser of the deposed King Louis XVI and when Napoleon returned in 1815, he felt threatened (Nomeland & Nomeland, 2012) and the three of them went to London and gave a series of lectures and demonstrated their methods of teaching (Ladebat, 1815). During one interview they were asked, "Do the Deaf and Dumb think themselves unhappy?" to which Clerc responded,

> *He who never had any thing (sic), has never lost any thing; and he who never lost any thing has nothing to regret. Consequently the deaf and dumb, who never heard or spoke, have never lost either hearing or speech, therefore cannot lament either the one or the other. And he who has nothing to lament cannot be unhappy, consequently the deaf and dumb are not unhappy. Besides it is a great consolation for them to be able to replace hearing by writing, and speech by signs. (Ladebat, 1815; 93)*

This response, and others in the book, show that for Massieu and Clerc, deafness was only a loss if you had been born hearing and that to be a member of a signing community afforded a comfortable life worth living. Ladebat, (1815; 171) recounted that during the visit to London, Massieu and Clerc met with a hundred and fifty deaf pupils at the London Asylum and it was not long before Clerc was conversing with the pupils in sign language "as a traveller of sensibility would be, on meeting all on [sic] a sudden, in distant regions, a colony of his countrymen." This event shocked Sicard because he thought that the signs that Massieu and Clerc were using had been invented by de l'Epée. It was also to his surprise that he discovered that these two Frenchmen were having conversations with the English pupils "...as if they were natives of the same country" (Rée, 1999; 198).[11]

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[11]Deaf people have been known to 'converse' with other deaf people from different countries (each using a different form of sign language) by using more gestures, non-manual features, more paraphrasing and negotiation of meaning (Sutton-Spence and Woll, 1999).

Green's (1783)[12] book, *Vox Oculis Subjecta,* outlined Braidwood's combined approach used in the Edinburgh school and could be found in the school's library in Exeter with Bingham's signature on the front cover. This circumstantial evidence supports Addison's belief that Bingham used the combined approach. In 1833 there were known to be fifty children being educated in the school with the focus on trade training, "The boys learn gardening and printing, and the girls are occupied in sewing and household work" (Fenton, 1833).

Previous to the establishment of the school Mrs Tuckfield had visited and was impressed by the Paris Institution for the deaf, under the direction of the Abbé Sicard, and on her return to Devon found that nothing had been done there (Addison, 1890a). It may appear that the Institution was out of step with the manual methods which seemed to dominate much of Britain at the time. The second headmaster, Mr. Gordon "is reported to have taught a class of deaf children to speak" (Olding, 1976; 6). However, Joseph Watson[13], who was the Head Master of the London Asylum in Old Kent Road, was known to use sign language, initially, with his charges, before moving on to writing, lip reading and then to the use of speech (Rée, 1999). Here, Watson was acknowledging the ease with which students acquired sign language but he then used sign language as a bridge to access English through both the written form and then lip reading. As Sicard found out, on his trip to London, Watson had taught some of his deaf children to speak "with voices 'not disagreeable'" (Rée, 1999; 196). To Sicard, this was a challenge to his 'French' method which he thought had won the battle against the 'German' system thirty years earlier. It would not be long before Sicard himself was won over to the oral method, although he did little to ensure its practice. The school report of 1858 explained some of the Exeter school's educational practices:

> *The children are taught to describe on the walls of the school-room the figures of certain objects; afterwards they learn to write the names of these objects;*

[12]The book itself is written anonymously "by a Parent" (title page) but both Alexander Graham Bell (1900) and Farrar (1903) have ascertained that it was written by a philanthropist native to Boston, Massachusetts, by the name of Francis Green.

[13]Joseph's son, Thomas Watson, succeeded his father as Head of the school in 1829 and occupied this position for nearly 30 years. Thomas was a contemporary of Gordon's and used the same teaching methods of his father (McLoughlin, 1987).

afterwards they are taught parts of speech, with the formation of short sentences; then they learn the rules of arithmetic … (Olding, 1976; 10)

By the time the West of England Institution attained its jubilee (1876), "...432 pupils had passed through the School, having been educated and trained to bear their share of the obligations of society with credit to themselves and to those connected with them" (Woodbridge, 1926; 25). No mention, however, is made in the report of how the pupils were taught to allow them to achieve these "obligations."

By the time the Congress of Milan of 1880 adopted the oral approach, Olding (1976; 12) noted "that articulation and lip-reading lessons had been applied in the school for some years." Olding was the Headmaster in 1976 but reading his expurgated sesquicentennial historical account of the school, however, is perplexing as there are no references to signing even when the school was known to have used such methods. Olding's (1976; 32) closing words were, "History is, after all, the continuous methodological record of social events; and the writer senses that the full stop at the end of this sentence will become a comma at the hand of another writer on the occasion of the 200th Anniversary." What he may not have realised was that instead of a comma, the next writer would need to retrace his history and re-draught it to reincorporate the lost history of sign language usage. This and subsequent chapters are an attempt to broaden Olding's (1976) account of the history of the school as well as broadening the British context of deaf history.

Some histories of deaf education argue that the resolutions made at the Milan Congress had "… a profound impact on the lives of deaf people throughout the world for generations to come" (Gannon, 1981; 63) and that it released "…a tidal wave of oralism that swept over Western Europe, drowning all its signing communities" (Lane, 1984b; 376). The Open University module on Deaf History records of the 1880 Milan Conference, "This is usually seen as the beginning of the formal assertive oralist movement in Europe, although there are indications of a shift towards oralism before this time" (Gregory et al., 1991; 14).

Although the edict of Milan was influential in the decision of many schools in discarding manualism and embracing an oral only approach, the Milan conference was, in many ways, the culmination of a growing cultural rejection of sign and the embracing of speaking and listening based on a number of historical influences. Some authors (Lane, 1984b; Jackson, 1990) have argued that the Milan Congress was a conspiracy and that the voting was fixed in order to achieve the desired outcome from the start. There was only one deaf person out of the 170 delegates in attendance at the conference and he was excluded from voting (Marschark et al., 2002; Lang, 2003). The English-speaking delegates had poor access to the language of the addresses, Italian (Elliott, 1882; Lane, 1984b). The overwhelming majority of the delegates were Italian (87) or French (56) oralist delegates and it was, therefore, easy to have the motion to adopt oralism and outlaw sign language passed (Elliott, 1882; Gannon, 1981). Only 6[14]delegates opposed the motion from a total of 170 present (Cotton, 1881) the five Americans and Richard Elliott, the Headmaster of the Margate and London Institutions (Gannon, 1981).

On the subject of those that voted, Elliott remarked that it was absurd that the great men of the deaf world, such as Drs Peet and Gallaudet[15], should have only an equal vote as the many young members of staff in the Italian and French delegations (Elliott, 1882). On the subject of signing "…hardly a word was advanced in its favour" (Elliott; 1882; 9) and on the displays of speech that the local oral schools in Milan put on, Elliott asked if the students could be given a newspaper to read, to ensure that the conversations observed were not rehearsed, but this was denied. He also asked whether the students had had speech before they were deafened or if they were partially hearing but the answers to these questions were not forthcoming (Elliott, 1882). There were many influences, however, that combined to ensure that the resolutions adopted by the Congress of Milan was a foregone conclusion, and even though Elliott officially went on record saying that the Congress did not display "…a partisan character" (Elliott, 1882; 8). Elliott records (1882; 10) that, in regard to the "French" system, and the way it was discussed at the conference, "this

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[14]There are reports that there were 164 delegates with 4 dissenting voices (Jackson, 1990; Rée, 1999)
[15]Dr Gallaudet (1787-1851) opened the first school for the deaf in America in Hartford, Connecticut, (1817) using the communication methods of the Abbé Sicard. Dr Peet taught in the second school to be opened, in New York (1818), and was also an ardent supporter of the American French system and wrote a course of instruction for this method (Farrar, 1923).

system appeared as a defunct relic of past darkness, as an exploded theory, unsuited to the present age of enlightenment and progress." It appeared to Elliott (1882; 10) that people at the conference were more determined to "…seek after new developments in the world of science and philosophy" than to test which of the systems could be proved to work. The focus appeared on the philosophies of progress rather than facts. There were social forces in place that were ensuring that the manual method of teaching deaf children was to be discarded in favour of oralism. Elliott argued that the oral system had to be tried before it was accepted. He argued that the evidence for oralism was not strong enough to be accepted but there were those like Hull (1882; 28) who said that oralism "…is not an experiment, but is a proven fact."

The reason why people were clamouring for a system that had not been tried and tested lay in many of the structural properties that were emerging from society of the time. The field of medicine, for example, was not only becoming more professionalised, its core was shifting, "…whereas medicine had, up to the end of the 18th century, focused on health rather than normality, 19th century medicine was concerned more with normality than health" (Branson and Miller, 2002: 39). This was because the requirements of capitalism required workers and a disability resulting in a person not being able to work was therefore an individual pathology (Barnes, 1991; Goodley, 2011; Lane, 2002; Oliver, 1990). During the industrial revolution, "machinery, buildings, and transportation were designed for the normative worker" (Lane, 2002; 356). Some deaf people, however, were exceptions and did benefit during the industrial revolution because they were able to work in noisy conditions without the intrusion of the clamour about them (Roe, 1917) but they were in the minority. Generally, deaf people who could find work had the same occupation as their fathers or brothers (Sherman, 2013). Deaf people, however, had reduced opportunities in the work place (Roe, 1917; Sherman, 2015), probably because of the attitudes of the employers (Sherman, 2015). Similar attitudes were probably employed by doctors who, in the main, treated deaf people "not as patients but as pathological specimens" (Hodgson, 1953; 117). The focus, for the field of medicine, resulted in trying to 'fix' and 'cure' deaf people from their silent predicament. Although medicine in the late nineteenth century was unable to prescribe hearing aids or cochlear implants as 'fixes' and 'cures' the weight of their arguments was in favour of speaking and listening. Normalisation became a "vital

ideological component of the nineteenth century world view" (Branson & Miller, 2002; 37). Deaf children should be pressed to learn to speak because "speech skills were meant to allow the deaf to abandon the Deaf world entirely. The power of speech would free deaf people from the supposedly narrow constraints of the Deaf community" (Edwards, 2012; 2). Medicalisation served to cut deaf people off from their own community and served to "individualise and alienate" them (Branson and Miller, 2002; 228).

Since the 1860s popular fears relating to the impact of Darwinian theories and eugenic concerns also filtered into discussions on deafness (Anglin-Jaffe, 2013a; Baynton, 1993; Esmail, 2013; Woll & Ladd, 2003). These arguments centred on Darwin's theory of evolution and social Darwinists applied these arguments to society with eugenics as an extreme form (Winefield, 1987). Branson and Miller (2002; 151) argue that "The eugenics movement was a prime ideological force in the construction of deafness as an individual pathology, a medical condition rendering the individual "unfit.""

Some people, like Alexander Graham Bell, thought that the use of sign language would encourage deaf people to marry, creating a deaf variety of the human race (Baynton, 1996; Esmail, 2013; Greenwald, 2007; Lane, 1984a) and that deaf children were best educated separately from other deaf children (Van Cleve, 2007). Although Bell[16] had huge prestige in America and "qualifies as the nineteenth century's most important leader in oral education for deaf children" (Winefield, 1987; 11), his views were also held in high esteem in Britain. These views promoted the growing force of normalising deaf people through the use of oral communication and the banning of sign language. Normalisation was also linked to the growing sense of imperialism and colonisation of peoples abroad as well as to those who fell outside of the norm at home (Branson and Miller, 2002; West, 2012):

> *The goal of therapists and educators at home became the same as that of the*
> *administrators and missionaries abroad: to promote the evolutionary*
> *advancement of "savages" in their care. Racial identity had a particular effect on*

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[16]Bell's wife, Mabel, was deaf herself but was quite oral. Rodda and Grove (1987) have argued that Bell's involvement in the deaf world was very emotive and based on this one successful oral user. Had Mabel been a more typical sign language user, then the history of the education of the deaf in America may have been completely different.

> *the degree to which the "savages" at home could be civilized through education. (Branson & Miller, 2002; 29)*

Another interesting development in the Victorian era occurred in the field of second language teaching, where it became axiomatic that the native language of students should be banished from the foreign language classroom:

> *Most teaching methods since the 1880s have adopted this Direct Method avoidance of the L1. According to Howatt (1984; 289), 'the monolingual principle, the unique contribution of the twentieth century to classroom language teaching, remains the bedrock notion from which others ultimately derive.' (cited in Cook, 2001; 404)*

As the acquisition of English has been, and remains, a critical goal for literacy development in deaf education, the decision to abandon L1 (sign language) and to immerse students entirely in L2 (English) naturally fitted perfectly into this school of thought.

The colonisation of the deaf is a dominant discourse in some histories (Lane, 1992; Branson and Miller, 2002; Ladd, 2003, 2008; Lewis, 2007). Colonialism can be described simply as "the conquest and control of other people's land and goods" (Loomba, 2005; 8) although it also involved colonisers constructing certain negative discourses about the colonised and assigning positive representations about themselves (Pennycook, 1998). This colonial hierarchy did not simply advantage one race over another, however, it also created hierarchies out of class and gender (Boittin et al., 2011). The impact of this conquest and control inevitably lead to un-forming or re-forming the existing communities. According to Spivak (1985) the cultural mission of the British in India was reflected in their literature and this was a crucial way of transmitting cultural values to the Indian middle class so that they thought in the English way (Morton, 2007). This colonisation of the deaf world, in the context of education, was aimed at promoting the spoken language of the community and the banning of sign language and access to Deaf teachers and other Deaf adult role models. The dominant discourse in education, even before the 1880s, had been

the normalisation of deaf children, focusing on speaking and listening using residual hearing and technology (Ladd, 2003). This discourse also used medical arguments to deny children access to sign language. The oral method in Britain began to dominate deaf education from the time of van Asch and had its British champions in James Howard, Richard Elliott[17], Susannah Hull[18] and Thomas Arnold (McLoughlin, 1987). Hull used medical arguments to deter teachers from allowing their students to either be taught in sign or be allowed to use sign amongst themselves as,

> *…their spoken and written language would become infected with 'deaf-mutisms', their vocal apparatus would atrophy, and they should start to suffer from the lung diseases, distorted shoulders, poor posture, and ungainly carriage characteristic of signing deaf-mutes. (Rée, 1999; 228)*

This misapprehension that deaf children suffered from debilitating illnesses and diseases if they were mute, was so pervading that the school in Exeter had a gymnasium and swimming pool built in 1888 in order to exercise the lungs of their students. As Olding (1976; 14) wrote, "The affliction of the children prevents their obtaining that expansion of lung power which hearing people enjoy through the constant practice of speaking and singing."

In the first year of the NCTD journal, *Teacher of the Deaf*, Kinsey (1903; 87) explained that the deaf breathe through the open mouth which results in the loss of smell, thickening of the lips and leads to catarrh, which spreads to the eyes, ears and lungs. He went on to say that, "deaf children should be specially watched in their sleep, and the lips gently closed when found open."

These practices had not completely faded when Joan, a former teacher at Exeter School for the Deaf, wrote her memoirs about her training in 1940. She recollected that in the

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[17]Elliott, although, eventually, a supporter of oralism, preferred a combined approach and gave a paper at the Milan Congress championing this approach. He also voted against the notion that oralism should be the only method of teaching deaf children (Gannon, 1981; Jackson, 1990).

[18] Susannah Hull had given Alexander Graham Bell his first opportunity of working with deaf children in 1868 (Rée, 1999). Bell became a significant figure in America in establishing and promoting oral education there.

School for the Deaf in Manchester, right after assembly in the morning, and before lessons, the students were taken out into the playground, "…where class lines formed up and, at a signal, blew their noses. This was in order to fill their lungs with air and clear the nasal passages, so they would be better able to produce voice."

The inability to speak, then, was thought to lead to a diminution of health and clearly a factor for enforcing oralism. After the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, arguments about understanding the efficacy of sign language and oral methods of teaching took on evolutionary overtones (West, 2012). Although Condillac, in 1776, long before evolutionary theory had been articulated, had already proposed that sign language could well have been man's early method of communication, predating vocal communication (Pennisi, 1995), signs were now seen as being low on the scale of evolutionary progress and even the most "savage" of languages because it was associated with the link between the animal and the human (Baynton. 1996; Branson & Miller, 2002). Perhaps this was the origin of one of my early experiences in deaf education, in the early 1990s, when I witnessed a teacher of the deaf saying to a boy caught signing (in an oral unit) "Stop waving your arms about, that's what monkeys do!" This was a clear reference to social Darwinism in that people have moved on from the 'primitive' state of the monkey and sign language should be left behind with it.

Marie did argue for an individual approach to teaching deaf children, "I firmly believe that you should do what the child needs" but clearly felt that although there was a need for the use of sign language with some students, it was a retrograde step. Oral language was the top of her evolutionary tree. Signed English, probably because it replicated spoken English, was acceptable to her, but signed support was a deterioration and BSL was worse still.

For those who did not ascribe to social evolution but were influenced by theology, the arguments for the use of voice were still unequivocal. Kinsey[19] (1879; 16) wrote of the oral method in teaching deaf children:

> *When an universal education for the deaf shall be decreed in this country, I can only express a heartfelt wish that it may be one which shall stamp them with that most characteristic feature of mankind, the greatest gift of the Almighty – Human speech!*

The President of the Milan Congress, Giulio Tarra, also declared during the conference that when God gave man a soul he also gave them a voice (Rée, 1999). At the same conference Farrar quoted Dr Zucchi by saying, "Speech is the light of the soul and the soul on earth is the light of the Divine idea" (McLoughlin, 1987; 18).

The strong protestant ethic, which contributed to the driving force behind the industrial revolution in Britain, also provided the impetus for the growth of the asylums for the deaf, most of whom were started and run by charitable organisations aimed at "moral uplift" (Branson & Miller (2002; 41). The authors further argued that as the Age of Empire strengthened in the late Victorian era, those who ran the institutions for the deaf became less interested in running them like families and more interested in creating distance between themselves and the residents:

> *They did not seek moral management and an identification with the humanity of their patients by means of pseudo-kinship, as the moral managers had done. Rather they sought to distance themselves from the pathological in the same way as the imperial power distanced itself from those it conquered through the assertion of racial and cultural superiority. (Branson & Miller, 2002; 42)*

There are, however, other explanations for this phenomenon. It certainly would appear, with the opening of day schools, that there was a sense of distancing, but according to Rée (1999), this was more about preventing the children from much contact with each other as it was feared that they would contaminate each other with the use of sign

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[19]Arthur Kinsey was the principal of the first Training College for Teachers of the Deaf in Britain in Ealing.

language. McLoughlin (1987; 10, 11) also furthered another point of view when she argued that this 'distancing' was a result of there being too few staff to supervise lots of children. In the 1890s the school in Old Kent Road had three hearing teachers and six deaf assistants controlling 270 students, "They kept discipline by distancing themselves and creating an aura of fear although many were personally kind and anxious to relieve suffering."

Moral management, however, continued to be high on the agenda of the schools at the turn of the century and the moral objectives of education were applied not only to academic learning but also to manual training:

> *Every subject undertaken by schools must be regulated and co-ordinated to serve a moral end, as well as a purely intellectual aim.*
>
> *Moral truths, in a measure, are by [Manual training] reduced to ocular demonstration – lifted out of the purely abstract into the region of things concrete and tangible. The "squareness" of a box has inevitably some influence on the 'squareness' of conduct in its maker. (Greenslade, 1903; 113)*

It could be argued that the medical forces that saw deafness as a pathology and the forces of normalisation were occasionally at odds with each other. The pathologisation of the deaf, strongly evident in the early 1800s, saw them separated from 'normal' hearing children into asylums whereas normalisation of the deaf, a growing force embodied in the 1944 Education Act and strengthened in the Warnock report (1978), encouraged the integration into mainstream schools with their hearing peers. When deaf children were sent to residential schools after the 1880s, however, the forces of pathologisation and normalisation worked together to ensure that students were not only taught separately from their 'normal' peers, but that the oral method ensured that 'normal' communication, speaking and listening, was enforced.

There has been a wealth of arguments indicating that the creation of the asylums and institutions of the deaf were as a result of viewing deafness as a pathology (Baynton, 1996; Branson and Miller, 2002; Mathews, 2011):

> *The spatial segregation, confinement, and treatment of classified 'others', including deaf children, over the last two centuries required an ideological basis, to be found in the scientific and medical rationalization of the supposed 'superiority' of certain populations over others and the need for normalizing treatment among those deemed 'inferior' or 'deviant'. This rationalization of 'otherness' manifested itself in evolutionism and eventually eugenics policies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. (Mathews, 2011; 269)*

During the Conference of Head Masters of Institutions in 1890, a discussion on the merits of day schools and institutions arose which prompted Sleight (1890; 17) to say, "With regard to institutions and day schools my opinion is there is not the least comparison between the two. The institution surpasses the day school as much as the sun surpasses the moon."

Various reasons were given for this in the ensuing discussion: The peer group was where the children acquired sign language, "which cannot possibly be acquired elsewhere, enables them to communicate their wants and troubles to those who thoroughly understand their peculiar condition" (Large, 1890; 9). There was a 24 hour curriculum in the institutions so opportunities for learning were day and night (Sleight, 1890); the day schools seemed to be blighted by poor attendance (Brydon, 1890; Dawson, 1890; Dodds, 1890; Large, 1890); the day pupils picked up bad language and habits from the hearing environment that they mixed with (Large; 1890), "…we are all agreed that the moral training of the deaf is paramount, and for that, if for no other reason, the institution system is superior to that of the day school" (McCandlish, 1890; 20); distances between the homes of the deaf pupils made institutions necessary (Kutner, 1890); health issues in the institution were taken care of by a doctor on call whereas children in the community had little if no opportunity for the attention of a doctor. Many of the communities, especially the

cities, had very poor physical environments that led to ill health. "…the difference in the mortality [between day pupils and boarders] …is striking. At the Liverpool institution it was considerable among day scholars, and almost nil among the boarders; among whom there was only one death in thirty years" (Buxton, 1890; 21). Addison (1890b; 23), the Headmaster of the West of England Institution, in Exeter, argued that the institutions were not perfect, however, and needed to have small classes and avoid being "large institutions with their barrack-like life."

All these comments do not support the notion of separation because deafness was seen as a pathology but of a necessity and practicality in dealing with a condition that was of low incidence. If the institution created opportunities for education (neglected by the state), properly trained teachers, a peer group where children could access Deaf culture and sign language, provide a 24 hour curriculum and afford safety from health and financial issues that blighted many of the communities of the time, then these reasons are more about welfare and education and challenge the notion of setting up institutions in order to separate the deaf from society.

When discussing the merits of the French and German methods of teaching the deaf, Elliott (1882; 8) noted, "Our efforts have all the same end in view – to render the deaf child to society." Although segregated from the larger community, the essence of the institution was still to prepare the children to make their own way in the larger community. Both these methods of communication, though seemingly diametrically opposed in terms of overall philosophies, were both aimed at delivering education to deaf children by reinforcing the dominance of the spoken language: oralism through the use of speech and hearing and/or lip reading; signing by using artificial signing that used the same syntax as the dominant spoken language. Branson and Miller (1993: 28), writing about the development of manually encoded English in English speaking nations, wrote:

> *Two factors have guided the development of signed forms of English, and both reinforce the control of the Deaf via linguistic and cultural deprivation, through forms of 'symbolic violence': firstly, the assumed superiority of English as a language for transmission of knowledge, and secondly the assumption that the*

Deaf needed to be assimilated as much as possible into the hearing world via the use of the majority language.

The situation in the USA, at this time, was similar. Edwards (2012; 6) wrote:

In the mid-nineteenth century, signing in English word order appealed to certain hearing educators precisely because it promised to undermine the newly emerging Deaf culture. With a language of their own, American Sign Language, Deaf people became a community of their own. With methodical signs, they would not become Deaf at all. Rather, they would remain culturally hearing… In the end, methodical signing paved the way for oralism's entry into deaf education… Speaking in English would seem to guarantee their transformation into culturally hearing people even better than methodical signs.

Assimilation into the dominant culture was, therefore, a dominant discourse in deaf education, whether teachers were oralists or whether they used signed forms of English they were all oralists in mission.

The increasing bureaucratisation of the education system, in the nineteenth century, was also a significant factor for the adoption of oralism (Branson and Miller, 2002; Ladd, 2003). As Ladd (2003) has pointed out, this allowed people in executive positions to dominate and decide which of the competing discourses should be preferred and in the 1880s this was to be oralism. Most of these people who were involved in the decision-making processes were hearing people from the new burgeoning middle class that was formed in the Industrial Revolution. This new class of people, full of the spirit of capitalism, were replacing the landed aristocracy as the socioeconomic elite (Branson and Miller, 2002). Their material successes were to lead to a cultural transformation of this class (Doepke and Zilibotti, 2008). Although culture is always dynamic, this emerging middle-class culture was being created at the same time as the lead up to the Milan Congress:

One can best understand specific influential moves such as the Milan Congress by exploring the interweaving of industrialization, imperialism, bureaucratization, and professionalization. A group of thoroughly socialized individuals who were

middle class and who maintained an imperial orientation were reinterpreting the goals and purpose of deaf education. (Branson and Miller, 2002: 43)

This middle class, however, was also creating the culture of how deaf people were to be perceived, "as a medical condition and its associated treatment of the deaf child as a pathological individual, was becoming the main agent in the cultural construction of the deaf as "disabled"" (Branson and Miller, 2002; 189).

An example of the powers of this new class in deaf education can be found in the person of Mr. Ackers. He was a barrister by profession and later became an MP but, more importantly, was the father of a deaf girl whom he raised orally at home. Before he decided on which system to opt for, the "French" or the "German" method, he and his wife travelled extensively within Britain and to North America and Europe, visiting many schools (Ackers, 1874) and he later attended the Milan Congress. He became intrinsically connected with the oral movement helping to set up and later becoming the honorary secretary for the Society for Training Teachers of the Deaf and Dumb and Diffusion of the "German" System in Ealing in 1878 (Farrar, 1923; Branson and Miller, 2002). Of him it was said:

> *…we have a …leader in Mr. Ackers, who by position, education, and fortune, and more than all, by a profound sympathy kindled in the domestic circle, in seeing his own dear child a sufferer from the loss of this essential sense, has risen to be a leader of this great movement… He is an enthusiast for oral teaching. (Arnold, 1882; 140)*

One of the reasons he opted for the oral system was because signs did not mirror the spoken language of the larger community. "Let them be taught by the "German System;" this will enable them to *think* in the *written order of the language of their country*" (Ackers, 1874; 83 (emphasis his own)). He also opted against the combined system because:

> *…so long as signs are the base of education, so long will the pupils think in them, rather than in articulation; and in that case no good result is to be gained, because articulation will be but a foreign language, in which ease enough to be pleasant or useful will rarely be gained - an annoyance very often, a task; and will, I fear, ever lead to disappointment.*

Sign language was a "foreign language" and should be shunned. The education of the deaf had become a focal point for a battle waged not just by oralists and manualists but by linguists, scientists, theologians, philosophers and anthropologists. People who were, in the main, hearing, of middle class bearing and who felt it was their moral duty to impose their convictions on deaf children because it was for their good.

The Congress of Milan was the peak of a number of social factors that permitted oralism to move almost unopposed as the dominant philosophy for the education of deaf children for the next hundred years: The growth of medical science and its focus on normalisation; the growth in imperialism and colonisation abroad and at home and their treatment of those that did not fit into the 'norm'; the growth of the middle classes who saw it their zealous moral responsibility to manage the unfit of society; the pathologisation of the 'handicapped' which saw the rapid growth of asylums and institutions, although, for the deaf children, these were a benefit as deaf students could access fellow peers, learn sign language and acquire Deaf culture.

4.3 Education of the Deaf in Britain - From 1880 to 1944

In 1880, the International Congress on the Education of the Deaf, which took place in Milan, Italy, adopted the following resolutions:

> *1. The convention considering the incontestable superiority of speech over signs, a) for restoring deaf-mutes to social life, and b) for giving them greater facility of language, declares that the method of articulation should have the preference over that of signs in instruction in education of the deaf and dumb.*
>
> *2. Considering that the simultaneous use of signs and speech has the disadvantage of ignoring speech and lip-reading and precision of ideas, the Convention declares that the oral method ought to be preferred (Grant, 1990; 8).*

The Congress did not consider that different children may be more suited for one or the other method, and the President, Abbé Tarra, was reported as saying; "every child capable

of learning signs is capable of learning the oral method" (Lawrence, 1903; 60).The methodology for teaching the deaf to listen, lip-read and speak, known as the oral method, began to be implemented, in Exeter, as the only method of teaching into the school in 1883. Previously the combined approach of speaking and signing was used.

Despite the Congress of Milan deciding in favour of the oral method of teaching, many teachers of the deaf were so entrenched in the manual method that they proved unable to cope with the new system, and inevitably the children suffered, "Under the prevailing conditions, what was taught seemed less important than how it was taught" (McLoughlin, 1987; 11). Adoption of the oral method was not immediate as the school in the West of England shows. There is no mention of the Congress of Milan in the West of England's centennial history (1926), but its influence is evident with a reference to a Conference of the Governing Bodies of Institutions for the Deaf in 1881, where the acceptance of oral methods in Britain was considered:

> *The following year the "combined method" was introduced, which included lip-reading and articulation as well as the use of signs. In 1883 an oral class consisting of seven pupils was started and it was reported to have made good progress in lip-reading and articulation. The question of adopting the oral system continued to occupy the attention of the Committee. There was much controversy as to the merits and demerits of the system, but eventually its adoption was decided upon and the oral system has been employed in the Institution ever since with excellent results. (Woodbridge, 1926; 26)*

From this paragraph it would appear that signing was the method of instruction just previous to the mid-1880s. With the advent of the edict of Milan the school introduced the "combined method," which used both signing with speech, and eventually moved on to the oral only method. However, Dr Scott, the Head Master from 1841 – 1877, published many works and among them, *The Deaf and Dumb, their Education and Social Position,* in which he explains his combined method (Addison, 1890). It is, therefore, more likely that the combined approach was already in use but under Addison's Headship (1884 – 1890), the oral method was consolidated. One writer commented on the teachers in schools and colleges of the deaf in the late 1880s:

The students in developing speech were not allowed to use words with meaning lest the child's interest in the meaning should reduce his efforts in speaking. That fact illustrated that speech was taught as a separate study divorced from its proper function as the handmaid of intelligence. The elements of speech were separately developed, resulting in a general lack of fluency, yet much good speech was developed more by hard work than by science (Story, 1929; 49).

In school, however, despite the advent of the oral method, the main avenue for communication between peers was still through sign language, "As no means exists of separating the younger from the elder children, they still learn signs from one another, and of course use them as their means of communication amongst themselves" (Addison, 1890; 15).

The Association for the Oral Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, 1872, and the Society for Training Teachers of the Deaf and for the diffusion of the German System, 1878, were concerned with raising the status and training of teachers of the deaf, and some of their members created another professional body to do this in 1885, the College of Teachers of the Deaf and Dumb. It instituted a Diploma as a qualification for membership and published, in 1888, Thomas Arnold's manual for teachers, *The Education of Deaf-Mutes*. All three associations issued Diplomas, but as the Board of Education only recognised its own Elementary Teachers' Certificate, many teachers had attended or belonged to none (McLoughlin, 1987). In 1912, the two colleges were amalgamated as the National Association for the Oral Instruction of the Deaf and in 1918 became known as the National College of Teachers of the Deaf. "The centralization and professionalization of teacher training for teachers of the deaf had been achieved" (Branson & Miller, 2002; 198). This training college closed and effectively moved to the University of Manchester when the Department of Audiology and Education was established in 1919 (Sutton-Spence, 2003). The National College of Teachers of the Deaf and the Audiology Department at the University of Manchester "dominated deaf education for the best part of half a century" (Chippendale, 2001; 6).

These professional organisations were initially concerned with securing educational provision for deaf children, which was achieved with the passing of the Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act of 1893. The College then pressed for its Diploma to be recognised "as an essential special qualification for practising teachers" of the deaf (McLoughlin, 1987; 133). B. P. Jones, Head Master of the West of England Institution from 1890 to 1900 was the first successful diploma candidate and trained in-service from Exeter in 1885 to 1888. He was particularly renowned for his technical education (Woodbridge, 1926; McLoughlin, 1987), when he took over the Headship from Addison, and a few years after he left, a survey showed how successful the students were in procuring employment.

The 1893 Act made education compulsory for deaf children between the ages of 7 to 16 years, along with the responsibility for such provision to be entrusted to the Education Authorities (Eichholz, 1925). Just prior to the Act, in 1890, only about two-thirds of deaf children were estimated to attend school (Grant, 1990).

In 1890, the British Deaf and Dumb Association (BDDA) (to become the British Deaf Association (BDA) in 1971) was founded in direct response to a concerted attack on sign language starting with the Milan Conference, "The history of the formation of the BDDA and of the first hundred years is the history of a struggle to remedy the mistake of Milan" (Grant, 1990; 9).

The association was started by Francis Maginn, himself deaf from the age of five, who became a junior teacher at the deaf school in Margate, and later became a Missioner[20] for the deaf in Ireland. The Association was aimed at promoting the needs of deaf people and providing political and social redress. One of the first objectives of the new Association was the provision of homes for elderly deaf persons, but one of their next objectives was to join in the fight to pressurise the government for educational reform; to enable full state

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[20]Missioners for the deaf were largely under the control of the Anglican church and were effectively church welfare officers who interceded between the deaf and hearing worlds. They often ran the deaf clubs as well and largely used BSL in their discourses with deaf people. They often ran sign language classes for both interested hearing people as well as deaf people who had not acquired it and wanted to join the Deaf community (Ladd 2003).

education for deaf children, to provide fully qualified teachers of the deaf, and for the adoption of the combined method (oral and manual methods of teaching) (Grant, 1990).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when advances were being made in the psychology of education generally, teachers of the deaf began to realise that starting the education of a deaf child at the age of seven was too late. They began to push for the mandatory age for the admission to full-time education, to be lowered to five, in line with hearing children. The Congress of Milan was to be blamed for promulgating the fallacy that "the best age at which to begin oral instruction was eight years old" (Story, 1929; 49) and even 25 years later there were many who thought that even eight was "disastrously early" (Roe, 1907; 13). Dr Scott, who was the headmaster of West of England Institution from 1841 – 1877, was constantly expressing concern of the late age of entry into the school. The average age of admission at Exeter during his tenure was ten, which was remarkably high. Dr Scott recognised that this age was beyond a crucial window for learning and wanted the age of admission to be considerably lower (Olding, 1976).

By the beginning of the twentieth century, most of the older teachers with a memory of manual teaching were gone, and the teachers that replaced them were oral teachers. "The reaction against the use of sign language was indeed very strong at the beginning of this century" (Bates, 1985; 140), even to the extent of stating that "everyone ... regards [signing] as the arch-enemy of language" (Story, 1925; 41). Most teachers of the deaf were assumed to be oral teachers (Addison, 1903). In learning "the inestimable boon of speech," (Elliott, 1907; 13) however, Elliott acknowledged that even though a majority of children would use imperfect speech, that this would be "a very useful auxiliary to ordinary intercourse" (Ibid.) as, to the uninitiated, people would not understand finger spelling and signing.

There is evidence that as the Victorian era came to its close that there was a reduction of trade training with more time spent on the art of articulation and education in general. Sleight (1890; 17), from Brighton, reported at the Head Master's conference,

The subject of technical training as a preparation for trades and occupations is to us a subject of the greatest importance. Formerly some of our institutions attempted to teach trades; there were workshops at Exeter and Glasgow. In fact in the early days it was thought better to train a child to earn his living than to give him what by distinction is called education.

It would appear that although formal education was strengthened, there was still a degree of trade training, especially in Exeter and this continued to be important in the school. In 1915, an after-care survey of the 140 students who had left the school in the previous ten years revealed:

93% of the boys and 85% of the girls were self supporting and doing well. The occupations followed by the boys included shoemaking, tailoring, carpentry, cabinetmaking, gardening, house decorating, bookbinding, lithography, mechanical dentistry, carters and butchers, while the girls were employed in dressmaking, domestic service, laundry-work, poultry-farming, housekeeping, and tailoring. This satisfactory condition is attributable to the improved methods of teaching and manual instruction. (Woodbridge, 1926; 39)

This implies that the trade training was of high quality and matched the needs of the students to successfully integrate into the working world. In 1891, the headmaster of the West of England Institution, B. P. Jones, insisted that the school's surgeons make an aural examination of each child and an assessment of their hearing with relation to their ability to comprehend speech. This assessment was used to inform teachers which pupils were likely to benefit from the teaching of speech. There are no details given on how the profoundly deaf were taught, but those with some hearing were given access to speaking tubes and teaching mirrors designed by Jones (Olding, 1976). The difficulty in detecting which children were deaf was also assisted with the setting up of school medical officers through the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907. One might have thought that children should have been diagnosed as being deaf earlier than when they arrived at school at 7 years of age, but this was clearly not so, and the school medical officers provided a tightening of the net (Eichholz, 1925).

By the 1920s and 1930s the government started to react to the problems of educating the deaf with the partially deaf. Government reports in 1934 and 1938 would urge the integration of the partially deaf into normal schools, and this process would begin in 1947 with the London County Council withdrawing their partially deaf children from schools for the deaf and putting them into mainstream schools.

Private firms selling hearing aids started targeting the partially deaf with advertising campaigns, and prompted I. R. Ewing to state, "We cannot read a newspaper, or look into a book of stamps without seeing advertisements of firms which make striking claims to ameliorate the hardships of partial deafness" (1934a; 4). Despite her claim that most of what these hearing aids claimed to achieve was exaggerated, Ewing recognised that they would soon put greater demands on teachers of the deaf in relation to:

    a) The capacity and management of the hearing aid he is to use.

    b) The management of his own voice when speaking into a microphone.

    c) The physical analysis of speech sounds.

    d) The degree and characteristics of each pupil's hearing capacity.

    (Ewing, I. R., 1934a; 5).

Experimentation with amplification systems, however, was beginning in earnest in the 1930s. Dr and Mrs Ewing, and Dr Littler at the University of Manchester were working on the development of and experimentation with amplification systems. Dr Littler realised that only the moving coil type of telephone would be capable of producing the necessary volume across the whole speech range with the smallest possible distortion. A classroom hearing-aid system was devised for the teaching of the partially deaf using these discoveries. It was a group aid with each child in a class able to plug into it with their own headset, and a microphone for the teacher, or for use by the child for speech (Ewing, A. W. G., 1934b).

The curriculum, during this time, was based mostly around speech, language teaching and vocational training. It was argued that,

> *On leaving school, a deaf child needs more than anything else the power to understand and to express himself in normal language and the power to handle tools. For this reason English and Manual subjects should, I think, take the prior place in the timetable. (Wilkins, 1934; 49)*

Manual subjects usually consisted of the learning of drawing, tailoring, woodwork for the boys, and drawing, housewifery, laundry, sewing and dressmaking for the girls (Denmark, 1934). Education was very structured, and speech was taught through drill. The teaching of language seemed to be at a halfway house, although accepting that natural methods of acquisition should be encouraged, it was still taught through a structured formal approach with the belief that, for the deaf, "you cannot get language naturally" (Swayne, 1934; 78).

At an international congress held in London in 1925, it was recognised that "a goodly proportion of deaf children do not respond to oral training" (Eichholz, 1925; 34). A figure of 25% was placed upon those who did not respond well, yet despite this, and an advocation for manual methods to be used for this group, the oral method prevailed, almost exclusively. Some noted that the standard of language under the oral teaching methods was "not as high as it was before the days of universal oralism" (Swayne, 1934; 66).

Experimentation on aids for hearing began almost four hundred years ago with funnels and horns, normally with outrageous claims of being the cure for deafness. Other inventions were tried, such as the 'folding dentaphone'[21] in the late nineteenth century, in America. This instrument produced vibrations against the teeth and was therefore a predecessor of the types of hearing aids which relied on bone conduction to assist hearing. The modern post-aural type of hearing aid, where the receiver is worn behind the ear, had its origins in the late 1940s and 50s. At the Royal West of England School, the

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[21]The American Dentaphone Company (1879; 4) made the fantastic claim that "…the Dentaphone receives and transmits every modulation of the speaker's voice, until it is heard as clearly as by the ordinary healthy ear."

first Group Hearing Aid was installed in 1934 (Olding, 1976) but as Joan indicated in her memoirs, when she started at the school in 1945, "there was no trace of this in our time. It had probably been of limited use and was neglected and finally lost."

Since the government report (1938) on 'Children with Defective Hearing', a necessity for a real system of classification was recognised for deaf children (Denmark, 1945). The report suggested a triple classification, grade 1 and 2A to be educated in ordinary schools, grade 2B to be educated in special schools in separate classes, and grade 3 in special schools using special techniques for teaching the deaf. This classification was not based purely on degree of hearing loss, but also took into account the child's aptitude and ability (McLoughlin, 1987). This, in many respects, marked the beginning of each deaf child being treated as diverse, with unique problems and with a unique solution to his or her education, although clearly a medical model for intervention with deaf children. Instead of all the deaf children being treated in similar fashion, they were now at least being dealt with in smaller groups with similar problems. The 1938 Report, however, made education for deaf children from two to five and from sixteen to eighteen permissive. The reality was that pre-school was largely neglected and secondary provision was not suitable. As Hodgson (1953; 298) put it, it was all about economics:

> *The school life of a resident deaf pupil costs a local authority more than a Major Scholarship for a brilliant student at Oxford or Cambridge. And people question whether a deaf child is worth that, let alone more. A deaf person's life earnings are unlikely to yield in taxes even the cost of his own education. The deaf are of little product.*

It would be many years after the war before profoundly deaf children began to receive an interest specific to their needs.

1902 saw the West of England Institution for the Deaf and Dumb honoured by the awarding of the Royal prefix by His Majesty King Edward VII (Woodbridge, 1926). 1938 then saw the Royal West of England School restyle its name to the Royal West of England Residential School for the Deaf. However, one windowless side of the old Victorian

building still had the inscription, 'Institution for the Deaf and Dumb' which, although Kettlewell had the lettering removed in 1944, was still legible, according to Joan, until the building was demolished in the late 1960s.

After the 1944 Education Act, which recommended that deaf children should have educational facilities from the age of two, the Royal West of England Residential School for the Deaf was still not taking nursery aged children (Olding, 1976). One of the reasons for such a delay was that the school still had a waiting list for children over the age of five years and the old Victorian building was not considered suitable for young children (Express & Echo, 1951). It was not until 1951 that the nursery provision was finally built and nursery aged children were welcomed into the school as a group.

With the advent of earlier admission to school and the start of the growth of technology in hearing aids, Britain was ready for another focus on the oral method or, "as Dr Ewing put it 'a new age'" (McLoughlin, 1987; 230).

The next chapter will focus more on the specific history of the deaf school in Exeter and will begin to use more data from interviews.

Chapter 5 Education of the Deaf in Britain with Particular Focus on the Royal School for the Deaf, Exeter - 1945 to 1979

This part of the history of the education of the deaf in Britain focuses more on the school in case and is comprised of material from participant interviews juxtaposed with historical documents. This history aims to be an account from the viewpoint of teachers who experienced, first-hand, the educational methods during this period of time at the school. I will discuss the following themes for this time period: the oral method was not working for all deaf children, the concept of normalisation, the impact of technology on deaf education, the government's emphasis on integrating children with special needs, the professionalisation of Teachers of the Deaf, culture, ideology and teacher agency.

5.1 The Oral Method Did Not Work for All Deaf Children

The method of teaching the deaf in Britain after the Second World War was almost exclusively through speech and lip-reading (Watson and Kendall, 1951). Goldsack (1945) even stated that teaching in any form of sign language would be a retrograde step. The oral method was the established way of teaching before the war, and it continued for the next four decades.

Some questions were continually being asked about the effectiveness of the oral method in teaching all deaf children, however, and even ardent oralists, like the Ewings, recognised that it was not successful in all cases (Sutcliffe, 1948). Heath (1947) argued that many teachers of the time reported good language development from finger-spelling, and felt that manual approaches should have been encouraged, especially in a combined way with the oral method. Despite some uneasiness with the oral approach, experimentation with other forms of communication was long in coming, at least publicly.

There were some discussions, towards the end of the Second World War, with regards to the implementation of sign based on a number of premises: firstly that there was the awareness that many deaf children did not react positively to the oral method; secondly

that most deaf people used sign language in their later life; thirdly, that it was difficult to determine which children would be successful with the oral method. Greenaway (1945; 116) wrote in the NCTD journal, "Unfortunately…there are oral failures" and he went on to suggest that the views of the Missioners of the deaf should be considered in the educational provision for the deaf and that the nursery stage should include "Basic Sign Language" (117). He further commented that "…the teacher quite rightly is an idealist and considers mainly the oralist successes while the Missioner is concerned with the very material problem of the oral failures" (Greenaway, 1945; 116). He, therefore, advocated the teaching of sign language to nursery children and the use of finger spelling with the older students. In the next edition of the journal, however, Goldsack (1945; 142) gave this riposte:

> *It was with great consternation that I read in the October "Teacher of the Deaf" Mr. Greenaway's article suggesting that young deaf children should be taught a Basic Sign Language.*
>
> *What a pessimistic outlook! The child may be an oral failure at thirteen years of age, so teach him to sign at two!*
>
> *No! Rather be optimistic! He may be an oral success at thirteen, so teach him how to speak and lip-read at two!*

Goldsack also voiced her opinion on parental expectations for the positive outcomes of oralism, "…nothing else satisfies them" (143), she wrote and further explained that parents invested in their children so that they "…gain as normal a means of communication as possible" (143).

Almost ten years later, Hodgson (1953) was saying much the same thing as Greenaway. He commented that the oral method "was beyond some children altogether" (Hodgson, 1953; 3) and that for these children in the education system, "the qualms of the teachers and the anxieties of the deaf might both be allayed if the Missioners were able to give silent instruction to the young people in their last year of school, but out of school hours" (Hodgson, 1953; 337, 338). He acknowledged that there was still a large proportion of profoundly deaf children who went through school unable to talk or lip-read and were

unprepared for adult life in the hearing community as well as in the deaf community, because they could neither speak nor use sign language. His suggestion was that the Missioners be allowed access to these children to teach them after school hours. By the 1960s, however, it appeared that some British schools for the deaf allowed for the possibility of providing for these children. Clarke (1962; 195), writing about the inability of all children to cope with oralism, acknowledged that "...the failures in the last few months of school" should be encouraged to use signs.

The Missioners were at odds with the perspectives of most educationalists and parents. Whereas the Missioners were looking back on the lives of deaf people and saying, "the oral method is not sufficient!" (Greenaway, 1945; 116), the oralists were looking at a future that didn't involve a consideration of outcomes other than that they should learn to speak and lip read. What the oralists did not seem to consider was what the children themselves might wish their education to look like. The era of student voice and cultural rights had not yet arrived and the paternalistic views of all knowing yet well-meaning adults, with what Lane (1993) called the 'mask of benevolence', was in full throe.

Sir Richard Paget (1953; x) commented on the fact that the debate between manualism and oralism had still not been thoroughly tested:

> *It is curious that the vexed question of oralism …versus silent methods …has never been put to the test... [T]here has apparently been no attempt to organise scientifically controlled experiments with comparable groups of deaf children, so as to discover the respective merits and ultimate results of the rival methods.*

Lane and Silverman (1947; 371, 372), although writing about American deaf education, raised two points with reference to dealing with children who did not do well with oral methods and who were transferred to a programme which used manual methods:

> *Although all organisations of educators of the deaf are on record officially as advocating an opportunity for all deaf children to learn to speak and to read speech, the fact that twenty-five per cent of the deaf children are still taught manually shows that there is a significant (and often heated) difference of*

opinion as to what properly constitutes a fair opportunity. The criteria for transferring a child from an oral to a manual class, presumably because he shows no aptitude for oralism, are frequently vague and nebulous. Some educators make the transfer during the child's first year in school; others may wait until the child has been in the school for three or four years; and still others provide oral instruction throughout but permit association in the dormitory with manually taught children. The latter plan obviously makes the oral instruction less effective because the speaking child must adjust himself to the child who cannot talk and valuable practice in oral communication is lost.

The first point was that there was an identified population of children who showed "no aptitude for oralism" and that, in America they could have been transferred to a manual class (not possible in Britain at this time). The second point was that they believed that signing somehow reduced the effectiveness of oral training and thus the need to separate oral children from those using sign language. Arguments such as these ultimately led to the school in Exeter being separated into the Deaf and Partially Hearing Departments in 1968. Modern research has since shown that the early use of gestures or signs by deaf children may even provide a manual backup code for spoken language processing, thereby aiding the acquisition of speech (Knoors & Marschark, 2012).

In 1948, an experiment in using sign language with newly diagnosed young deaf children, approved by the Ministry of Education, was abandoned because of the opposition from the leading centres of the oral method. Sir Richard Paget explained, "This opposition was based not on factual evidence concerning the proved superiority of the existing oral teaching, but on sentimentalism" (preface to Hodgson, 1953; xv). His view was that the attitudes towards the oral method prevented any such experiment and some of the participants hinted at what this "sentimentality" entailed:

People really believed in oralism and that this was fitting the students for their future life. (Mark)

There was heavy emphasis with making the child fit into the hearing world. (Sophie)

All of the participants expressed a view that oralism was a good system for some children with many of them saying that it prepared them for "the hearing community." This underscored the powerful influence of the discourse of normalisation in the attitudes of some participants, not because they recognised that the oral method was successful for some students, but because they recognised the world as being a "hearing community" for example:

> *Lip reading is a skill. Some children were brilliant. (Esther)*

> *Students like Amanda in the Partially Hearing Department did well under oralism… she has done well in the hearing community. (Mark)*

> *People like Amanda, who was very deaf, were able to talk and get good jobs. (Trish)*

Here, Trish links being able to talk with the ability to get a good job. To be a success in the world, then, the deaf needed to be able to speak. This attitude was fostered in training as Joan, writing about Mrs. Ewing, who taught on the Teacher of the Deaf course at Manchester University where she trained in the early 1940s, explained:

> *Some of her pupils had mastered speech and language to an amazing degree and were able to operate well in the hearing world. We were told about these successes and were caught up in her enthusiasm for oral methods. (Joan)*

A significant influence on Teachers of the Deaf was their training at the hands of "charismatic oral method teachers" (Beattie, 2006; 129), such as the Ewing's. These success stories, however, did not appear to be balanced with the stories of those who could not access the oral method:

> *…while oralists might point to "success stories", like Ellis Llwyd Jones, Molly Sifton, and Abraham Farrar as evidence that oral approaches best enabled a child to be an active member of society, not all deaf children could learn to lip-read with fluency nor speak so clearly. (Dawes, 2014; 35)*

Most of the participants stated that the oral method did not work for all deaf children. Some bemoaned the inflexibility of the system:

Oralism did ultimately fail a large percentage of our children. (Mark)

Some children were unable to lipread and they were written off under the oral system. (Rae)

Nigel: [oralism] was the system at the time and when I arrived I just accepted it but as I went on I realised it didn't work for all the students. Lip reading is a difficult job.

Interviewer: What happened to those children who could not cope with oralism?

Nigel: Well, they were just churned out the other side.

Some of the participants mentioned how they altered what they said to give the students a better chance of lipreading:

Most students from that era had good lip patterns. Fran was very good at that but she did overemphasize to get the children to understand the spoken word. Staff did change the way they spoke so that the children could understand them. They would choose words the children would understand like bother – they used to say that a lot because it was easy to lipread. I remember, because I came from Lancashire, I used to say bath [bæθ] but I changed to say bath [baːθ] because they understood it. (Alice)

Fran never signed, she spoke in a peculiar way, her tongue curling out of her mouth, and I think she was trying to help her class to lipread – it was most odd. (Faye)

I used to avoid saying "maybe" as the children thought I was talking about a "baby," so I said "perhaps" instead. (Rae)

Despite all these helps, however, the oral method did not work for all students and some of the participants mentioned a connection between residual hearing and oral success:

Oralism didn't work unless you had a degree of useful hearing. Some kids were no good at lipreading. Unless you have a talent for it, it's no good. (Peter)

The partials left the deaf behind in achievement. (Peter)

You knew that most of the Deaf Department children were never going to learn to speak. The standard of literacy for the profoundly deaf was rock bottom and oralism hadn't served them well. (Mark)

The profoundly deaf children were not so easily reached, many of them had audiograms which showed they were capable of hearing only one frequency even with the loudest amplification. (Joan)

Some of the participants were referring to the students as 'partials' or 'profoundly deaf' in a polarised way. This could reflect the influence of the two departments in the school which separated the 'deaf' from the 'partially hearing' but another perspective highlights the influence of normalisation where 'partials' are close to the norm and the 'profoundly deaf' are further away. From what the participants said, it would appear that there were genuine reasons for some students being incapable of succeeding under the oralist system, not that anything was done for them:

Esther: I remember teaching a boy called Adam in Whitebrook [school for the deaf in Manchester] and he had cerebral palsy. He couldn't speak.

Interviewer: So, what did he do?

Esther: Exactly. No doubt he picked up signing when he went to the deaf club.

Some participants argued that oralism made no effort to recognise deaf people as being culturally different from hearing people with their own identities, for example:

I feel that the strict regime of oralism before the 1980s did a great disservice to deaf children. There was heavy emphasis with making the child fit into the hearing world… (Sophie)

One of the impacts of not recognising deafness as a culture, according to some of the participants, was the banning of sign language:

When we started here in 1959 pure oralism reigned. Children were positively discouraged from signing, even punished. (Peter)

Deaf Department pupils used BSL in the playground but Partially Hearing Department pupils were punished for doing so. (Sophie)

In the partially hearing school signing was forbidden. (Faye)

Despite the heavy emphasis on the oral method at that time, there was certainly a class of students in the school for whom sign language was used. I first became aware of this class in a discussion with Peter, who was instrumental in introducing signing into the school, specifically Sign Supported English as well as Signed English in the early 1970s. The following is part of a discussion with him about what had inspired him:

Interviewer: How were you introduced to sign language?

Peter: I was very much influenced by a colleague, Dan Jenkins. He signed all the time and was rewarded for his labours with the most educationally difficult class in the school.

Interviewer: What signing did he use, BSL or Signed Supported English?

Peter: Signed Supported English I suppose. One of the boys was Daniel who used to walk around like an automaton [mimes a robot like action] and he always took his hearing aids out but didn't turn them off and the feedback used to make them scream - but he was getting through to his boys who had a realistic programme of education that included a lot of life skills and self-discovery. It was a master class. However, I was very green and still bound by school policy but I watched and stored the lessons away.

Interviewer: Dan Jenkins, when did he arrive at school?

Peter: Dan Jenkins[22] probably came in with the other demobbed men between 1947 and 1950.

Interviewer: When was he allowed to sign and to whom did he sign to?

Peter: I rather suspect that Dan did his own thing with the tacit approval of Mr. Kettlewell. He always had classes of multiply handicapped boys and ran the 15th Scout Troop especially for them and other boys who couldn't cope with the physical and intellectual challenge of the 8th Exeter [the institution ran two scout groups]. See the website or just Google 15th Exeter Scouts for pictures showing Dan and Jack and their scouts at camp. The boys were happy, fulfilled and learning a bit of woodcraft and esprit de

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[22] Jenkins came to the school in 1950 and completed his Teacher of the Deaf qualification in 1952 (Carbin, 1996).

corps. Happy days! Mr. Kettlewell was no fool and allowed Dan a certain amount of rope with his activities but not much money. Dan organised waste-paper collection in the neighbourhood, sold it to the mill nearby and used the proceeds for the boy's benefit. The boys ran it themselves eventually and were rewarded with a percentage of the cash. The paper was stored in a cellar under the old school. I remember finding boys in there with the place stuffed with paper examining their haul with a naked light! The paper money paid for prizes, kit, tackle, parties and camps. They built and sailed boats and canoes on the river Exe. They were encouraged to be hospitable and members of staff and stray visitors were welcomed with tea and biscuits. Dan's class and his extramural activities were not on the 'official' visitors' itinerary. As he knew what he was doing and could talk about it he never had any trouble with inspectors. Officially the school was totally oral.

Peter, here, referred to one boy who was unable to listen/lip read as walking around "like an automaton." Nigel also described the process of oral failures being "churned out the other side" in similar style. Their words reveal an industrial, mechanical reference to student lives as if, without language, they were treated as not fully human and were in some way similar to robots. Although the aim of normalisation was to create deaf people to be as 'hearing like' as possible, for those students for whom the enterprise failed, the resulting creation appeared to be less than human. The aims of normalisation were, therefore, at odds with what was happening to some of the children, an incongruence that was not lost on some of the participants such as Nigel and Peter.

Another member of staff remembered Dan Jenkins and how he had once convinced all the staff about the difficulties in lip-reading:

He once gave a lecture at the school to prove that lip reading was a difficult job. He spoke for a minute or so and asked if we knew what he was saying. No one knew what he was saying because, as he admitted later, he was speaking Welsh! (Marie)

During another discussion with Peter, I wanted to know a bit more about where Dan's class was situated in the school as I had heard about visitors to schools such as Birkdale School for the Deaf, in Merseyside, and St. Michielsgestel school, in Holland, where the classes that didn't succeed with the oral philosophy of the school were secreted at the back of the site well away from visitors:

> *Dan's class was in amongst the other boys' classes. They were different and Dan's methods were appropriate. He organised evening social events for the whole school – parties, games such as beetle, whist and bingo, which was the only game they couldn't cheat at! He signed to the whole school on these occasions, every eye was upon him and it was right! (Peter)*

Dan's class, then, was not hidden away although the use of sign was contrary to the national philosophy as well as the official philosophy of the school. Kettlewell was clearly of the opinion that the students in Dan's class not only would not cope with oral teaching but would do better with the use of sign. This was a notion that Kettlewell was probably trying to encourage when he became the President of the National College of Teachers of the Deaf (NCTD).

In 1959, the NCTD published an article called, 'In the Interests of Deaf Children.' The committee which wrote the article was under the chairmanship of Kettlewell. The committee recognised "...that substantial number have left school unable to speak intelligibly or to comprehend the speech of others effectively" (NCTD, 1959; 17). The report also admitted, "There are different degrees and types of deafness. Children suffering from impaired hearing may require different methods of educational treatment" (Ibid; 18). What those different methods could be were never elaborated upon and the conclusion was that the committee should "...consider what aspects of deaf education were most in need of further investigation, and to report back to a subsequent meeting on the ways in which such investigation could best be promoted" (Ibid; 18).

I asked Peter his thoughts on Kettlewell's methods and whether the school was involved in these deliberations:

Interviewer: Do you think that Kettlewell was referring to signing when he said different methods? If not what else could he have been referring to?

Peter: He may have been referring to signing [BSL], or signs supporting English.

Interviewer: From our conversations he allowed Dan Jenkins to sign and this seems to have been positive for those students he signed to. Were there any discussions in school about his involvement in this committee and what the likely outcomes were?

Peter: [My wife] and I never remember any discussion on the subject at all, too junior and ignorant too probably!

I asked Derek, a former pupil, who came to the school in the late 1940s and early 1950s, about signing used in the school:

Interviewer: Did you know Dan Jenkins? Did he sign?

Derek: Yes, he signed a little bit. He used to run the 15th Scout group.

Interviewer: Was there anyone else in school who could sign?

Derek: Mr. Kettlewell could sign a little bit and talked at the same time. He came from Doncaster and used to use Yorkshire signs. He used to say stupid [forefinger and thumb pinching on the forehead twice] whereas we used to say stupid [clenched fist tapping forehead twice].

As a result of this conversation, I asked Peter about Kettlewell and his use of sign language:

Mr Kettlewell rarely if ever signed, except to put over some critical point of discipline to all the boys. He used to say, "I can sign but I won't!" (Peter)

It would seem that Kettlewell understood that there were some children who needed sign as a method of communication and allowed Jenkins to pursue this route with his group, yet the rest of the school was still oral. Kettlewell's NCTD committee was later joined by

representatives of the Ministry of Education and as a result, although they said they would not interfere with the rights of teachers to use whatever methods they considered best for the student's development, they did report the following:

> *If by imposing a certain method on even a small minority of our deaf we are creating backwardness, surely we must reform their education to help them "to make the most of their natural gifts" ...we should not postpone any longer some definite plan of action based on these conclusions. (Wilkinson, 1961; 231)*

As a direct result of Kettlewell's committee, the Ministry of Education and the Dulverton trust financed the appointment of Professor Lewis, from Nottingham University, in 1964 (Olding, 1976), to chair a committee to investigate "the place, if any, of finger spelling and signing in the education of deaf children" (Lewis Report, 1968; v).

One of the findings of the Lewis Report was that, "...there are factors working against a successful use of purely oral methods in the education of some deaf children" (Lewis Report, 1968; 101). For these children, it was recommended that oral education should be supplemented by the use of "manual media of communication" (Lewis Report, 1968; 101).

As all the committees met to deliberate and issue reports, the world of deaf education continued to churn out its own reports of 'oral failures':

> *By the great amount of time given to auditory and speech training, are we limiting the true education of the child? Language is necessary for intellectual development but are we confusing speech and language? The child has other faculties and abilities; why concentrate on the defective one? Two-thirds of those leaving deaf schools in the North of England and with Grade III hearing had speech unintelligible (or to be understood only with the greatest difficulty) by those with normal hearing; are we sacrificing the many to the successes of the few and the theory of idealists? (Clarke, 1962; 196)*

There was no explanation, in the article, of what the "other faculties and abilities" could be, however, or what could be done about it. In 1964, the Mary Grace Wilkins travelling

scholarship[23] was offered with the following suggestion, "...members of the branches have expressed the need for research into 'Methods of helping deaf children who are not orally successful'" (NCTD, 1964; 27)

One of the reasons why there was no change in methodology at this time, despite the talk, can be gleaned from this article in the NCTD Journal in 1964:

> *In recent years we have seen the "oral" system being replaced by the "Auditory-Oral" Method. The oral system, which produced many "oral failures" over the years, has caused many reactionary teachers to consider reverting back to a manual approach to teaching. (Perry, 1964; 102)*

The oral method was changing, so before teachers should even consider sign language, they should adopt a more modern approach, and Perry (1964; 104) went on to explain just why it was necessary to do this:

> *Without this intensive training, even children with moderate losses may never learn to talk, and will resort to the completely manual method of communication when left to themselves, with disastrous results to their language, and "inner language" acquisition. The importance of some kind of auditory imagery in the acquisition of language cannot be over-emphasised.*

Previous models of oral teaching were quite rigid and often replaced listening with vision. In the 1960s, however, with better hearing aids, the new auditory-oral approaches tried to place listening and more natural use of language at the heart of its teaching (Clarke, 1989). Perry (1964) had included in his argument a reference to the use of signs damaging the language acquisition and inner language of the children. The old arguments between followers of the oral method and manualism were resurfacing once more (although in truth they were never far beneath the surface). In 1959, the National Deaf Children's Society

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[23]The trust was set up in 1956 with money that was bequeathed to the National College for Teachers of the Deaf (now the British Association for Teachers of the Deaf (BATOD)) to be invested and subsequently awarded to successful applicants by the National Executive Council for the purpose of 'carrying out research work in the methods of teaching the deaf.' (BATOD, 2012)

(NDCS) published their policy in *The Teacher of the Deaf* and publicly referring to the controversy:

> *The NDCS is disturbed by the growing number of comments it receives from parents and others arising from the comparison of Oral and non-Oral methods of teaching. It is an argument which the Society feels has long out-lived its usefulness. The factors listed in the Statement on Policy are accepted as essential for successful oral training and their achievement will result in more children learning to speak. Unfortunately, for reasons which are not yet fully apparent, there are a number of deaf children who do not learn how to speak or lip-read. There are others who, in spite of many years of teaching on the oral method, do not carry into adult life their hard won skills... (NDCS, 1959; 174)*

Stuckless (1966), commenting on American research in the early 1960s indicated that approximately only thirty percent of school leavers, from a prominent American oral deaf school, used oral communication exclusively as adults. Stokoe (1960; 27) had already indicated that "it is known that the deaf will go to considerable extremes to seek each other out, that they prefer the company of the deaf to that of the hearing and feel more at ease with other deaf persons."

Clarke (1962; 195) also reaffirmed this when he wrote that the deaf like to be with the deaf, "...to be equals with equals." They discovered that "...the company of others equally deaf is the only sort of social life worth having and it is apparently full and satisfactory." Wallin (1994; 325) explained what a deaf school should ideally be giving its deaf students:

> *The schools for deaf students, with their signing environment, would give deaf children a place where they could build their mental and spiritual resources without undue stress, just like any other child. This would give them the strength to live satisfactory lives as deaf adults in a hearing society, with the inherent security of having found their identity and their role in society.*

Although there is, now, an understanding of Deaf culture and its benefits for language development, identity and positive mental health (Kent & Knight, 2007), at this time Deaf culture was seen as being diametrically opposed to the concept of normalisation (Butler et

al., 2001; Darling, 2003). The deaf school could have been giving its students access to Deaf adults. Access to Deaf adults is not just for the transmission of BSL and Deaf culture to the deaf child, but also a lens for hearing staff to interpret what is happening and what should be happening in the school. One of the essential ways in which people who work in the realm of deafness can become more aware of Deaf culture, which will help them work more positively in this field is, "...access to Deaf people's experiences and beliefs..." (Ladd, 2003; 82). Ladd (2008) explained further, that oralism was the educating thrust of colonialism which denied sign language its rightful place in the lives of deaf students and denied them access to Deaf adults, which limited deaf children's access to cultural transmissions.

Clarke (1962; 196) summarised a paper on deafness in children by asking,

> *'Are we using the right methods in each case?' and indeed the fundamental question asked and answered 'Have we the right objectives?' And this time the mistake of the Royal Commission of 1890 should not be repeated; that Commission reported without hearing evidence from a single deaf person.*

Clarke advised that education should engage deaf people in the decision-making processes of the schools. This advice, however, seemed to be unheeded at that time. Lane, Hoffmeister and Bahan (1996), in reviewing the poor academic achievement of deaf students, identified that because many educators not involve themselves with deaf adults to help shape their experiences, then their attitudes and behaviours towards the deaf children were not what they should have been. During the 1960s and 70s there were no deaf members of staff on the faculty in the case study that would have been able to reflect on educational changes from a deaf point of view. Therefore, the changes that did occur did not do so with the Deaf as a cultural group always in mind. The exception to this was the development of Signed English which had members of the Deaf community involved in the generation of specific signs linked with signs showing English grammar. These deaf people, however, had no influence over school policy or even how Signed English was to be used in school.

The NDCS (1959; 174, 175) report continued by saying that "the non-oral deaf child is not inferior or less valuable than other children" but seemed keen to avoid the oral-manual debate as there was no mention of signing in the policy statement.

Firth's[24] (1966) opinion on the oralism-manualism controversy rested on one point, whether the teaching of sign language impacted negatively on the teaching of articulation. That no one really knew whether the use of sign language impacted positively or negatively on the development of speech meant that the debate continued. One participant felt that many of the staff at the school regarded that the use of sign would negatively affect the students' oral abilities[25]:

> *Many of the older staff felt that the children would stop using their voices if they signed. (Sophie)*

Kettlewell retired in 1965 and his place was taken by Roy Olding. 1965 also saw Dan Jenkins leave the school, to take up an interprovincial superintendent's role in Eastern Canada, and with him went the only class in the school that was taught using some sign language as Olding continued the oral policy of the school:

> *Olding once said to me that the school was like an ocean liner and he was at the wheel. The direction of the ship just needed tweaking a bit, not too much. You get the impression that it had an inertia all of its own and he felt it was unstoppable. (Mark)*

The mobilisation of bias in favour of oralism appeared to be very strong and staff appeared to know this. David remarked on how firm the oral method was entrenched in the school by the head teacher:

> *Front office controlled all external contacts, utterances, position and practise. His was the official position. (David)*

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[24] The Reverend George Firth was a Missioner for the Deaf for over 40 years in many parts of Britain (Firth, 1989) but served in Exeter from the 1960s until his retirement in 1983 (Plymouth Deaf Association, 2005).
[25] This was a prevalently held belief at that time, "…manual communication is commonly held to be detrimental to the development of speech and spoken language" (Ling, 1976; 5).

Just prior to the publication of the Lewis Report (1968), Wilkinson (1967), although ostensibly writing about a curriculum for Primary children, commented on the results of the committee that was already starting to become public:

> *Mr. Parnham's courses at Culham and Bristol, and Professor Lewis's Seminars at Nottingham, made perhaps the most direct impact on us. We were deploring falling standards, slipshod speech, inadequate language and the generally low level of communication. (Wilkinson, 1967; 419)*

Branson and Miller (2002; 211) identified the committee under Professor Lewis, which would publish what became known as the Lewis Report in 1968, as a significant event in the history of the changes to the oral method, "the committee heralded the start of intense debate over the role of signing in many forms in the education of deaf students."

After the Lewis Report was published, however, there was not the flurry of articles in the *Teacher of the Deaf* with arguments and counter arguments that was reminiscent of the 1959 announcement in "The British Deaf News" that it was to be publishing a pamphlet for parents on the use of the combined method in schools for the deaf. The first published article was a year after its release and didn't seem to contain any surprises:

> *What did we expect the Committee who drew up the report to decide on this matter? Few, if any, and certainly no teacher of the Deaf, expected the decision that henceforth finger-spelling and signing should be used continuously in all schools for the Deaf. On the other hand, many, including a fair number of teachers of the Deaf, would have felt disappointed if the Committee had reported that their decision was that finger-spelling and signing should never, under any circumstances, be used again in schools for the Deaf. (Sutcliffe, 1969; 115)*

The unanimous view of the committee was that "there is a place in the general education of deaf children for finger-spelling and signing" (Sutcliffe, 1969; 116).The Lewis Report, in terms of articles and letters written in the NCTD journal, was very quiet; it didn't say anything that could have been construed as contentious, except, perhaps, to the most

ardent of oralists, and most of what it recommended was about more research being undertaken. Contrary to Branson and Miller's (2002) assertion that the Lewis Report started the "intense debate over the role of signing," there was less interest in the journal. In fact two years after the report, Woodford (1970) alluded to the profession falling into apathy and simply doing nothing about the recommendations. It seemed that the biggest problem for the introduction of signing was that no one knew how, and no one wanted to make the same mistakes that the oral method had by teaching every child through the one method, "clarity is earnestly sought" said Woodford (1970; 446). She also went on to say, however, referring to the oral-manual controversy, that, "The old bitternesses have passed, the unhelpful emotion is dying – but interest and an enquiring spirit are still vitally relevant to the whole subject" (Woodford, 1970; 447).

If she was hoping for a quiet easing in of manual methods, however, a Mary Hare teacher, made the following rejoinder, "...the 'old bitterness' has not passed and that much more campaigning will be necessary before teachers of the deaf opt for the easy way out" (Larkin, 1971; 236). The easy way, one assumes, was the oral method. Montgomery (1971; 310) entered the discussion with a tongue in cheek warning note written under the title of his article on phoneme transmitting systems, "Readers are advised that this article contains material which may not be suitable for Teachers of the Deaf. The idea that there is a basic antipathy between manual and oral modes of communication dies hard."

As Peter had acknowledged, sign language, though officially banned when he first arrived at the school in the late 1950s, existed and served a purpose not only socially but educationally. Those students who were successful with lip-reading used to communicate what was going on to the others in the class through the furtive use of sign. As Peter remarked about the separation of the Partially Hearing Department from the Deaf Department in 1968:

> *Exeter split into two departments, the Partially Hearing and the Deaf Department and they did not mix as the Partially Hearing Department followed a very strict oral policy. The Deaf Department was a very sorry place really, without the partials the deaf were a bit lost as they had relied on the partials to*

give them clues in and out of class, even acting as interpreters. For example a deaf student may not be getting through to a member of staff so he gets a partially deaf student to say, "He's fed up and wants to go home." This also worked the other way around, however, as a member of staff may get through to a profoundly deaf pupil by saying to a partial, "Show him what to do." (Peter)

One of the reasons, from the point of view of many of the participants, for splitting the school into two departments was the influence of parents, for example:

My feeling is that the Partially Hearing Department was the pride of the school and that the parents of those children had a lot of influence on [the headteacher's] policy. The separation of the profoundly deaf from the partially hearing was a good thing for many parents as they didn't want their children's identities to be deaf and for some students, like Amanda, she has done well in the hearing community. (Mark)

Here, Mark reveals the privileging of the Partially Hearing Department over the Deaf Department to be like a colonial influence where the colonised who resemble closest the linguistic and cultural affinities of the colonisers, receive more benefits. Sophie felt that the separation of the school, although pandering to parental pressure, was in fact damaging to the children themselves:

When the departments were separated, I felt that perhaps the 'partials' did not have a clear picture of themselves in the Deaf world. They were continually trying to fit into the hearing world. There was, however, also a lot of parental pressure to make this happen. (Sophie)

There was also the idea that because the Deaf children insisted on signing to each other, despite sanctions, splitting the students would help maintain the purity of the oral approach for the 'partially hearing' students:

…it did appear that the Deaf Department were second class citizens. It was believed that all in the Partially Hearing Department would learn to speak, lipread, read and write English; therefore, no signing was allowed. Some of the older kids were given lines to write but in general the staff were always around to stop any signing! Occasionally children transferred from one department to

> *another, to the Deaf Department because they were not learning or speaking or to the Partially Hearing Department because they made language progress. The children in the Deaf Department signed to each other at break and evenings. So they had to be segregated from the Partially Hearing Department. (Faye)*

Although both departments were still operating under the auspices of the oral method, the Deaf Department seemed to pay less and less attention to the teaching of speech:

> *I must have continued with regular speech lessons as required but the enthusiasm waned as the futility of it became more and more apparent. Children with islands of hearing at 90 to 120 dB were never going to be reached by the hearing aids of the time and the children became resentful of the time and effort expended on it for no apparent purpose. They knew their speech was poor and didn't use it unless pressed to do so. More resentment and embarrassment. Without the partially hearing children they were the deaf and who can blame them? Speech wasn't their natural means of communication, signing was. So I suspect speech teaching wasn't that much of a priority any more as the two departments went their separate ways. (Peter)*

When I asked the participants about whether they felt any consideration had been given to Deaf culture and Deaf identities in the changes that took place, the feeling was that the only culture that was considered was that of the hearing parents:

> *I remember George Firth visiting school one day and saying to the staff "You are dealing with damaged goods!" This was his view of the perception of the parents. The parents were expecting us to produce miracles with their children. I remember a boy called Peter, his father was a Major, and his father used to say, "Learn to speak!" He was a bright lad and he knew that it was important for his dad. I can still remember him saying that, "Learn to speak!" (Nigel)*

The separation of the partially deaf from the deaf was something that was happening in other schools around the world since the Second World War. In America, which had a more balanced approach to educating deaf children through the oral method and/or sign, there was the belief, by some, that signing children should not mix with oral children as it "makes the oral instruction less effective because the speaking child must adjust himself to the child who cannot talk and valuable practice in oral communication is lost" (Lane &

Silverman, 1947; 371,372). This idea that signing children somehow tainted the abilities of the oral children to speak was a factor that led to the separation of the partially hearing[26] and deaf and in Exeter, in 1968, and they were actually housed in different buildings on the same site:

> *There used to be a wall between the two departments and children were not allowed to communicate with each other. We had a brother and sister who came here and they were in different departments. They were not allowed to communicate with each other and did not see each other until the weekend. (Ann)*

The Partially Hearing Department was built in 1967 and completed in 1968 and the Deaf Department was initially housed in the old Victorian building which was demolished in 1969 and the new purpose-built building opened in 1971. These buildings were not just part of a school but edifices to oralism:

> *The school was the most modern deaf school in Europe. Visitors came every day from all over the world. Every room was not square, we had loop systems. It was an incredible school, compared with all the other Victorian buildings that other deaf schools were in. (Marie)*

> *The buildings were all state of the art with latest technology. (Peter)*

Interestingly, this separation into departments, however led to a loosening of some of the previous oralist rules and practices in the Deaf Department:

> *The staff in the Deaf Department did not use sign when I first came here, but the children were allowed to sign in the playground and in the evenings. The children in the Partially Hearing Department were not allowed to sign, at any time, and if they were caught they were rapped with a ruler across the back of the hand and had to write a hundred lines. (Ann)*

> *Children in the Deaf Department were allowed to sign to each other at playtimes and in the evenings. They used to sign to each other in class but it was often subtle and unnoticed. In the Partially Hearing Department signing was*

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[26] The term partially hearing was replacing the term partially deaf and this change in focus began in the early 1960s (Reed, 1984).

forbidden! If caught signing the children would be punished – for example writing out 'I must not sign' a hundred times. (Faye)

Teachers also either belonged to the Deaf Department or the Partially Hearing Department and the two Departments rarely met:

It should be noted that children from the different departments were not allowed to mix, even socially, and when as a member of staff, I ventured into the Deaf Department I was always asked to show my passport! (Sophie)

The separation of the two departments changed the way teachers taught. For example, in the Deaf Department:

Some teachers in the Deaf Department used to ask the student questions such as, "How are you?" but they didn't use voice. The lip patterns were there but they were completely silent. (Marie)

The Partially Hearing Department also had its own ways:

Teachers used grossly exaggerated lip movements, curling tongues towards their noses, it was abnormal and impossible to normal lipread and I thought it looked like a kind of mouth signing! (Faye)

Clarke (1962; 195) wrote about a residential school in Holland where he says, "...care should be taken that deaf children should not live too near one another; they are magnetically drawn to each other." Clearly the influence of them signing to each other was something to be stopped, if it was possible.

Oralism continued its ascendancy in the world of deaf education and in the 1970s had significantly modified itself with the introduction of the 'maternal-reflective method.' Frau van Uden from Sint Michielsgestel in the Netherlands realised that language should be learned naturally through conversation, modelling his approach on the acquisition of

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language in hearing children. "This form of conversation leads to the most important aim: to teach the children to read books." (van Dijk & van Uden, 1976; 85) In this way, deaf children, with little or no access to sound, at least had visual access to the written form of the spoken language to enable acquisition of this language.

Another change to the form of oral practice was to incorporate a form of manualism. Wolff (1971), for example, began an article on media for language development by pointing out how limiting oralism had been, "Oral school leavers used a 'pigeon' English, at best" (Wolff, 1971; 430):

> *...bearing in mind how prolonged and laborious is language learning by pure 'oral' methods, we should ask seriously whether a single-minded attachment to speech is worth such a sacrifice in language. (*Wolff, 1971; *430)*

Then he quoted research, "...all studies which have attempted to compare language development by oral or manual/combined methods have shown an advantage to the latter" (*Wolff, 1971;* 431). He, therefore, argued, based on evidence, that a manual or combined approach was the best method for developing language and then he developed reasons for supporting oral methods with manual handshapes:

> *The main case, then, is for the use of a phoneme manual system or, more generally, a system which is isomorphic with English. This is a step beyond arguing for manual communication of any kind. (*Wolff, 1971; *434)*

Wolff's arguments for manual additions, however, depended on whether any system was isomorphic with English or not. He argued that Cued Speech, for example, could augment the oral method because it could support lip-reading and speech. Clearly BSL is not isomorphic with English and so could not be included in the author's arguments for usage of manual systems.

Morris (1978) argued that 50% of school leavers from deaf schools would not be able to carry out an instruction with three parts. He then paraphrased Clark's (1978) arguments

that the reason for these poor results was that these schools had opted for the wrong brand of oralism: an analytical and structured oralism. Clark (1978), herself, had gone on record saying that after fifteen years of working with deaf children at Birkdale School for the Deaf, "…not one child has failed to master the basic structure of the mother tongue at a functional level" (Clark, 1978; 153). Although she stated that it was because she used the natural oral approach, it must also be remembered that Birkdale was also a school for partially hearing children, not profoundly deaf children (Reeves, 1978).

Even in 1974, just five years before the school in case started to embrace, for all its students, different methodologies to support oralism, the National College of Teachers of the Deaf produced a letter to the Secretary of State for Social Services, in response to the Rawson Report[27], stating the beliefs of the association:

> *…whilst agreeing wholeheartedly with the recommendation of a need to study further ways of helping deaf children to acquire language, believe that the emphasis placed on different methods of communication is misplaced and shows a lack of understanding of the fundamental problem. (NCTD, 1974b; 32)*

And, further,

> *The opinion quoted that "the oral approach alone" is an unsatisfactory method for a "high proportion of deaf children" depends entirely upon what is regarded as a high proportion. There is no evidence that it is unsatisfactory for the majority: the proportion for whom it is unsatisfactory is a matter under current examination and the alternative for these children is by no means as simple or as clear-cut as is implied. (NCTD, 1974; 32)*

In support of oralist claims to be beneficial for the "majority", the report outlined how intelligible speech (as opposed to "normal" speech) had been achieved with 38.9% of the 15-year-old students in the schools for the deaf during the years of 1969/1970 - an

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[27]The Rawson Report (1973) was a report for the Department of Health and Social Security in which Rawson extrapolated American data in an attempt to estimate the size of the problem of deafness in England and Wales (D'Souza et al. 1975).

improvement from 22.3% in 1962/1963 (NCTD, 1974). The quibbles outlined in the report about the meaning of "high proportion of deaf children" were exactly similar to their own meaning of "majority". 38.9% certainly does not constitute a majority but perhaps what was more worrying was the fact that those children, whatever the number, for whom oralism was unsatisfactory, the matter was still "under current examination". Nothing appeared to have changed since Kettlewell's report in 1959, "...that substantial number have left school unable to speak intelligibly or to comprehend the speech of others effectively" (NCTD, 1959; 17). An independent review of all deaf school leavers, however, pressing for the oral method to be augmented with signed supported English, warned, "Before rejecting it on moral or administrative grounds, let us remember the 95% of children who annually leave our schools for the deaf with oral capability incapacitatingly trivial" (Conrad, 1979b; 80).

With a figure of 95%, there can be no quibbles about the extent of the failure of oralism, certainly not where the production of understandable speech was concerned. Bates (1975; 274), however, went as far to suggest that, "'Oral failures'? This argument has done more to harm the progress of deaf education than any other single factor." Further, he stated, there was always a percentage of hearing children who failed education, so deaf children had it harder as, for them, there was an absence of speech and an inability to hear sounds, both important to the reading process:

> *These are the real reasons why so many deaf people fall by the wayside in an educational sense and not because they are so called 'oral failures' which implies that it is the attempt to teach them to speak which causes all the problems. (Bates, 1975; 274)*

This statement runs counter to what many of the participants in the school had to say. It was because they were spending so much time teaching speech that meant that they were not actually involved in developing language or education with the students:

> *Its continued practice was futile, a waste of valuable time and totally inappropriate for a significant number of children for educational purposes. (Peter)*

The emphasis on oralism and good speech put a lot of unnecessary strain on deaf pupils. (Sophie)

During a conversation with a former student, who began school in 1957, he talked of his experiences in primary school, "I remember practising speech every day. I remember using a feather." He then mimed speech practice by blowing mouthfuls of air onto his 'feather' (his right hand) and waved it to and fro as if being blown around by the force of the air stream from his mouth. He laughed, or rather chuckled, and repeated the mime a couple of times as if he was somehow enjoying being locked into this memory. As an observer I was amused by him taking me back in time and I was not sure if he was laughing because it was an enjoyable memory or whether he was laughing because it was, in essence, a complete waste of his time. The whole conversation had been in BSL and the only sounds that escaped his mouth were those of forcing air onto his 'feather' and his chuckle.

Ladd (2003; 305) commented that under the oralist regime, intense effort and time were required to get deaf students to make sounds and, a result, many deaf students felt that all this effort was "at the expense of learning." There was also a feeling that this concentration on speech interfered with subject teaching, especially Maths and English, and lowered teacher expectations (Moores & Martin, 2006). Some of the former students from Exeter made reference to the oral method as a frustration:

> *It was really difficult having to use the oral method, I was frustrated for a long time but it got better when I started to learn BSL. (Bill, former student)*

> *I'm definitely a strong BSL user, I've used BSL all my life. I really don't understand English. I've tried learning English but I just get more and more frustrated. My teachers used to try and teach me and tell me to read off the board but I couldn't do it. I got more and more frustrated, I just didn't understand it. I really wanted someone teaching me in BSL, someone using my language, which makes me feel more comfortable. BSL is completely different, it's my language, it's much easier for me than English. (Nick, former student)*

> *Teachers never signed but sometimes older girls in the class signed. If they were caught they were punished. I think if signing was allowed I could have gone to grammar school. In English I was treated like I was 3 or 4 – I was 11.*

They had work on the board and then rubbed out some words and we had to fill the blanks in – it was boring. I left school with one GCSE in typing. (Tracey, former student)

Nick used the word English not just to reflect on the difficulties of English as a subject, or simply the language but as a word for all things "hearing" i.e. the use of speech, hearing and the literate forms of speech. For him it was all English because it was a different language from his own. Ted also lamented that the necessary connections in his mind that would help his English literacy, came in his adult life:

I understand better now but when I was younger it was definitely really difficult. My English used to be really poor but after I left school things changed, my English improved because I realised that BSL users write differently and their writing is really different. It was quite embarrassing to start with when I realised my writing was completely different. (Ted, former student)

Peter reiterated the difficulties of teaching certain groups:

As already said, I started with a pure oral system. For the Special Educational Needs group and totally deaf pupils this is a serious waste of their valuable time. Oralism didn't work unless you had a degree of useful hearing. Some kids were no good at lip-reading. Unless you have a talent for it, it's no good. I had a boy from Cornwall named Chris who was very intelligent but couldn't lip read and he wasn't going anywhere. It was really frustrating. His speech was unintelligible but he learned in spite of me. He learned to read and accessed learning through reading and writing. During teaching time he was helped by the partially hearing. (Peter)

Here, he admits that Chris had help from students in the class who were partially hearing as these students would have used signs with Chris. Alice also confirmed that the teaching approach of the time relied heavily on reading and writing:

The thinking was it's a hearing world and they have to cope and learn to lip read. The methods at the time were heavily reliant on writing. You wrote everything down on the board. The group I got were already able to read but I didn't get involved in Nursery and didn't know how they got them to read. (Alice)

Eventually, however, there were differences in the way children were being taught in the Deaf Department and the Partially Hearing Department, as Esther commented:

I was shocked when I started at the school because of their level of education. They were not stretched. The children in the Deaf Department did not do any exams. There was no expectation for academic achievement. (Esther)

Faye told me of her experience teaching in the Partially Hearing Department in the early 1970s:

I was fascinated that some of the children in the Partially Hearing Department were in fact profoundly deaf and there were 'partials' in the Deaf Department. I learnt that it was not purely an audiological model anymore, it was their ability to acquire language that put them into each department. At that time English was the only recognised language in school.

All Teachers of the Deaf were qualified in speech teaching and articulation and, as with all teachers at that time, I gave each child had an individual speech session every day to help with speech: intonation, modulation and phrasing, some articulation techniques but it was being recognised that running speech was easier to understand than carefully articulated sounds. As we, the teachers, were doing this teaching it meant we could continue to support these developing skills throughout the day. Language, or English, was taught in group sessions and individually. There were several methods of teaching language to children and Teachers of the Deaf in staff meetings, Professional Associations and meetings nationally developed and analysed these schemes.

Here Faye explains that the separation of 'deaf' from 'partials' was not a purely audiological construct but based on the ability of a student to acquire spoken English, or their ability to be near normal. Even in the Partially Hearing Department, although they did exams, some students questioned the rigorousness of the teaching:

"It was boring!" (Tracey, former student).

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In 1972, change was in the air because the school was being asked to take more and more children with additional special needs. From the 1940s through to the 1970s not many of these children were accepted into the school. Joan, talking about deaf children with additional special needs, said:

> When we discovered that [a] child was not deaf in the accepted sense but brain damaged perceptually, or even autistic, we were not able to deal with such children but it proved difficult to find correct placing for them.

Peter indicated that some deaf children with additional special needs were taught in the school and that they were taught through sign supported English. Dan Jenkins had originally taught a group of them from the 1950s until 1965 when his leaving coincided with Olding's arrival as a new Head. There was then a gap in provision for these children until 1973 when the Remedial Unit was set up and was placed in two cottages on the school grounds that were, nonetheless, separated from the school. I asked him about this separation:

> Interviewer: You had separate cottages on the ground. Was this to keep the signing away from the other children or was it a better environment for your students, or a mixture of both?

> Peter: The Remedial Unit became the Opportunity Department. I never questioned the unit being placed in the cottages as they were custom altered to my requirements, giving facilities I couldn't get in the main school and we created a family atmosphere. I suspect the whole idea was really to get the Devon County Council off Roy's back. There were multiply handicapped pupils about who were refused entry and possibly Devon County Council was questioning the school's admission policy. So silly little Taylor with his head full of hare-brained schemes took a chance. We weren't isolated because we joined the school for meals at dinner times, church and other events. Three were boarders, so they were semi-integrated and it obviously didn't cause any obvious difficulties.

The perception from Marie, however, was different:

> Peter Taylor started the Opportunity Unit in the cottages and they were not allowed to mix with the school because Peter's group used sign and the other

children were not allowed to even use gesture. Peter's group had additional handicaps - we had never had them before, like cerebral palsy. (Marie)

The school gave official recognition to the setting up of a remedial unit with Peter Taylor as the head of that department. In Roy Olding's account of the history of the school, he records this moment:

A local need to place children with deafness and additional perceptional handicaps prompted the setting up of a Remedial Unit. With the co-operation and financial support of the Department of Education & Science, the Unit was opened in May 1973, with Mr. P. Taylor as Head of Department. (Olding, 1976; 30)

No mention was made about the methodologies of the education taking place. That Peter Taylor had persuaded Roy Olding to accept signing did not make it into the public history of events. I asked Peter about the changes to the strict oral approach of the school under Olding and how they came about:

Peter: By the time Roy Olding became head, change was in the wind, oralism was found to be lacking as schools for the deaf came under more pressure to accept more and more handicapped pupils. The partially deaf were creamed off into the units attached to mainstream schools, quite properly, but teaching the profoundly deaf by the oral method was becoming a real struggle. In late 1972 Roy Olding gave me my head, converted two old cottages on the campus to provide me and my teaching assistant with a flexible time table and a small budget, so in May 1973 I started with a group of six students: two students from school and four from Devon who previously had not been suitable for admission.

Interviewer: Why had they not been suitable for admission before?

Peter: Because they were severely handicapped and were, as we called them in those days, education subnormal. The single class of six grew to five classes with a total of thirty-two children in 1988. I found a willing ally in Steve and we began to construct a system of Signed English based on local BSL but with additional manufactured signs with a BSL bias and markers to indicate tenses, plurals and apostrophes. Happily, we became aware that other schools were doing the same so in 1979 a meeting was convened for the southern region of BATOD [British Association for the Teachers of the Deaf] to discuss the

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situation. Everybody agreed to set up a 'working party' [Working Party in Signed English] to see if a region wide system of Signed English would be viable. It was, and was convened drawing a lot of intelligent deaf adults with good communication skills, social workers and teachers. Every sign had to be approved by the deaf people and all the member schools. It was a laborious process but we all got better at it with experience and in 1984 "Signed English for Schools" was in print and a training programme in place.

Interviewer: What outcomes did you notice for the students?

Peter: They seemed happy in themselves and they were learning, I know. And they had a lot of fun; we didn't just do academic subjects but also made the curriculum experiential, a lot of visits, cooking, Scouting. They were beginning to understand what this was all about. They were beginning to understand education in general and reading and writing.

Peter reflected on the impact of integration, part of the normalisation drive to have deaf children educated in local mainstream schools. In his view, however, the students who attended local provisions were mainly the "partially deaf" because their access to sound meant that they were more likely to be successful with the oral method. Again, the partially deaf were nearer to the hearing norm than the profoundly deaf and so were more likely to be successfully assimilated through speaking and listening. The creation of the Opportunity Department was, in Peter's eyes, a real way of creating a different normality for the students who attended, proffering the 'normal' usage of sign language, for example. For other staff, however, the Opportunity Department was yet another way of separating the deaf who could not follow the normalisation route from those who could.

In a paper on educating multiply handicapped deaf children, Johnston (1968; 116, 117) wrote in the *Teacher of the Deaf* journal, "We abandoned oralism with these children and went all out to establish finger spelling as quickly as possible." This seemed to stimulate some discussion as, in the next issue of the journal, Allott (1968) asked whether it would not be better, instead of abandoning oralism, to combine it with finger-spelling as a form of sim-com. The author understood the difficulties that these children presented to pure oralism and was suggesting a compromise by proposing a combined method.

From my interviews, it appears that first use of sign language at Exeter, in the twentieth century, was Dan Jenkins with deaf students who had additional educational needs. With the rise in numbers of these children, it was going to be inevitable that sign language would rise higher up the agenda for them and, then, for other deaf children. There were two reasons in the literature for the growth of admission in special schools of children with additional needs. Firstly, because previously they were educated in other special schools who did not specialise in deafness:

> *In the past, deaf cerebral palsied children appear to have been neglected educationally. Nowadays more and more seem to be coming into the schools for the deaf and it is our duty, as teachers possessing a highly specialised skill, to be prepared to give of our knowledge to these children who need it and who can get it from no one else. (Connolly, 1959; 103)*

Secondly, because of advances in medical sciences, more children were surviving debilitating illnesses or difficult childbirths. The Lewis Report (1968) stated that the reviewing committee wanted to compare the educational achievement of deaf students from thirty or forty years earlier with the students at the time of their writing. The committee argued that it was unable to do this because of the growth, particularly in the deaf schools, of students who were not only deaf but had an increased complexity of additional needs:

> *More children are surviving now because of the better post-natal and ante-natal care and because of general improvements in the care of the handicapped. For this reason the number of children with dual handicap (e.g. deafness and cerebral palsy, deafness and low mental ability, deafness and various congenital malformations) is increasing. (Lewis, 1968; 4)*

> *In at least half of the children the cause of deafness is the sequel to illness or prematurity or their treatment. In the past many such children would have died. (Ibid; 5)*

A review of educational provision for deaf children in Denmark led Murray and Cooper-Hammond (1970; 314) to remark that, "Danish teachers of the deaf have similar problems to our own. They are faced with an increasing number of additionally handicapped deaf

children." Even in 1976, many teachers of the deaf were still reporting an increase of children who were deaf with additional special needs, not only in the special schools but also in the units attached to mainstream schools (Chippendale, 1976). Faye commented on this growth of deaf children with additional special needs:

> *The original children in the school were mostly partials, the kind of deafness which no longer exists: blocked ear canals, middle ear deformity etc. Also, those who were born normally hearing but had suffered measles etc. rubella children whose brains and ability to acquire language were not impeded. As subsequent medical intervention enabled premature babies to survive, they had damaged or not yet formed cochlears. It was a different type of child that presented, many children that would not have survived in the past who were oxygen starved, brain damaged etc. Yes, they were deaf but they also had other disabilities. So, for them oralism would not be the best method. (Faye)*

Faye highlighted the changing population of the school, which became more pronounced from the early 1970s, a population that did not respond well to the oral method. The failure of the oral method with this section of deaf students played a factor in the ultimate changes to the methods of teaching deaf children by the end of that decade.

In 1976, the school celebrated its one hundred and fiftieth year as a charitable organisation. As part of this celebration Olding wrote a sesquicentennial history. Although he used Woodbridge's 1926 account as the basis to chart the first hundred years, his book contains slightly more educational content but there is also an emphasis on the oral history of the school and nowhere is there any mention of signing. For example, Olding (1976) adds to Woodbridge's (1926) centennial account of the school by informing the reader that, "Mr. Gordon[28] is reported to have taught a class to speak" (Olding, 1976; 6). Instead of covering the early signing history of the school, Olding removes it and replaces it with evidences of oralist successes that had not been in Woodbridge's (1926) account. Olding does mention the Congress of Milan but instead of reviewing the difficulties the school Committee faced in making the decision to change from signing to oralism, and how, at first, it had continued to use a combined method, as Woodbridge's (1926) account had

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[28] Mr. Gordon was the second headmaster whose years of service were from 1834 – 1841.

done, he merely said, "Earlier records prove that articulation and lip-reading lessons had been applied in the school for some years" (Olding, 1976; 12).

This discussion now focuses on the third aim of this thesis: to reflect on the official histories of the school and how some events have been suppressed. It seemed clear to me that the history of signing had been erased, but equally intriguing was the lack of discussion about the use of signing from the 1950s onwards and the discussions on augmenting the oral method with forms of manualism during this period. When asked why the history of manual communication at the school was not included in the sesquicentennial history of the school, Faye gave a reason why the history of sign language had been suppressed:

> *Simply because Oralism was the Teachers' of the Deaf, and national, aim and picture for achievement: that all deaf can learn to talk and to read and write English. Anything else was seen as failure. Signing, that is Signed English and Sign Supported English, was only permitted for those deaf children with learning difficulties. [The head teacher] was hoping to show the school as successful and progressive.*

This statement could be interpreted to show the influence of social Darwinism, that in order to be "successful and progressive," the school needed to be shown to be following the oral method – "Anything less was seen as failure." These attitudes and beliefs would have been ingrained in all the teachers' minds, that manualism was "old fashioned" whereas oralism was seen to be "progressive" (Baynton, 2006; 44). The suppression of sign language from the history of the school reveals a perspective of education where the strengths of the students were not taken into consideration and where they, not uncommon with education of the time, were simply treated as passive objects (Freire, 1970). Dotson (2011; 236), however, argues that,

> *An epistemic side of colonialism is the devastating effect of the "disappearing" of knowledge, where local or provincial knowledge is dismissed due to privileging alternative, often Western, epistemic practices.*

From this perspective, it could be argued that a colonial style of managing deaf education resulted in the omission of sign language from the school history in order to highlight the values of oral language development in the students at the school. That there was a history of sign language usage for educational purposes in the school, and that the students themselves learned to use sign language throughout the history of the school, is silenced in Olding's (1976) historical narrative. Faye argues that this was to promote oral values to be representative of the pinnacle of success. Other perspectives, however, show this event to be evidence of the influence of colonial styles of 'othering' hearing impaired students or simply that students were treated as passive objects. This adjustment of the school's history, then, could be interpreted as a show of symbolic power, the ability of the school's leadership to impose its vision of the social world upon the students as well as staff and parents – a vision of speaking and listening and an absence of and distancing from sign language.

Since the 1944 Education Act, which embedded the principles of integrating and assimilating students with Special Educational Needs into mainstream schools, the expectation for schools for the deaf, although at first glance an exclusive practice, was to include these principles in the form of the language of the speaking community. Speaking and listening gave deaf students access to mainstream culture. It was not just a force of government will, however, which perpetuated this force of normalisation. The importance of parental pressure in deaf education was highlighted by a number of participants:

> *My feeling is that the Partially Hearing Department was the pride of the school and that the parents of those children had a lot of influence on his policy. (Mark)*

> *There was pressure from parents on staff for their children to talk and not to appear alien and embarrassing. (Peter)*

> *There was enormous pressure from parents to get their children to speak. (Trish)*

> *...many of the hearing parents of our deaf children... did not want their children to be embraced into the deaf world. (Sophie)*

> *The [partially hearing children] were continually trying to fit into the hearing world. There was, however, also a lot of parental pressure to make this happen. (Sophie)*

When I joined, parent power fuelled oralism. Parents were desperate to get their children into the Partially Hearing Department because then they didn't have a deaf child they had a partially hearing child. That got rid of the stigma of being deaf. We had speech every day for half an hour. Parents would come in on Friday afternoon and we would give feedback about speech. One afternoon we had a mother in tears because her son was not going to get moved into the Partially Hearing Department. (Marie)

Oralism, then, was the national aim of the teaching profession and was also fuelled by "parent power" (Marie). In the absence of any other method and given the strength of the oralist logic, it was understandable that many teachers did not realise that the oral method failed some students:

Could not these older teachers, Teachers of the Deaf, see that they had failed? Students left without being able to talk, no understandable speech and poor English skills in literacy. (Faye)

To summarise, the oral method did not work for all deaf children and this had been known and acknowledged, certainly by some Teachers of the Deaf, throughout its one hundred years ascendency in educational practice. By the 1970s, this failure was "something that everyone knew, though rarely spoke out loud" (Lewis, 2016; 21). From the participant interviews, it was apparent that change from pure oralism to other methods that involved either Cued Speech or signing was positive and revolved around two insights: the final reality that the oral method, regardless of changes it had undergone, did not work with all deaf children and the growing rights based philosophy that involved an acknowledgement that deaf children belonged to a minority group with its own language and culture. The use of BSL was not introduced in the late 1970s and it was not until the mid-1990s that BSL was put on the curriculum for school students. The change in practice, therefore, was to augment oralism, not to do away with it, which is why Signed English and Sign Supported English were used in education, not BSL:

Oralism/ deaf education was all about enabling the deaf to learn English: Ideally to speak it, definitely to lipread and to read and write to a high standard. So Signed English and Cued Speech fitted that premise. (Faye)

This led, inevitably, however, to the gradual change in attitudes towards BSL. As Ladd (2003) has outlined, the use of Signed English and Sign Supported English freed deaf children from the oral method but they were not the final solution. In his mind, anything less than bilingual education, which embraced BSL as the language of instruction for deaf children and the acquisition of English as a second language, was a compromise.

5.2 Normalisation

Just after the Second World War, Goldsack (1945; 142) wrote, "The aim of all teachers is to make the deaf child as normal as possible." Since the 1944 Education Act there has been slow but sustained "movement towards normality ... and integration" (McLoughlin, 1987; 67). For some decades previous to the war, the deaf had largely been closeted off from the rest of society and were deemed "incapable of managing their own affairs" (Jackson, 1990; 240). The 1940s saw the real beginnings of emancipation for the deaf in Britain "from the shackles of paternalism and second-rate citizenship" (Jackson, 1990; 268).

Two important milestones were the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, and the Education Act, both passed in 1944. The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act was passed to combat the high unemployment disabled people suffered in the 1920s. This Act demanded that large employers hired a quota of disabled men and women. Without it, the gains made in the area of education would have been futile (Denmark, 1945). Jackson (1990) indicated that though many disabled people despised the Act, and though it was unenforceable and unworkable, it at least highlighted the fact that disabled people, including the deaf, could and should take an active, meaningful role in society. The problem with the concept of 'normalisation' was how long along an invisible continuum the deaf were expected to travel. Paget (1953; xi) commented,

> *Is it to educate the deaf so that they shall appear to be normal under all conditions? Or is it to educate their minds so that they may, as soon as possible, come out into the hearing world as its intellectual equals although deprived of hearing and poor in speech?*

The aim of normalisation, as far as education was concerned, would rely upon the resolution of the following issues:

a) *How a hearing-impaired child acquires language.*

b) *How a hearing-impaired child can access education.*

c) *What would comprise 'education' for a hearing-impaired child.*

d) *Who would be involved in making decisions concerning the assessment and the appropriate meeting of a child's special educational needs. (C. Lewis, 1991; 7)*

The answers to (a) and (b) were to be found in the tenets of oralism. Oralism was the educational force behind normalisation, whether the child was in a special school or in a mainstream environment. 'Normal' behaviour included the ability to speak and listen:

> *To deny the child a thorough programme of sound experience is to deny him the opportunity of normality in adapting himself to his environment, and the demands of the complexities of civilisation and development of thought. (Perry, 1964; 108)*

Language and access to education would, therefore, be through speaking and listening, a major structure in the oral philosophy of normalisation. Access would also include the use of technology, group hearing aids, post aural hearing aids and later radio aids and cochlear implants. Many of the participants spoke of a 'hearing' world and that the deaf students should be prepared to function in the hearing world, often through speaking and listening:

> *I want them to go out and be successful in the hearing world but if their speech is defective then they can't. (Esther)*

> *Most deaf children have to live in a hearing world. (Marie)*

> *Deaf children and young adults need a survival set of skills to get by in the hearing world. They need to be able to read and write to a limited degree. Mobile phones and texts are a godsend but it needs to be intelligible. The Deaf*

community is a tiny minority and really cannot survive in a ghetto. It must have access to the hearing world. (Peter)

(c) Another important aspect of normalisation was the opening up of the mainstream curriculum to the deaf. Before and after the war, many children in deaf schools started an all-consuming programme of trade training as soon as they were thirteen. At the school in case, for example, the boys learned tailoring, boot repair, gardening and cabinet making, while the girls were learning dress making, and laundry work. Trade training continued in Exeter, until the late 1950s when the children began to follow a programme of schooling similar to that of their hearing counterparts (Olding, 1976). The danger with much of the education of the deaf was that teachers tended to concentrate on what they felt was relevant for the children. What was thought to be utilitarian, however, tended not to encourage curiosity, and did not provide the wealth of experience that their hearing peers were receiving (Barham, 1989).

The answer to (d), who would be involved in making decisions concerning the assessment and the appropriate meeting of a child's special educational needs, became more and more complex as the years progressed. More and more disciplines became involved in the education of the deaf. Some were active in the decision making and provision of education, and others were more passively involved in providing information, generating new techniques for teaching etc.

Firth (1966; 45) commented that despite all the efforts aimed at normalising the deaf, many would simply try and "pass", as Goffman (1963) described it, to avoid the stigma of deafness, "The great aim of educationalists is to make the deaf "normal"." He continued to argue that many deaf people camouflaged themselves as hearing people but inside they were completely different. By creating an entity such as the 'hearing world', however, educationalists were not just trying to normalise the deaf, they also portrayed deafness negatively and deaf people not only felt stigmatised (Higgins, 1980) but also came to

resent the 'hearing world' if they recognised that they felt 'normal' within Deaf culture (Lane et al., 1996).

McLoughlin (1974; 259) wrote an article aimed at introducing new teachers of the deaf to the quirks of deaf education. In it she wrote specifically about the way new teachers could be confused by children unable to comprehend the subject matter of a lesson, yet nodding, smiling and speaking incomprehensible words back to an overwhelmed teacher, "The wonderful gift of deaf children to appear completely enlightened and their touching willingness to indicate that all is well might appear endearing qualities but are bitter pitfalls for the unwary." The children, despite not understanding, were desperate not to be found out and risk disappointing their teachers. For many of the students, during the oralist period, the school was where they learned sign language but this was usually covert. The use of sign language was an obvious visible show of diversity that would have run counter to the aims of normalisation, a reason for banning it. The school would have wanted some social distancing between 'English' and the BSL of the students but the school, however, was already a repository of BSL where students passed on their knowledge and sign language abilities to others. Commenting on children who passed sign language knowledge on to their peers, Anglin-Jaffe (2013b; 267) wrote about this as resistance to the oppression of their culture and sign language:

> *In the unintended spaces in the oralist curriculum and institutions Deaf children were able to develop their own form of community based education. This was enabled through their resistance and acts of shared creation.*

Anglin-Jaffe (2013b) used Freire's (1973) concept of critical pedagogy to frame this resistance to the oppressive practices of oralism. The reaction of the students to the banning of sign language, and to the isolation that this brought, was to humanise their existence through a shared transformation of the social world. This transformation involved making language choices that reflected the users' understandings of themselves (Eldredge, 2004) and through shared folklore and storytelling (Coleman & Jankowski, 1994).

It was impossible to completely eradicate sign language because deaf people were and still are 'people of the eye'[29] and therefore it is "in the nature of deaf people to use sign languages" (Baynton, 2008; 293). Peter commented on this when he said, "The children always had a covert communication system. Staff ignored it or tried to believe it didn't exist." Either way, sign language persisted and was passed from child to child. A former student, said:

> I started at the Deaf School in 1956, I had never signed before. I always used speech. When I arrived, I saw lots of children signing, I had never seen it before, it was really strange. I started learning BSL as soon as I got here and after a few weeks my signing was really good. I went home at half term and started signing to my mother. She asked me what I was doing? I told her I had learnt BSL but she told me to stop and carry on using my voice. (Ted, former student)

This negative reaction from parents to their children learning to sign was also corroborated by others, for example:

> I started in the nursery at Exeter Deaf School in 1968. I had no idea what was going on, it was a really emotional time. My parents left me here and I was crying, I was really upset, I was only three! I stayed there until I moved over to the Deaf Department in about 1970 or 1971. I was really excited, I was a residential student, so I sorted out my things in my room. At dinner time we came down to the dining room and everyone was signing. I'd never seen that before. I was really shocked, all the children were using BSL. When I went home at the weekend I started signing and my mother smacked my hand and told me I had to use speech. I was really confused… (Nick, former student)

It seems that many parents were persuaded by the promise of normalisation and lived in fear that sign language would somehow rob them of that promise. Lane (1999; 155) also called normalisation "denial." Parents denied that their offspring was deaf and vested all their energies into getting their child to listen with their eyes, lip read, and to speak. Sign language was seen, at that time, and still to some extent today, as "pantomime" and

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[29] George Veditz, a proponent of sign languages, wrote in 1910 that Deaf people "are facing not a theory but a condition, for they are first, last, and all the time the people of the eye" (Baynton, 2008; 293).

"pathetic gesturing" (Lane, 1999; 155). Some of the participants recognised the influencing power of normalisation in the parents of the children they taught:

Parents of deaf children were, and still are, always hoping that their child would be 'normal' and it is hard for them initially to understand the impact of deafness because the deaf child looks normal. (Faye)

This is, possibly, one reason why the profoundly deaf and the partially hearing students in the school were separated in 1968. Those attending the Partially Hearing Department would have been regarded as being closer to the norm whereas those attending the Deaf Department would have been regarded as being furthest from the norm (Lane, 1993). The mainstream view on normalisation was so strong that teacher and parental views, although not able to banish signing, was able to keep it underground. Not all parents, however, had the same negative views on signing:

I used to take BSL alphabet cards home. My mum always used speech with me, nothing else just speech. I tried to teach her the alphabet, showing her the different letters, like B. She used to say, "No, use your voice, watch me". I used to say, "No, look at the sign." This went on for months and finally my mother started to learn the signs. She learnt the alphabet then other signs, just simple signs, not full BSL. That's when things improved, learning to sign when I was seven. (Tony, former student)

Denise also spoke of communicating with her parents:

Sometimes he would use basic BSL, write things down or use his voice, but my mother would only ever use speech with me. I had to be patient trying to understand what my mother was saying, it was really hard. It meant that my relationship with my mother was difficult but I got on really well with my father. (Denise, former student)

These students valued communication in the home but wanted to use sign language. Those whose parents did learn to sign said they had better relationships.

Oralism, as a form of linguistic colonialism, not only damaged deaf children but "damaged hearing children of Deaf parents" and "hearing professionals trying to work in a positive way with Deaf people, and other hearing people who want to be close to Deaf communities" (Ladd, 2012; 3). Some Teachers of the Deaf suffered some degree of angst at seeing generation after generation of deaf children fail in a system that was unbending and unyielding and yet they felt powerless to change the status quo. Fran, for example, towards the end of her life, confided that she was positive that many of her profoundly deaf students could have had the opportunity of going to University if they had been educated through sign language. The impact of normalisation ultimately, however, damages both the teachers and students through reduced life chances (Goffman, 1963).

5.3 The Impact of Technology and Medical Interventions

The 1944 Education Act continued sowing the seeds of individualism. The parents' legal duty changed from causing his or her child to receive efficient elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, to a duty to cause his or her child to receive "efficient full time education suitable to his age, aptitude and ability either by regular attendance at school or otherwise" (Maclure, 1965; 223). This emphasis on individualism was also echoed in deaf education within deaf education continued with varied regulations such as the Handicapped Pupils and Special School Regulations (DES, 1959a), stating that no class was to exceed ten pupils in number, and that speech training should be based on an empirical analysis of the particular problems of each individual child (DES, 1973).

1944 also saw the retirement of Landels, in Exeter, and the appointment of Kettlewell as the new Head Teacher. One of the first innovations was the installation of a group hearing aid:

> *When he had retired, Dan [Jenkins] asked him [Mr. Landels] what he thought about what Mr. Kettlewell was introducing, for example hearing aids etc. He puffed out his chest and replied he had had the water put in! It really was a different world. (Peter)*

The growth of the science of audiology, and the scientific advances and development of the hearing aid, also promoted individualism. Audiology grew out of the need for treating service personnel deafened during the Second World War (Lubinski and Golper, 2007). Hearing aids also began to improve as the science of microelectronics advanced. They became smaller, more powerful, more available, and more flexible in what they could be done for the individual wearer. Customisation of the hearing aid meant that not only could the amplification be altered, but also the frequency response. Earmoulds also improved in design, comfort, quality and helped maximise individual response to sound and reduced feedback. The medical research council produced the Medresco hearing aid in 1948, for issue under the National Health Service scheme. The aids were first made available to the adult population, however, and many children had to wait quite a few years. The Medresco hearing aids were not made available to all their children until 1958, although some children were fitted with them in 1951 (Olding, 1976):

> *This was a great leap forward except for the fact that the packs were cumbersome and not suitable for small children to wear all the time. There was a large leather bag which held heavy batteries and was suspended from the shoulder by a leather strap. A separate microphone about 5 inches long and 3 inches wide had a clip to fasten on to the strap and cords leading from the batteries to the microphone and from there to the earpiece inserted in the ear. The battery case was much too heavy and small children pulled out the cords and mixed them up. The aid was not suitable to be worn in play but was used in lesson time and proved beneficial to those children who had useful hearing. (Joan)*

By 1957 the hearing aids had reduced in size because of the benefits of the transistor. Joan discovered that children with losses of around 60dB or less made good progress in their oral education. Audiology and its relation to the education of deaf children began in earnest in the early 1950s. Audiology not only concerned itself with the phenomenon of sound and its perception, but also with its aetiology, medical and surgical treatment, psychological effects on the personality and cognitions, and educational treatment. "This new orientation of philosophy takes a more complete view of a deaf child's personality and tends to concern itself with the development of the whole person" (Watson and Kendall, 1951; 77). Each child began to be analysed and assessed to discover what assets they

had, and then decisions were made as to how best enhance these assets, such as residual hearing and the psychological assets of personality, ability, intelligence, etc.

Teachers, generally, appeared to have accepted oralism and its values with the pervasive hope that any anomalies in its practice would soon be put in order through improving research or technologies, that hearing aids "would continue to get better and benefit the students" (Mark), because of "the greater amplification available" (Joan). This showed the powerful influence of science and medicine that they were trusted to find a cure for deafness so that deaf children could be normalised through speaking and listening.

Experimentation within the world of deaf education has not only been responsible for changes in oral teaching methods, improvement in the quality of hearing aids and their use, better understanding of the causes of deafness and its amelioration through surgery, aids, and earlier diagnosis, but has also paved the way for attitude changes both within and outside the deaf world which has influenced policies on normalisation and integration. One misunderstanding which was laid to rest through experimentation in the late 1940s was the fallacy that deaf children were of lower intelligence than their hearing peers. Pintner and Reamer, in 1920, concluded from their tests that the deaf were intellectually inferior to hearing people and that they showed definite deficits in various aspects of their cognitive functioning (S. Lewis, 1991). This 'deficit' approach also appeared in the intuitive writings of the time: "Many of our speaking-deaf, or deafened pupils, leave school at sixteen almost if not entirely with the I.Q. of their age; but the congenital deaf in most cases do not" (Barnes, 1929; 21). Donovan (1948), however, conducted tests and showed that the level of intelligence between deaf and hearing children were similar. On the grounds of intelligence, there was now no argument for the segregation of the deaf from the hearing, or for their different educational treatment.

It was shown, however, that the deaf lagged behind their peers in educational attainment. In the 1940s the gap was shown to be between four to six years (Wheeler, 1948). This information, ratified again and again throughout the next few decades (e.g. seven years in

1979 (Barham, 1989)), played an important part in policy for the deaf. Wheeler, herself, used this information as a plea for the government and local authorities to spur earlier detection of hearing impairment. She blamed part of the gap between the educational attainment of hearing and deaf children on tardiness in assessing deafness in the child, and in not providing adequate provision for the education of the deaf early enough.

The evidence of lower educational attainment was also used to justify the provision of further education after the deaf child had reached the school leaving age. The British Association of Teachers of the Deaf in 1981 urged the government to provide mandatory grants to those students who obtained a placing on a recognised further education course (Knight & Swanwick, 2002).

The growth of the field of psychology began to exert its influence on education generally but had particular relevance in showing that the structured teaching of speech and language to the deaf was artificial. In the 1940s the teaching of speech was foremost in the minds of many teachers of the deaf. There were cries in the wilderness that this should not be so, but these cries went practically unheeded. Heath (1947; 55) warned that too much time was given to speech to the detriment of language. He noted that "Today it is speech, speech, speech and language whereas it should be language, language, language and speech."

The school, in the 1940s, was following a strict regime of speech training from the time a child entered the school. The children were expected to master the production of specific sounds by rote, and when they had mastered them, they were amalgamated into words and then sentences. It would be a few more decades before the influence of linguistics in particular would pave the way for the trial of new approaches as Joan commented on the impact of linguistics in the 1970s, "No longer were we teaching individual sounds and asking the children to put them together consciously and laboriously into words, but we were simply using normal speech at our normal rate of utterance and with intonation."

Naom Chomsky's work was particularly influential, affecting the teaching of both structured and natural methods of oral education. Van Uden (1977), in The Netherlands, for example, continued and expanded the natural approach to language development by proposing his maternal reflective method. He proposed a model based on conversations between a mother and child, usually concerned with language based around doing something (Arnold, 1989). Teachers following this strain of natural oralism would see themselves as being facilitators of the normal process of language acquisition (Andrews, 1988). Researchers in America also used Chomsky's work to construct "a patterned-sentence language curriculum for deaf children which continues the structural approach" (Quigley and Paul, 1984; 19, 20). The emphasis on both these approaches, however, was on audition and making the most of the residual hearing in deaf children. Whereas speech was incessantly taught in schools, it was becoming more to do with conversation and acquiring real life ways of interacting rather than learning 'baked sentences' (Watson, 2017).

5.4 Integration

Another important feature on the road to the normalisation of the deaf was integration. The 1944 Education Act embodied the work of the Wood Committee (1929) and the Reports of the Committees of Inquiry on the Partially Sighted and the Partially Deaf (1934, 1938), stressing the importance of the partially hearing being integrated into ordinary schools (Markides, 1989). Many Department of Education and Skills (DES) circulars over the next few decades continued to reiterate this stance that no child should be sent to a special school who could not satisfactorily be educated in an ordinary school (DES; 1954, 1959, 1970). Integration was initially introduced on a small scale, however, and was slow in spreading.

Although writing about the Swedish experience of education, Wallin (1994; 323) could well have been describing most European and North American countries:

> *At first the process was called "normalisation." Deaf people were to be normalised, as if being deaf meant not being normal. Deaf children were to be taught to behave just like hearing people, not as deaf people who, with their*

signing, were regarded as different from the norm. Later normalisation was renamed "mainstreaming," because it was felt that deaf people should not isolate themselves and form groups of their own. Instead, they must become a part of society. It was believed that this aim would be achieved more easily by starting the education of deaf children in schools for hearing children.

This was reiterated by Alice, who said:

I think the power of oralism came from the fact that the deaf did form a group and the idea was to get them into the wider world. (Alice)

An important aim of normalisation, then, as far as Alice was concerned, was to prevent the deaf from forming their own group and one of the markers of this group was often sign language usage. In 1947, all partially hearing children, who were in the care of London County Council, were withdrawn from their school and placed in units set up within mainstream schools. Bingle (1959) argued that these units were a concession to the protests of teachers and parents against educating the partially hearing with the deaf, not really the influence of the 1944 Act. With the advances in psychology, audiology, and changing attitudes towards the deaf and handicapped people in general, Partial Hearing Units (PHUs) began to advance in the 1960s, and the growth of a new branch of the professionals, the peripatetic teachers of the deaf, was witnessed (McLoughlin, 1987).

The first peripatetic teachers of the deaf began working in 1948 and were instructed to "discover all school children with any significant impairment of hearing and to provide appropriate educational treatment" (DES, 1969; 2). The peripatetic service really started to grow out of the need to support children and their teachers in PHUs and in ordinary schools. The aim of the first PHUs was to integrate into mainstream schools "those children who could gain benefit from the stimulus of listening to normal conversation going on around them and who could take part in some of the lessons and activities that went on in the main school" (DES, 1967; 3). The unit, therefore, was a class of partially hearing children, under the tutelage of a teacher of the deaf who integrated with the main body of

the school for some of the time but returned "to the special teacher for tutorial periods" (DES, 1967; 5).

By the 1970s, integration within the national system of education was a reality for many partially hearing children. As McLoughlin (1990) indicated, the question at the time was not whether to integrate, but how best to fund it. In many respects, integration was hampered by the lack of specialist teachers of the deaf, equipment, and a proper statutory framework. The Warnock Report (1978), which looked at the provision on education for children with special educational needs, finally provided the statutory framework and emphasised the need for in-service training necessary for the teachers responsible for running the units (Rogers, 1984).

The biggest problem with integration, however, is that deaf children do not always want to integrate. They often prefer the company of other deaf children, exclude hearing children from their company, and increasingly refer to deaf and hearing people as inhabiting separate worlds, with separate cultures, and distinct languages (Barham, 1989). As the Warnock Report (1978) stated, the idea of integration would only be realised when the children made a full contribution to the school (Moss, 1987). Integration, therefore, is more than just a shared locality.

Integration was part of the wave of normalisation for students of the deaf school. The influence on the school of integration was initially the threat and then the actualisation of deaf students being educated in their local mainstream provision. Some staff felt, for example Peter, that this was a positive thing. Esther was aghast at this thought, however, and she remarked, "The biggest change was integration. The tragedy is what happens to those who can't cope with mainstream?" On reflecting on the biggest changes in deaf education during her career, she further went on to say, quite angrily:

> *We had all kids – the bright ones. The tragedy is, this is what I object to, what*
> *happens to those who can't cope with mainstream? What I'd like to know is*
> *what the output of the deaf children in mainstream is? They think that you can*

bang in a hearing aid and they will be alright. What support do they get? What SATs[30] results and GCSEs do they get? (Esther)

One other problem is the age they come to the deaf school after they've failed in mainstream. Often, they are ten and older with no skills in speaking or signing, no reading or writing and it's too late. It's awful, Patricia came to school like this and she was a wreck. (Esther)

Most of the teachers, at some point during their interview, reflected on the difficulties of dealing with children who came to the school after spending time in a mainstream setting. By September 1973, the school had over two hundred students attending. Olding (1976), commenting on those numbers, wrote:

The placements increased in spite of the setting up of alternative services in several parts of the region. It was interesting, and perhaps significant, to note that one third of the children had been transferred to the school from services which, for a variety of reasons, were not meeting those children's complete needs. This may have been a pointer to part of the school's role in a regional service of the future. Olding, 1976; 30)

Olding's prediction proved to be the case as the school gradually acquired fewer children at the Primary age and more at the Secondary age. This group of students who had previously had mainstream experience rose from a 33% of the total number of students in 1973 to 97% in 2010. The first influence of integration was the need to develop a provision that would engage students who had come from a setting where the student was perceived as either having failed in a mainstream setting or, more usually, where a mainstream setting has failed them (Fullwood, 2009). Sophie highlighted the fact that many students who came to the school at Secondary age had behavioural issues:

The integration of deaf pupils into main stream education and growth of Units for the hearing impaired attached to main stream schools was not always successful. Separating a small group of children from others within the same culture. Often seen as being financially motivated, and not necessarily for the wellbeing of the child. Many pupils admitted to RSD [Royal School for the Deaf]

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[30] Standard Assessment Tests (SATs) are used in schools to assess the attainment of school students against the National Curriculum levels.

at the age of 13 plus, were labelled 'unit failures' with all the associated behavioural problems. (Sophie)

A Second influence was the impact on the profoundly deaf children of not having partially-hearing peers around. Peter once remarked, "…that a significant portion of the deaf children were lagging behind and dependent on the partials for help." His understanding was that there was a significant source of help in the school for those who could not cope with the oral method, and that help came from peers, usually the students who were partially hearing. The impact of the "creaming off" of the partially-hearing to local units, however, was also exacerbated, in 1968, by splitting the school into different departments, the Partially Hearing Department and the Deaf Department. Although the separation was due to aptitude and ability, and inevitably some 'partials' would end up in the Deaf Department and some profoundly deaf children would be found in the Partially Hearing Department, without the partially hearing children to give them support, more and more profoundly deaf students were going to fall further behind in their education, leaving both student and teacher more and more exasperated by a system that was patently not working for that group of students.

5.5 Professionalism

During the 1950s and 1960s, teaching went through a process of professionalisation where it tried to adopt the skills and codes of conduct for professionals and develop a professional organisation succinctly defining what it was to be an effective teacher (Whitty, 2000). The concepts of either an effective teacher or professionalism are difficult to define (Tichenor & Tichenor, 2005), nevertheless, these concepts are still effective in arousing a notion of what professionalism and becoming an effective teacher look like. Professionalism for teachers of the deaf was witnessed on at least three fronts. Firstly, improvements in training in order to qualify as a teacher, secondly, improvements made in training to qualify as a teacher of the deaf and thirdly, the growing influence of the professional bodies attached to the profession.

Improvements within the teaching profession were quite marked since the 1944 Education Act. The Act raised the school leaving age to fifteen (this came into force in 1947) and was to be raised to sixteen when "practicable" (Jarman, 1963; 301). With the raising of the school leaving age, and with the shortage of teachers caused by the war, the teaching profession needed radical change. In keeping with the McNair Proposals (1944), Institutes of Education were created to organise teacher training and to improve standards. Previous to the war, the teacher training course was of two years in duration, but the war shortage meant that a one-year training scheme was briefly introduced. A three-year training scheme was introduced in 1960 (Evans, 1975), but this was eventually extended to four years in 1972, the same year that the school leaving age was raised to sixteen (Hyndman, 1978). Teacher training was lengthened to include not just the learning of the necessary subject knowledge, but also to lengthen the amount of time spent in teaching practice and the learning of new areas of knowledge from child psychology, classroom techniques etc.

Despite the war, and the shortage of teachers, the Department of Education emphasised that all teachers of the deaf were to still qualify as teachers, and then complete an approved course of training in the methods of teaching the deaf (Manchester University) or pass an approved examination (National College of the Teachers of the Deaf) (Teacher of the Deaf Editorial, 1945). So important was the specialist training in methods of teaching the deaf that teachers were instructed not to teach in schools unless they had completed the course within three years of taking up their post. Teachers in PHUs were also instructed not to take up their posts until they had passed the approved courses (DES, 1959b).

The professionalism of the teachers of the deaf thus improved on two fronts, with an increasing amount of time spent on acquiring skills and knowledge in teacher training college and in becoming a qualified teacher of the deaf. Fran, a former Head of the Deaf Department, related that her only teaching practice, whilst qualifying as a teacher of the deaf in the mid-1940s, was the teaching of the word "water" as a speech lesson in a deaf school in London. Since then, not only has the time for teaching practice dramatically increased, but the necessary skills for a modern teacher have become multifaceted and

increasingly specialised. The modern teacher is required to know about audiology (including its methods of testing, interpretation and practice), child development, and educational psychology as it pertains to the deaf, and medical aspects of deafness and its remediation.

A major influence on the teachers was their training at the hands of "charismatic oral method teachers" (Beattie, 2006; 129). Joan described her own training, in Manchester in the early 1940s, using a 'colonial' style vocabulary:

> *When I actually began the course I found the work fascinating. I became filled with an almost missionary zeal to teach deaf children by the oral method and enable them to take their place in society as understanding and speaking people. (Joan)*

Joan found herself drawn into the oralist 'empire' with the story telling of Mrs. Ewing's successes and a new camaraderie of fellow teachers whose ardent goal revolved around, as Sophie explained, "making the child fit into the hearing world."

Fran, previous Head of the Department for the Deaf and who had started teaching in the school during the early 1940s commented that the influence of the Ewing's (A. & I. R. Ewing) in Britain was so strong that they were impossible to ignore and their advice was usually carried out unquestioned and Trish said:

> *Professor Ewing had a lot of clout in what was the deaf children's journey to speak. People believed that they lived in a hearing world and they had to speak. (Trish)*

Markides (1983; 23) also ascribed the dominance of oral education in this period on the training of teachers of the deaf and the influence of the Ewing's, whose achievements "were enormous and they rightly deserve a unique and honoured place in the history of deaf education." They used a synthetic approach to the teaching of speech and emphasised the need to maximise the use of residual hearing. They also recognised the

importance of reading and writing in speech improvement. As Markides (1983) has indicated, their influence on the teachers of the deaf in Britain, and internationally, lasted for half a century, into the mid-1960s. The Ewing's were very much against signing and also encouraged the suppression of gesture.[31]

Dr J. Kerr Love[32] had suggested, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, that each area needed two schools, one for those who could cope with the oral method ("a large minority – say about 30 or 40 per cent" (Love, 1896; 199)) and a school for the others who would use sign or a combined approach. He emphasised the need to individualise, "If the deaf are to be educated successfully, each child must be treated on his merits" (Love, 1896; 197). His wasn't a lone voice, as Hodgson (1953; 336), nearly 60 years later reiterated, "No one method can be successfully applied to all the deaf children in one school. Forget the system, study the deaf child." Few people seemed to have taken much notice. History has shown how easy it was for eclectic practice to be sacrificed because of the power invested in oralism, based largely on the philosophy of normalisation, science and medicine and having plausible and revered figureheads in the shape of the Ewing's influencing the training of the teachers of the deaf. They gave the following advice:

> *Gestures have a place in normal communication, but signs have not. To discourage a young deaf child from using gesture before he has learnt to speak is to forbid him to express what he wants. The important thing here is that he must be encouraged to use voice at the same time. He must not learn to rely on silent gesture to get what he wants. ...When parents of a deaf child habitually use gesture to him, he begins to form two harmful habits: he tends to watch their hands, and not their faces, and to rely solely on gesture as a means of comprehension. Obviously, these two tendencies would work against the development of habits that are fundamental to the acquisition of speech. (Ewing & Ewing, 1958; 75)*

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[31] While they understood gestures as important in language development (Ewing & Ewing, 1954) they cautioned that continued use of gesture meant the child "may not take the trouble to talk" (Ewing & Ewing, 1964; 12).

[32] Dr Love was a physician from Glasgow who "made his name by his work with the partially hearing children" (Hodgson, 1953; 225). He identified that many deaf people, in the 1890s, had been deemed profoundly deaf, but had, in fact, some useful hearing. This furthered the vision of oralism because if schools could utilise this residual hearing, it "could become a decisive factor to bring about the success of oral education" (Ewing & Ewing, 1954; 41).

From this passage, it appears that gestures should have been appropriate to use, but when case studies were presented, later in the book, one of them stated that, "No gestures or signs were used as these would distract his attention from faces to hands" (Ibid.; 100). It would appear that although the Ewing's did admit that gesture was a natural part of language development, the reality was that, in practice, they denied the deaf children these opportunities, once they were ready for communication, as if to force communication to come out of their mouths. This was certainly the case, as Marie pointed out, with the oral education of children in Exeter in the early 1970s, the "…children were not allowed to even use gesture." But this was not just limited to students, as Sophie related that "One colleague failed her Teacher of the Deaf certificate for using too much 'natural' gesture."

Gestures used between parents and children are the earliest types of conversation, "important for the infant's developing emotional and social competence, including bonding and attachment, as well as early understanding of turn-taking and meaningful communication" (Lieberman, 2012; 2) and foster language acquisition (Goodwyn at al., 2000). To deny deaf infants access to gesture was, therefore, denying them the opportunity to develop normal conversations that would not have been denied to the hearing child. These injunctions, to deny the use of gesture, could be seen as audism.[33] Otologists of the time also backed up the need for teachers to provide "...encouragement of speech communication and the forbidding of the use of signs and manual expression" (Clarke, 1962; 194).

There seemed to be a compelling assumption, as well, that sign language users did not look at the face but concentrated on the hands, an assertion that has since been refuted (Emmorey et al., 2009). Current literature looks at the importance of facial gaze for sign language users:

> *In discourse, eye gaze is used to regulate turn-taking. Eye gaze is used in role shifts and direct quotation during narrative production. Eye gaze also plays a syntactic role in sign language, used to mark pronominal reference and to*

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[33] Here I use the term as Davis (1995; 172) described: "I am using the term 'audist' as a parallel to terms like 'racist,' 'sexist,' 'classist.' My assumption here is that the hearing establishment... is biased toward the auditory mode of communication."

supplement manual marking of verb agreement. Thus eye gaze is used not only to perceive language, but is an important component of sign production and is under careful control by proficient signers. (Lieberman, 2012; 4)

The professional bodies attached to the teachers of the deaf continued to exert influence after the war. The National College of Teachers of the Deaf (NCTD) was an amalgamation of professional bodies, formed in 1918, which had pressurised the government into accepting their diploma for the qualification of Teacher of the Deaf. The NCTD also published a journal *Teacher of the Deaf* and provided conferences and courses for its members. More importantly, it continued to conduct the diploma examinations, and successfully resisted moves from outside bodies to abolish the qualification. The NCTD monitored the quality of the teaching staff in the profession and stated that in the 1940s and early 1950s the quality of teaching, especially amongst the newer teachers, was alarmingly low. It called for the raising of standards and pressed for the raising of the standard for qualification as a Teacher of the Deaf.

The NCTD split into two bodies in 1959, but in 1976 they re-joined to form the British Association for Teachers of the Deaf (BATOD). In 1990 it finished running its own diploma course as more and more universities offered the diploma for qualification as a teacher of the deaf. Its own course was subsumed into the University of Birmingham course, and it continued its influence in that course by having representatives on the universities consultative committee (BATOD, 1990).

The Teacher of the Deaf course, throughout the period of this investigation, only taught the oral method:

> *The training at the time said, 'This is how we do it and this is how we are going to make things work.' (Alice)*

The training of teachers made it clear that signing was "the arch-enemy of language" (Story, 1925; 41):

All the experienced Teachers of the Deaf at that time were oralists, as was the training for Teachers of the Deaf nationally, as was the government policy in education and we were told that we were not allowed to sign under any circumstances, the children would learn English and would learn to talk. It was propaganda and brainwashing of all new teachers into the profession. (Faye)

Clearly, although in retrospect, Faye felt let down by the narrow focus of the oral method. For her, normalisation through speaking and listening was not a credible goal for all students. Marie felt that this antipathy towards sign language was also a community wide issue, possibly linking the use of sign language with "disability." She recounted an experience:

I have been on the opposite end of how the deaf have been treated. I was signing to [a colleague] on a train and a lady came in and saw us signing and stuck her nose up. I said it was ok for her to sit next to me as I was only signing to practice for my exam. Her face went crimson. She didn't want anything to do with me before because she thought I was deaf. (Marie)

Peter commented on his experiences of watching new teachers arriving at the school:

Really oralism was a drawback for many deaf pupils but all the teachers, either from Manchester or from the National College for Teachers of the Deaf in-service training were trained oralists. Coming [here] and being confronted by the 'real' deaf after the rarefied atmosphere of Manchester was something of a wake-up call.

He argued that no one was totally convinced about the oral method working for all the children once the gap between theory and practice was exposed. The problem was that there were no other options available to them.

Under the 1944 Education Act, the Local Education Authorities (LEAs) had obligations to provide education for all disabled or defective children. They were to examine children from the age of two, to ascertain those requiring special education. This meant that the LEAs had to work closely with the medical profession in order to identify these children

and make decisions about how best to educate them (McLoughlin, 1990). Otologists and teachers of the deaf had already begun co-operating with each other in the early 1940s to work on diagnosing and ascertaining hearing loss in very young children. This would eventually lead to methods used for earlier diagnosis of deafness and remediation.

In the 1950s, the science of audiology expanded, and was founded by the accruing of knowledge from otologists, physicists, psychologists, electrical and acoustical engineers, teachers of the deaf, speech therapists and social workers. The co-operation between these disciplines also led to the breaking down of barriers that had previously stood between different fields of science (Watson and Kendall, 1951). As the case for individualism spread, various disciplines worked together to provide more information about the whole child. Such disciplines included linguistics, phonetics, physiology, psychology, medicine, audiology, audiometry, speech therapy and education.

Despite the co-operation between many groups of professions for the benefit of the deaf, perhaps the most serious omission has been the lack of centralised control. There has never been any real centralised direction in the evolution of educational provision for the deaf. Some professional bodies have held influence, but essentially there has only been ad hoc local decision making that has been "tainted with misplaced jealousies and pride" (Reeves, cited in McLoughlin, 1987; 83).

In her memoirs, Joan wrote about the impact of this growing focus of the professionals involved in deaf education on a medical approach:

> *Unfortunately, during their professional training, most doctors (as well as most audiologists and speech therapists and many educators) learn to treat deafness purely as a pathology, and they cannot begin to formulate questions that treat it as a culture. (Joan)*

She seems to indicate that the memory traces teachers inherit were biased towards the treatment of the deaf as a pathology. This led to the banning of sign language, the punishment of those who used it (with the exception of students in the school's Deaf

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Department during break and lunch time) and the focus on students using their voices and hearing aids. Perhaps more importantly, however, the construction of what it meant to be deaf was based on a deficit model, a construction of loss rather than gain. The concept of deafness as a gain (Bauman & Murray, 2014; Young & Temple, 2014) is usually credited to sign language users who develop enhanced visuospatial abilities, not only a benefit of deafness but something which adds to the biocultural diversity of life.

Other influences that had real impact on the school in case include the development of the National Curriculum and the growing financial constraints which began in the 1970s. The government began to "address the means to measure, improve and monitor quality" (Holloway, 1994; 60) in education. This focus on student progression highlighted, to many of the participants, the impact of oralist practice on the curriculum:

> *We suddenly didn't have time for oralism because we had to get certain bits of knowledge into them. (Marie)*

By this, I infer that the school, in the 1980s had embraced the mainstream curriculum that prescribed what had to be learned by the mainstream population. Part of the process of normalisation would have been to accept this curriculum in order to treat deaf children simply as children who could not hear. This was the spirit of the times and it would be many years before people started to question the impact of normalisation on the teaching methods of deaf children, especially signing deaf children, and to start creating deaf pedagogies that recognised important differences in ways of knowing and learning.

> *...the hours spent in 'speech' lessons could have been far better spent. (Sophie)*

> *With the help of signing I was able to teach the curriculum at the same rate of progress with both sets of pupils. It was evident that where signing was not used the Deaf Department pupils moved at a significantly slower pace. (Sophie)*

In 1977 the Department of Education and Science proffered the idea of a national curriculum and a unit was created, the Assessment of Performance Unit, to test samples

of children (DES, 1977). Interestingly, this document also argued for the teaching through the medium of Welsh in Wales as:

> *The evidence does not suggest that either the inclusion of Welsh in the curriculum or its use as a medium of teaching has harmful effects on general educational progress. (DES, 1977; 13)*

Clearly the argument for the inclusion of a minority language in Wales, despite the acknowledgement that English was still required, was a move towards more inclusive use of minority languages. One of the biggest threats to the school in study, however, was finance. After 1975, there began to be freezes in educational expenditure in education (DES, 1977). Since 1976, the government reinforced comprehensive education which included everyone despite ability or disability. Suddenly deaf children were most likely to go to a local school as a deaf school should only be an option if a local offer could not meet the needs. Even then, however, the term "unreasonable public expenditure" started to be used if the local authority found the expense of the special school prohibitive (Barnes, 1991).

5.6 Issues with Culture

During the 1960s, in British society, there was an ideological shift to explore human rights for minority groups "including the emergence of movements that were opposed to existing mainstream educational conventions" (Branson & Miller, 2002 ;209). The school in case, however, still acted to shore up its oral traditions, especially for those who could access oral education. In 1968 the school leadership divided the Primary and Secondary aged students into two departments, the Deaf Department and the Partially Hearing Department (PHD). It was not an audiological separation, however, "they separated the children on language ability, not degree of deafness" (Marie). When the split occurred, Sophie remarked that the children in the PHD lost out culturally because "there was not such a clear idea of Deaf culture in those days." Staff were clear on what the expectations of leadership were, however, as Nigel remarked, "Adam was responsible for the Partially Hearing Department and he was against signing."

Since the 19th century, schools for the deaf have acted as the main transmitters of sign language and Deaf culture, even though many of them have used oral methods of teaching. In fact, it has been suggested that each school for the deaf had its own distinct variety of sign (Deuchar 1984), which was passed on to each new generation of children as part of an evolving and richly varied Deaf culture (McDonnell, 2016; Stokoe 1983). The Lewis report (1968) reflected that although most schools for the deaf in Britain were officially oral, "some form of manual communication was used on an informal basis in almost all schools" (Sutton-Spence, 2003; 44).

The participants of this study were asked to reflect on how the students engaged in the production of Deaf culture in the school. Only five answered this question. Faye, Peter and Nigel understood that it was a student led pedagogy:

> *It came with the residential life. In the 1950s and 60s there were thirteen to fourteen week terms with no contact with home. I once heard of a boy who sat in silence for the whole holiday at home. (Peter)*

> *This was natural in the life of the school and college and also the old pupils' association. It was up to staff to enable this to happen and to celebrate it but sadly few did. In the old days there were many who just tried to make the students 'hearing' and did not give credence or understanding to deaf culture. (Faye)*

> *…all the boys were signing… (Nigel)*

The students felt a need to adopt sign language and Deaf culture which alienated them from the school policy of speaking and listening and created a division between them and teachers who felt bound by the oral method. For Faye, Peter and Nigel, they realised that they should respond to the fact that the students signed to each other and that sign language was their preferred mode of communication. The two other teachers responded:

> *I honestly can't answer this one - I don't know how this was done. (Sophie)*

> *If they were able to get to a deaf club they could access that [Deaf culture] ... (Marie)*

It seems that for some teachers, they had thought about cultural issues that were relevant to deaf children but other teachers were ignorant of what was going on around them, at least in terms of the cultural meanings of these events or they repressed them. For example:

> *Deaf Culture was a phrase I heard in these early days but I don't think that it was given much consideration. (Sophie)*

> *When I started at the school [1975], I was aware of Deaf culture and BSL, but it was not allowed in the school. (Mark)*

Here, Mark and Sophie admitted to participating in the repression of Deaf culture either by giving it little consideration or by allowing the ideology of the school to dominate their thinking. This marginalising of Deaf culture served to deny the students opportunity to explore publicly significant parts of their social experiences as deaf people. They had access to the school's vision of what it was to be deaf but the silencing of Deaf culture in school excluded them from the creation of many social meanings (Fricker, 2013). Nigel recounted a recurring discussion with a former student:

> *Simon said on more than one occasion we [hearing people] shouldn't be telling them [deaf people] what to do. (Nigel)*

To me, Nigel displayed a degree of cultural competency by not only acquiring sign from the students but also by listening to their views. It seems that these deaf views went largely unheeded and Peter, for one, felt that the students' sign language was not ambitious enough:

> *I personally always wanted to improve their language and understanding of it. I was ambitious for them, on their behalf, if you like, they weren't ambitious enough. I wanted to expand their BSL vocabularies, I always thought they were limited, not to say narrow and conservative. I saw Signed English as a means to open their minds. (Peter)*

Peter had earlier explained that some English words, for example, "true, sure, surely, truth, honest, certain all have the same BSL sign." BSL, however, was a student led pedagogy and, as a result, had a limited vocabulary which was not helped by students not having access to Deaf role models. BSL, or the language which deaf people in Britain acquire most easily and towards which they appear to shift quite spontaneously as they grow older (Brennan 1986) did not achieve academic recognition as a fully functional and efficient linguistic system in its own right until the mid-1970s (Edwards & Ladd 1984). Symptomatic of this rather tardy interest is the fact that BSL has only been an accepted linguistic label since 1976 and only became an accepted official language of the UK in 2003 (McEntee-Atalianis, 2006). The same may be said of other European countries too, however. For example, *Russian Sign Language* (RSL) was introduced as a label to designate the sign language of Russians only in 1991 (Pursglove, 1995) and fourteen years later had still not been accorded official recognition as a minority language (Komarova and Pursglove, 2005).

The term 'Deaf Culture' did not emerge until the late 1970s (Leigh et al., 1998; Ladd, 2003). This did not mean that deaf culture did not exist, like the tardy appellation of BSL as a language, but it usually went under the terms of 'Deaf Way,' Deaf World' or 'Deaf Community.' These terms, however, were "...presented as givens, so that there is little real debate about what they might mean or signify" (Ladd, 2003; 233).

During the interviews, it became evident that there were tensions, for some staff, in using the oral method for teaching children who they thought belonged in the signing Deaf world because they were either children of Deaf parents or because they were profoundly deaf and, by the teachers' own concession, were never going to talk or lip-read well. Mark commented on these tensions and his own conformity with the oral method, "When I started I took on the values of the school and didn't question them."

The role of teachers, as educators, was to fit deaf children to be integrated into mainstream society rather than into the Deaf world. Faye experienced these tensions as a result of her first encounter with a daughter of culturally Deaf parents in the mid-1970s:

> *As a young teacher [teaching in the Partially Hearing Department] I was interested to find that one of my students signed fluently, although at that time, of course, I could not understand her. I learnt that she had a brother in the Deaf Department and that they were the children of deaf parents, where signing was their home language. It was my first realisation that it was not just signing, that it was in fact a language and my first understanding of the possibility of a Deaf culture, none of which had been explained or discussed in my training to become a Teacher of the Deaf. I wanted to understand what the children were trying to convey to me. They always 'acted' and 'gesticulated' and maybe they were 'signing' too? In order to equip myself to understand the children that I was teaching and to give them the best possible help, I felt I needed to learn signing. (Faye)*

The banning of sign language meant that the acceptance of the Deaf as a cultural and linguistic minority was slow in being recognised in educational establishments. Reeves (1976; 261, 262) wrote:

> *The group most critical of the educational system seems to be the younger well educated category many of whom are ex-pupils of Mary Hare Grammar School.... Curiously they claim that oralism has sold them short and believe that they have fared better under a manual system... Can it be that they do not fully appreciate the nature of deafness...but still they are critical of the oral system?*

It seems an odd statement to say that an educated deaf person did not "appreciate the nature of deafness." Wilkinson (1967) warned, almost twenty years earlier, that one of the misconceptions which had beset deaf schools for so long was that they were "protectors and 'benign controllers of children'" (Wilkinson, 1967; 419). One can see how change and an acceptance of Deaf culture would have been difficult in this period of time when attitudes, expressed so publicly, were like this. Reeves was the Head of Whitebrook School for the Deaf, in Manchester, and editor of the journal, *Teacher of the Deaf,* though in his preamble to his article he acknowledges that "the meeting at which the address was [originally] presented passed a motion requesting the editor to publish the paper" (Reeves,

1976; 253). Clearly, there was a lot of professional support for his position. He also maintained that the "adult deaf position is that manualism/oralism are media for communication not educational systems" (Reeves, 1976; 262). Although published in 1991, Craddock writes of her experiences at the Mare Hare Grammar School for the Deaf, during the early 1970s:

> *As I look back I consider it oppressive that the staff tried to stop us from signing. Some of us were punished, but it did not stop us. I feel that I compromised myself because I would try and make sure I was not caught, whereas if I had been aware of the importance of BSL I would have demanded my rights as a Deaf person to be able to use my language. (Craddock, 1991; 100)*

> *Had I been aware of the value of BSL when I was younger I would have used it more, and I am convinced that had Sign Language been used at school I would have achieved much more and found it enjoyable. (Craddock, 1991; 101)*

Craddock was the daughter of Deaf parents and acquired BSL in the home, but her parents supported her move to Mary Hare and of her need to learn to speak, lip-read and use hearing aids, although these efforts were not particularly effective. She left school having been told that her speech was good, but she found that, in the hearing world, she was not understood when she tried to talk. She, therefore, felt cheated by a school which disadvantaged her in banning and punishing sign language and which told her that she spoke well when the reality was that most of the teachers in her school, adults who communicated with her and other deaf children on a daily basis, did not understand her and she needed the help of her friends to communicate with some of them.

Even in the 1950s there was an awareness of the preference of some deaf children to finger-spell over speaking and listening and that they usually took up sign language when schooling had finished and associated themselves with the Missions for the deaf where they found a social life with other deaf people (Bates, 1959a; Bates 1959b; Clarke, 1962; Stokoe, 1960)). It had certainly been known for almost a century that the majority of deaf people usually married other deaf people (Stokoe, 1960), in spite of policies and procedures that banned signing (Greenaway, 1959) and separated deaf people from each other so they would not 'contaminate' each other with their sign language (Clarke, 1962).

Signing, then, was usually an underground affair, far from the prying eyes of teachers but both language and culture were usually acquired by deaf children at school (Ladd, 2003).

Another justification of the suppression of sign language came from Wilkinson (1963; 37) who wrote, "The most valid objection to the use of signs and finger-spelling by the deaf is that such communication is not in common use..." There are no exact figures for BSL users in Britain. In 2007 there were approximately 30,000 to 70,000 people who used it as their first language but "on any day up to 250,000 people use some BSL" (Sutton-Spence, 2007). This amounts to, about, 0.4% of the population but in the 1960s it seems highly unlikely that there would have been even 0.2%, as a large part of the population that used BSL in 2007 were hearing people, probably family members of a deaf sign language user (DWP, 2010). In the 1960s fewer family members would have engaged in using BSL as the official policy for deaf education was the oral method.

Ladd refers to the banning of language and culture from deaf children as a form of colonialism. Colonialism sets out to destroy indigenous cultures and replace them with dominant cultures and in similar vein, oralism, as a philosophical force, has been a barrier to prevent deaf children accessing or using sign language (Ladd, 2003). Once the Congress of Milan declared, "The convention considering the incontestable superiority of speech over signs, a) for restoring deaf-mutes to social life, and b) for giving them greater facility of language, declares that the method of articulation should have the preference over that of signs in instruction in education of the deaf and dumb" (Grant, 1990; 8), then it led to suppression of sign language by the education system. To ban sign language, which is akin to colonisation of the deaf world, was effectively what happened after the Congress of Milan in 1880 (Rée, 1999). It is clear that there were elements of student subversion in the days of the oral method, either in the classroom or in the relative privacy of the playground. There were clear rules against signing, with sanctions, yet students engaged in signing when they thought they were out of the prying eyes of the teachers. It seems, however, that some of the teachers turned a blind eye, or at least they were aware of what was happening but felt powerless to stop it.

It was obvious that a significant portion of the deaf children were lagging behind and dependent on the partials for help. They were very sly. They used signing when staff were not looking or just a few words very quickly. (Peter)

It is possible to say that this was a student reaction to the subversion of deaf students minds by a system not willing to use, or accept the use of, the students natural sign language, a situation common to colonialism and the 'civilising influence' of Christianity in Africa.

What we are practicing at Makere, day in and out, is the subversion ...of the African mind; the breaking down of mental tissues; their reconstruction in the Western mode; the reordering of thoughts, feelings, habits, responses, of every aspect of the mind and personality. This is what we are doing, and cannot avoid doing – this is the core of our activity (Murray Carlin in Stanley, 1960; 11, in Sichermann, 1995; 11)

An historian, reflecting on nineteenth century Britain, commented on Victorian colonialism:

...the Imperialism of the late Victorian period went deeper than any political action or political theory ...Imperialism was a sentiment rather than a policy; its foundations were moral rather than intellectual. (Somervell, 1962; 186)

Parallels may be made with the world of deaf education as the aims of oralism were achieved not simply through an overarching policy or theory, but through the sentiments and morality of those that worked with the deaf. It would appear that folkways such as the belief that the deaf lived in a hearing world meant that an intrinsic aim of education was on inclusion into society through English language development by means of the media of speaking and listening:

I hear some deaf people are against [cochlear] implants. How do they go on in the hearing world? (Esther)

Similar sentiments may have been echoed in the aftermath of the French Revolution. In order to make the glorious ideals of the new republic accessible to the general public, one

was required to speak Parisian French, not Breton or Occitan etc. The revolutionary government announced:

> *...l'unité de l'idiome est une partie intégrante de la revolution. [Unity of the language is an integral part of the revolution] (Rickard,1989; 120)*

In order for equality and democracy to be had by all, one was required to participate in the language of the state and not the 'patois' that was actually predominant throughout France at the time (Lodge, 1993). The understanding was that speaking a different language along with illiteracy in written French led to obscurity and was undemocratic because it prevented people taking part in political debate, accessing official documents etc. Bourdieu (1982; 31), however, warned, that it was also about power:

> *It would be naïve to attribute the policy of linguistic unification exclusively to the technical need of communication between the different parts of the territory. ... The conflict between the French of the revolutionary intelligentsia and the local idioms or patois is a conflict over symbolic power whose end is the formation and reformation of mental structures.*

France was also moving from a small rural economy to a large urban market economy, but despite economic and other forces shaping the linguistic future of France, the key force was the "political and ideological homogenisation of France" (Lodge, 1993; 198). It could even be said that one was being unpatriotic to not embrace the new ideologies that many of their fellow countrymen had died for in casting off the oppressive monarchy. Local dialects, after the revolution, were stigmatised and actively discriminated against. Oppressive French language policies, then, not only grew out of the ideologies of egalitarianism and progress but also as the symbolic power of the new state. Obscurantism, or opposition to enlightenment and dissemination of knowledge, also arose:

> *The French Revolution takes Lavoisier to the guillotine, partially as a result of obscurantism ("The Republic does not need scientists," the official who condemned him reportedly stated) and partially because of his connection with the ancient régime's tax collection system. (Schwartzman, 1991; 27)*

In similar fashion, in the world of the education of the deaf, very few teachers would have wanted anything but for their deaf charges to take their place in society as literate beings and to make a contribution to and understand what was happening in the hearing community:

> *If a deaf person cannot use English then they cannot participate in the society …any kid who can't use the language of their home country is at a disadvantage. (Marie)*

This seductive moral framework of normalisation must have been the pervading influence in most minds. But this ideal of bringing deaf children out of obscurity through the oral method, also promoted obscurantism as many children had very little access to language through those methods. The oral method, for many students, concealed what it should have been revealing.

Writing about deaf education in the early nineteenth century America, Altschuler (2011) stated:

> *Oralists understood signing to keep deaf people separate and to some degree in tension with fellow citizens. And as arguments for deaf instruction had originally come out of paternalistic, benevolent, unifying impulses, the proponents of oralism saw themselves as returning to the original mission of American deaf education. (Altschuler, 2011)*

The oralist aim, therefore, was to unify society and for deaf people, in common with all, this would be through speaking and listening. The 'civilising influence' on deaf children is learning to hear (or lip read) and speak (or be literate). With those skills deaf children would be welcomed and could participate in the 'civilised' world. This is an approach to disability in which the disabled are 'cured' rather than accepted for who they are or who they want to be (for many deaf people, a different cultural group with its own language). Firth (1966) used the term camouflage to explain the phenomena of when deaf people try to fit in with the world but inside many know that they cannot adapt, nevertheless, they

make great efforts not to disappoint their parents and the hearing world in which they inhabit:

> *When I used to go out, I used to cover my hearing aids, I didn't want people to see. I used to hide my signing, I didn't want hearing people to see me. I didn't want to look stupid so I always used to hide away. (Denise, former student)*

The hearing world had colonised her mind, she was policing herself and, therefore, participating in her own oppression. As Ladd has indicated, although the deaf do not constitute a colony in the traditional sense, comparisons are useful as the battleground for colonialism is culturally driven, not economically driven. Colonial liberation, then, must be accompanied by a "de-colonisation of the minds" (Ladd, 2003; 80).

In discussing the cultural differences between deaf students and hearing teachers, the following passage, by Henry Wolcott (1994; 270), who had written about his experiences as a white American teaching Canadian First Nation children, was read to the teachers who were being interviewed:

> *In a setting in which critical differences between a teacher and his pupils are rooted in antagonisms of cultural rather than classroom origins, I believe that the teacher might succeed in coping more effectively with conflict and in capitalizing on his instructional efforts if he were to recognize and to analyse his ascribed role as "enemy" rather than attempts to ignore or deny it. To those educators who insist that a teacher must always present a facade of cheery optimism in the classroom, the notion of the teacher as an enemy may seem unacceptable, overly negative, perhaps even dangerous. One might question, however, whether cheery optimism and a determination to accomplish "good" inevitably serve the best interests of culturally different pupils...*

Some participants recognised that the deaf were a different cultural group, however, those that responded to the question did not feel that they were regarded as an "enemy" to the students in any way because of culture differences:

> *I never got the impression that the teaching staff were regarded as the "enemy." Many of my colleagues were and are remembered with affection and greeted*

warmly at reunions with lots of happy reminiscences and laughter. Never felt enmity between children and staff on either side, particularly in the old school, which was a grubby worn out Victorian institution. I always felt the staff banded together to provide diversions and to cheer their children's lives in any way they could in that grim old dump. There was always a lot going on at Christmas. The pantomime was a big event, mainly for the children and wasn't a performance for parents and people from the outside. It was for the pupils, performed by the staff, and endless time, resources and invention went into it every year. I remember playing the back end of a camel inside a magnificent paper mâché full size animal – very hot! Two scout groups, one guide company, one cub pack and one brownie pack met once a week and all had summer camps. Parties galore, at every opportunity, and the majority of the staff were involved in all of these: Nature walks, fishing, canoeing, cinema outings, County Show, sea side, etc. All the staff did this out of school duty, supervising children for the whole day until bed time, Saturdays and Sundays too. Men received £45 per annum and women £32 per annum. Dan worked it out at about 6 ½ pence an hour. Played games with the hearing schools and organisations and swam in local galas, often with success. Staff were fully engaged with the pupils. Did I think we were an "enemy?" No, they were always very tolerant. Not an "enemy," an "alien" perhaps. (Peter)

I never saw myself as an enemy and hope the kids didn't see me as such. I hope I tried to value and respect their differences, for example by always asking them for help with signing vocabulary. I find the "enemy" idea a bit over the top and a huge overstatement of any half-way sensitive teacher with their children. Even Marie, the kids might not have liked her but they knew she'd get them a good grade at GCSE so she wasn't a complete enemy. The Indian thing sounds a lot more plausible for the "enemy" idea - it just sounds far too extreme for how our deaf children might have felt. (May)

I'll say no. The only time I ever felt an enemy was because of working with a difficult boy but it wasn't his deafness or culture it was because he was a thug. (Marie)

Sorry, but I never saw myself as an enemy, nor do I think that my pupils saw me as one. In fact Julia, a lovely girl from a completely Deaf culture was my greatest ally and a great help to me when I was struggling to learn signing. (Sophie)

No, never. I always respected their culture and asked for help or assistance if I offended or got it wrong in any way and also to develop myself within their culture. (Faye)

I did not ask past students if they thought the teachers were "enemies." Most commented on having enjoyed school even if they didn't cope well with the oral method:

> *I started at the Deaf School in the war time, 1942.When I first started I was really frightened. I used to cry, my parents had left me. I can remember the headmaster, Mr. Landels at the time, he gave me a cuddle and it made me happy. He encouraged me to go with the other deaf children, I was only five years old! Time went on and I was there for a long time. I left the Deaf School in 1953. I had a really good education. (Tim (1940s))*

> *I remember being taught at Exeter Deaf School, the teachers taught me well, they were really good. It was a fantastic school. I wish I could go back again! (Isobel (1950s))*

> *I really had a fantastic time at Exeter Deaf School. (Ted (1960s))*

> *I never wanted to leave, really. I always had a good time at school. Being at the Deaf School was like being part of a community, everyone could sign. I would go home at the weekend and just be bored. I couldn't wait to get back to school. I could get back with all my friends and communicate. Then I would be back home bored again, the six weeks holidays were the worst. I had no friends at home, no one that could sign. My friends lived a long way away and it was really hard to try and visit. I really liked school and I was always excited to be back. I'm glad I was a residential student. (Denise (1970s))*

From interviews with past staff, as well as with past students, there was no feeling of antagonism and yet there did exist a feeling of 'us and them' in a convivial sense. A big difference between Wolcott's first nation Canadian children and the deaf students, however, was that the first nation children had first nation parents. They were very much aware of their culture and, therefore, the threat that outsiders had on their culture. The vast majority of deaf children, however, have hearing parents so the culture they pick up from home is their family culture along with an emphasis on speaking and listening. At the school, they would be acculturated into Deaf culture and language by their peers and for this they were, in the main, very grateful.

The participants were asked whether they felt that their hearing culture was at variance to Deaf culture for which there were five responses. Some staff recognised that there were differences:

> *Yes, children who didn't go home joined my family outings occasionally. They became introverted and were happier back at school. (Peter)*

> *I never felt that I clashed with Deaf Culture. I always respected it and was happy to embrace the cultural differences. (Sophie)*

Marie did not see an issue with culture clash, "No because I lived 24 hours a day there. When you go to the old pupils' association you get loads of hugs and kisses because the kids know you cared." Whereas Alice felt that it was not cultural variance that separated the staff from the students, "Students were perceived as being disabled. I only remember them being talked about as a linguistic group recently." She was indicating that, during her teaching period, she had not seen the students being treated as if they were from a different linguistic group, only from a disability perspective. She felt that teachers were treating the students from a medical perspective, a view of disability which "tends to regard disabled people as 'having something wrong with them' and hence the source of the problem" (Oliver, 2004; 20). May reiterated this stance when she expressed her opinion that the biggest change in deaf education during her life was "regarding deafness as a difference rather than a handicap." This can be taken as evidence of 'othering' the deaf by creating notions about their inferiority based on the discourse of normalisation. The impact of normalisation, and its attendant medical view, was to fix, cure or at least help deaf children to listen and speak through the use of residual hearing, technology, speech and language interventions. Another impact was the use of damaging labels and deficit driven medicalised conceptions of disability (Sheldon, 2017) such as referring to the students as 'partials' or the 'deaf.' These categories may advantage some students, the 'partials,' simply because they are nearer to the hearing norm but may further penalise the already marginalised group of 'deaf' children because these deterministic labels come loaded with meanings (Carey, 2004). The impact of these labels and attitudes prompted Esther to remark on the Deaf Department that, "There was no expectation for academic achievement." As Peter exclaimed, it had become a bit of a "sorry place."

The participants were also asked how the school encouraged the students to embrace Deaf culture but only three responded:

> None that I recall. Missioners came in from time to time, Reverend Brown and Reverend Firth and social workers. (Peter)

> In the early years of my teaching, not at all. (Faye)

> In most of my time they didn't. (Sophie)

Participants were also asked about whether the school tried to block student access to Deaf culture. Four of the participants responded:

> It didn't but signing was actively discouraged. (Peter)

> There was a very strong focus on speaking and listening when I started at the school. Students wrote lines if they were caught signing. (Mark)

> By neither embracing it nor understanding it. (Faye)

> 'Partials' and 'deaf' were not allowed to meet, even in out of school activities. (Sophie)

5.7 Ideology of Common Sense

Cultural hegemony is most strongly manifested when the ideologies of the dominant group are considered to be natural and inevitable by those whom they dominate. These ideologies become internalised into our consciousness as memory traces and become common-sense notions (Gramsci, 1971; Giddens, 1984). Common-sense, however, can be contradictory in nature and it was in this dialectical interplay that created opportunity for opposition and resistance. The ideological messages surrounding oralism were partly created by the institution's leadership and policies, by the teachers' professional association (British Association for Teachers of the Deaf), teacher training, the medical profession and other external forces. One of the pervasive ideologies that was internalised by all of the staff, at some point, was that the oral method worked for all deaf children. This issue was discussed in depth in Chapter 5.1 but I raise the issue here because it highlights

the dialectical nature of these common-sense ideologies. The oral method, as taught to the teachers, should have worked for all students, and it did for many, but staff were unanimous in saying that there were some students who didn't benefit from it and that, in the main, there was no other provision made for them, they were "just churned out the other side" (Nigel). There was also the belief that the world was hearing and that any person wishing to succeed had to acquire English, usually spoken English. Some teachers disagreed with this dominant and overriding focus of achieving spoken English proficiency but they appeared to be in the minority. Oralist logic, however, blinded most people to any alternatives as Sophie said, "I think this was much to do with going along with the politics of the day, when signing was actively discouraged in schools." Faye also helped put me in the picture by pointing out that that anything less than speaking and listening was regarded as failure although a few of the participants questioned this vision of oralist achievement and asked themselves whether the use of signing with some students would have better purpose. Those participants who questioned the oralist vision also questioned the validity of a "hearing world," seeing a place for deaf people in the world. They therefore saw the world more as a place where deaf 'difference' could be accommodated rather than where deaf children were 'normalised.'

Another common-sense logic was that the students were described in medical terms. However, this logic also had some counterpoise. Some participants, such as Faye and Nigel, recognised the students as being from a different cultural or linguistic group and that mixing with the broader community didn't necessarily mean that the deaf students had to learn English as their first language. Nigel, in fact, recognised that he could be the person changing his methods of communication to suit the students:

> *I used to work in the evenings and all the boys were signing so I thought, "This is the way to communicate, we must do the same." (Nigel)*

According to May, the use of sign language was more than just about communication, it presented an opportunity for a shift in teachers' views to incorporate the Deaf view and the importance of their community and culture and put the student at the centre of deaf education:

The biggest effect of our becoming more accepting of sign language has in a way been an empowering of the pupils. (May)

By this she meant that students felt that they no longer had to accept mainstream communication but could create and celebrate their membership of a cultural/linguistic minority group through the use of sign language. The importance of the dialectical interplay in some common-sense notions led to opportunities for oppositional behaviours, which I will discuss next.

5.8 Agency: Opposition and Resistance

One of the unintended discoveries from some of the interviews was the existence of oppositional behaviours during the years of the oral method, not just from students but from teachers as well. As Giddens (1984) has indicated, agency is the power that human actors have to reproduce the structural properties or to operate, occasionally, independently of these constraints. The domination of structures is rarely complete leaving space and opportunity for opposition and resistance. Opposition, however, is more than just disagreeing with the institutions ideology and practices, it requires action. It requires knowing alternative ideologies and practices and being able to act in a different way. Staff, in general, started at the school committed to the oralist ways and as Peter acknowledged, "the staff didn`t know anything else other than the oral system in the main." However, there were also other considerations, even if a member of staff did think that the oral method was not working and they should use sign language, Peter, again pointed out "they didn't sign, oralism was all they were used to and they weren't sure what the school's and the parents' reaction would be."

This is an important consideration. If staff did not have any other choices, then they persisted with the oral method because it was all they knew. As Peter indicated, to be able to consider another choice, they needed to have another option, the ability to sign, for example.

The first notion I had about any oppositional behaviours in the school came about in a conversation with Peter about how he had been convinced to use sign when he started the Opportunity unit in 1973. He informed me that Dan Jenkins (who taught at the school from 1950 – 1965) had signed all the time with groups of boys that he taught who had additional special educational needs, despite the fact that the official policy was oralism. Despite seeing Dan use signs with his group of boys, Peter nevertheless felt bound by the school's oralist policy until the opportunity arose in 1973 for him to begin to use the same techniques with a group of boys that would have been reminiscent of the groups that Dan had once worked with. The point here is that Peter had seen an alternative to the oral method and had seen how it had worked with students with additional needs.

Many of the oppositional behaviours in the institution were simply circumventing the oralist policy. For example, Trish related an experience when working in the Nursery provision in the early 1960s:

> *One girl in the nursery department …came from a Deaf family. Her parents were deaf and her older siblings were deaf. All of them were deaf and they must have used sign language at home. The children were all at the school and when we couldn't understand what this little one was trying to say she'd get so frustrated that she'd end up signing to us which of course wasn't allowed and didn't help either because we didn't know sign language. Anyhow, in desperation, I'd send over to school for her sister and she would come into nursery and translate the message.*

For many teachers, however, oppositional behaviours simply involved allowing the students to sign between themselves without punishing them. Some staff, however, used students to interpret for peers in the class as Peter indicated, "Some teachers employed partially hearing children to sign to their deafer peers if something was vital for them to know or they were unhappy about any situation that had happened and they had misunderstood." Though this did not happen in all classrooms as one previous student attested:

I remember that I was good at lip reading and some of my friends didn't know what was being said. I would try and help them by signing but if I was caught the teacher threw chalk at me or punished me. (Beverley (1959 – 1973))

According to Peter, staff excused themselves for using student translators because they were "Cursed with stupid deaf children who don't understand plain English." I interpreted this to mean that staff believed that instead of the oral method failing the children, it was the other way around, that deaf children were failing the oral system.

I asked five former students whether any of them had seen teachers use signs in the classroom:

I never saw teachers sign in class. Dan Jenkins used a few signs. (Daffyd (1942 – 1953))

Mr. Kettlewell could sign a little bit and talked at the same time. (Derek (1947 – 1956))

Teachers never signed but sometimes older girls in the class signed. If they were caught they were punished. (Tracey (1958 – 1970))

Peter Taylor used to use some basic signs and Brett Davies but none of the others. (Paul (1960 – 1973))

One, my favourite teacher, Mr. Munn, the others were all oral. (Colin (1968 – 1979)

Five teachers were mentioned by a group of eight students. I revisited two participants I had previously interviewed, Nigel Munn and Peter Taylor. I asked Nigel if he was aware of the fact that he may have been favoured by the students in school because of his willingness to sign in the classroom. He declined to comment on that particular issue but did say:

I picked up some signing when I worked as a House Parent [from 1958 until 1964] and I used to use signs to some children. I worked in the Deaf Department when the school split into the two departments and when the

children were struggling to understand I used to help them out, you know, just to get the message across.

I asked him whether he had used BSL but he explained that he used signs[34], not necessarily a sequence of signs, so it was not really language in itself but supported spoken English. Clearly, though, he was opposing the oral method.

The students, above, were expressing a preference to teachers who could communicate with them in a visual way. By Nigel's admission, his signing wasn't BSL but it was enough for students to understand the information he wanted to get across. What Nigel was doing, in using signs, was adapting his methods to suit the students he was teaching. The use of signing, then, could be seen as a cultural marker of hearing staff having developed, at least, some sensitivity to Deaf culture and who adopted some form of Deaf cultural identity. Nigel had been faced with a system which was not working well for all students and he realised that the answer lay in the way the students communicated with each other. He recognised that deaf children were a group and commented on the isolation they sometimes felt during his teaching days:

> *Before, there were a lot of children who were isolated. Back in my day the Deaf community was not as strong as it is now. Now deaf people can jump in a car and meet up and with modern technology they can text or use the internet. (Nigel)*

Not only did Nigel recognise that many deaf children created a linguistic group, he also recognised the need to take the perspective of deaf people. He commented on a conversation with a deaf adult and recollected that he was told that hearing people "shouldn't be telling them [deaf people] what to do." He also tried to modify his teaching methods, not just through the use of some signs to meet the linguistic needs of his students:

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[34] I use the word signs, here, to mean the manual use of elements of sign language. Nigel accepted that he was not using sign language but the occasional sign to support his oral utterances, similar to Sign Supported English.

I always thought about how to say things to them so that they would understand. I was always thinking about how to make a concept simple. The language standards were not high compared with their hearing peers so the language had to be different. (Nigel)

Oppositional behaviours are created in the face of contradictory discourses and values and Nigel was opposing the oral method by incorporating signs in his teaching. In using signs he was acknowledging Deaf culture and empowering the students by allowing them access to knowledge visually and giving them a certain relief from their disconnection with oral teaching. He also acknowledged the pressures from the school and parents for students to be able to speak and assented to his isolation from other members of staff in the sense that he used signs but did not divulge to others his ways of teaching.

Peter operated within the system, however, but with the advent of more students with special needs he introduced signing into his teaching in the school's Opportunity Unit. I asked him how he had managed to persuade the head teacher to allow him to use signing:

How did I convince Roy Olding about the signing? Well I didn't sign immediately in the Unit, I was still learning myself, and then it was gently incorporated. Roy didn't mind, he was just happy that the school was seen to be addressing the problem of multiply handicapped pupils in a positive way. I used to get a lot of visitations from the more responsible Governors. When I was signing, one said, "This is all very well, Mr Taylor, but they are still unintelligible!" I had to point out the value of learning to write coherently from the result of signing and that writing was a viable means of communication. Happily, he accepted that and all was forgiven, apparently. (Peter)

I asked him if he had ever used sign language previously:

I didn't sign in the Deaf Department but once I had the Opportunity children the need was obvious. Never forget the first time I signed in class one Monday afternoon, there was an immediate relaxation in the teenaged boys I had at that time, shoulders eased and a lot more smiles and laughter. I felt it was the right thing for these sub-totally deaf boys. So, I was committed from then on. My difficulty was teaching reading and language using BSL, so Steve and I set

about devising a form of Signed English with markers and devised signs to fill in the gaps. It was poor stuff and it was a big relief when WPSE [the Working Party in Signed English] was formed and a proper well thought out system was slowly devised with training and assessments included. I still believe such a system has a place in deaf children's education. (Peter)

Resistance, however, was very much an insular affair. I asked both Peter and Nigel if they had ever talked to fellow colleagues about how the oral method was failing some children and how they were using signs. They both answered with a resounding "No!"

Peter's dilemma started with him having to teach students who could not cope with the oral method of the time. He, initially, circumvented the rules by allowing students to sign to those who did not understand, an oppositional behaviour. Another resource that he had at hand, however, was to have witnessed Dan Jenkinson use sign to teach his boys in the late 1950s until 1965 when Dan left. Peter knew that signing worked with these types of students and that was one reason he had used student interpreters in his class. His motivation to try a different deaf pedagogy meant that he volunteered to take the additional special needs class at the school in 1973 and he used sign language with these students. His resistance to the oral methods of teaching meant that a Department opened in the school that used signing, in spite of the prevailing oral system.

Faye also mentioned staff room talk being focused on the oral method and making it work:

It was always in discussion with all teachers about how to teach deaf children English and how to speak. There were numerous language schemes that were tried and used. Keen teachers and intensive teaching meant that there were some successes, obviously. Mother tongue, maternal reflective method, endless repetition backed up with written sentences. Speech teaching and language lab every day. Teachers all had their speech enhanced with loud speakers in sound proofed classrooms or hard wired to the group aids. (Faye)

Faye also showed oppositional behaviour in wanting to learn to sign. She recounts of an occasion when she met a deaf child of deaf adults who was able to use BSL proficiently and her desire to also learn BSL:

> *I went to weekly classes with Reverend Firth, Missioner to the Deaf, and I was completely fascinated to learn not only signs, but the origins of signs and also about deaf culture. The Headmaster and Deputy Head discovered I was going to these lessons and I was summoned to a meeting and told that I was not allowed to attend, "If you learn to sign then you may use signs in your teaching." I promised that I would not but learning sign would help me understand what the children were trying to tell me. It was made clear that I had to stop attending the sign classes. I said I would but in fact continued to attend the classes. As time went on I discovered more and more about Deaf culture. I wanted to feel part of it and felt that it was important to do so if I was going to teach deaf children in the best way that I could.*

Faye's determination to continue to learn how to sign meant that her oppositional forms of behaviour had moved to become one of resistance because her aims of learning BSL was in the students' interests. I asked her what her motivation was to acquire BSL:

> *I was fascinated by the few children who came from deaf families and signed fluently. Some of them were in the Partially Hearing Department. Why? Because they already had a language, BSL, and coped well learning English so seemed 'bright' children. They had so much to say and were so interesting and that was my first motivation to understand and learn BSL and their culture too. Slowly I realized that all deaf children should have access to their own natural language and culture.*

> *My other huge motivation was that after years, from ages two to fourteen, of speech teaching and auditory training the children still had unintelligible speech! I remember being shocked watching a video film of a play done at Ovingdean School, another Oral School for the Deaf. I didn't understand their speech. Our school was the same; the children' speech was understood by teachers, other staff and their parents but not by other deaf or hearing children or the public. So, what was the point of all these years and years of speech teaching? Surely there had to be something else? (Faye)*

This desire to continue to learn and to understand Deaf culture, for the benefit of the students, ultimately put her job in jeopardy. She eventually resigned her position within the school and found employment in an organisation that officially welcomed the use of BSL. She resisted the oralist regime, however, by availing herself to an opportunity to learn the language of the Deaf community and thus opening herself up to a different way of understanding and teaching deaf students. I asked her about the impact of learning BSL:

> *I was, like many Teachers of the Deaf, animated, using gestures and props and also the blackboard then the overhead projector. Maybe some of my gestures were BSL? Meaningful communication and teaching always being the goal. Methodology always in question. Meeting the needs of Deaf children. (Faye)*

Faye had developed cultural competency through her acquisition of BSL and understandings of Deaf culture. She was also motivated by her recognition that oralism did not work for all the deaf children and changed her ways of teaching to include more gesture as well as creating a more visual environment that engaged her students. Ultimately, she did leave the school because she wanted to teach in a BSL environment.

For Nigel, Peter and Faye, they had resisted the oral method of teaching while they were still teaching, in order to help the students to understand better. However, an important part of their practice was thinking about the impact of their teaching on the students. I asked the participants if, during their teacher days, they ever felt there was an awareness that the oral method was an oppressive practice to which five replied. Two did not think it oppressive, even with hindsight:

> *No, I think we gave them the freedom to live. We had fun, all the time. Why do you think this was? (Marie)*

> *Speech, that's what I believe in. (Esther)*

Interestingly, of those who answered yes three were the participants who showed a degree of resistance to oralist practice by learning sign language:

> *Yes of course it oppresses the cultural rights of deaf children but it is appropriate on some level. Oralism is one method for teaching deaf children and was and is successful for bright partially hearing children. It was only oppressive for those who failed in that system. (Faye)*

> *Not originally but with time and experience I came to realise it failed most deaf children. (Peter)*

For at least three teachers, however, a realisation that the oral method may not have been the best practice for all the students came when they had retired and it was too late to make a difference in the lives of their students, and thus with their own lives:

> *Watching a TV programme one evening, I was aghast to find that a deaf man was complaining that signing was prohibited at his school. He felt that this was an infringement of his rights. "I was alright," he said, "because I came from a deaf family and grew up signing, so I taught all the other boys to sign." As an oralist I felt quite chastened. We were trying to help deaf children become part of the hearing community. Was this the wrong aim? Are we to blame ourselves for teaching oralism when signing might have been less stressful for the pupils? (Joan)*

> *Many of our profoundly deaf students might have been able to go to University had they been educated through sign language. (Fran)*

> *We were never allowed to sign when I worked at the deaf school. I know they [the ex-pupils] have forgiven me, but I am not sure that God has. (Fran)*

> *I wasn't aware of this at the time, although with hindsight I think that we did deaf children a disservice in the early days by not embracing sign language. (Sophie)*

On reviewing the questions on culture, not all the participants provided an answer to all the questions but there seemed to be some clear differences in which the three teachers who showed resistance to the oral method talked about these issues from their colleagues. Some differences may have seemed slight but they revealed key perspectival differences. A simple difference was how they thought about the world. Of the eleven teachers interviewed only four of them did not mention the 'hearing world.' Three of these participants were Faye, Peter and Nigel and the other participant was Rae. In some respects, the acknowledgement of the hearing world is not only an acknowledgement of a

'them' and 'us' situation but it is also not necessarily true. While most people in the world are hearing, the world also contains deaf/Deaf people. Perhaps the acknowledgement of a 'hearing world' is based on a world view of hearing people and because they are in the ascendancy, they feel that hearing and speaking are what 'normal' people do. That Faye, Peter and Nigel did not make mention, even once, of a 'hearing world' makes me think that in their minds there was space for everyone and normalisation did not have to occur to become one of 'us.'

Oral education of deaf children went through a series of challenges and changes in the immediate post-war period. The fact that the oral method was not successful with all students was consistently challenged by a small minority and studiously ignored, in the main, by the larger teaching community. A small number of people, such as the Ewing's, exerted a powerful influence over deaf education because they influenced the way teachers were trained as Teachers of the Deaf. The impact of better technologies and changes in the way the oral method was taught promised a brighter future for speaking and listening. Structured oral methods, where language structure was taught directly and where exposure to language structures was controlled, shifted to natural oral methods, where language was acquired through meaningful conversation in much the same way as a hearing child (Watson, 1998). Another significant change to the oral method, over time, was also the shift in vision as its focus (lipreading), to where hearing was the focus (an aural approach) (Clarke, 1989). However, the population of the school was changing. With more deaf children attending their local mainstream schools the school was starting to get more profoundly deaf students who had not been successful in a mainstream environment. They would often come with poor language development and behavioural problems. The rising numbers of deaf children with other educational needs also challenged the status quo. Dan Jenkins had successfully used SSE with these students from the 1950s to 1965 when he left the school. Peter Taylor began to restore the use of SSE in 1973 to deaf children with additional special needs, after a seven-year hiatus. BSL was beginning to be regarded as a language in its own right and there was a rising consciousness of Deaf culture. All these influences led the Royal School for the Deaf to the cusp of changes that would seep gradually into the institution in 1979.

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The next chapter tackles the changes that were implemented at the school beginning in 1979. It discusses the teachers' version of this change and the impact of it on students, teachers, parents and school policy.

Chapter 6 Royal School for the Deaf, Exeter, 1978 – 1980s

This chapter addresses the second aim of this research, to determine how the oral method was augmented after 1979 and how this changed educational methods for teaching deaf children at the school. To achieve this aim, I address the following questions: What fostered change to the oral method? What other methods became available in deaf education at the end of the 1970s and how were they chosen? What was the impact of these changes on staff, students and parents?

This is an important evaluation in the thesis because without an exploration of institutional change the resistance of the teachers may not have come to light as these were, up until the point of the interviews, unshared experiences. The changes show how moments of resistance helped influence the school in this process. This chapter also highlights the influences of bias in deaf education rather than much conscious direction, either from government or from the school leadership. Once the oral method was deemed to be unsatisfactory for a section of the students in the school, the participants highlight that education of deaf students in the school seemed to be, at worst, the subject of whim, or, at best, in the hands of a few dedicated and committed teachers. Nevertheless, the changes that were embraced were still very much a flexibility within oral education rather than a completely new model, proving that the old structures were hard to break from.

6.1 What Fostered Change to the Oral Method and What New Methods Were Introduced?

When asked why the school had finally looked outside of the oral method it was using to educate its children, some of the participants said:

> *Firstly, more and more Partially Hearing Units where opening and latterly integration in mainstream schools; Secondly, the survival, better diagnosis and influx of more handicapped children; Thirdly, the falling numbers in special schools; Fourthly, the dawning realism about oralism and an impetus to learn new skills. (Peter)*

It was really the influence of the increase in deaf students with special needs that changed the school's communication system. If signing worked for Peter's group, it would work for all the students. (Alice)

The big part of the change was because we had children with additional special needs. (Marie)

It was evident that where signing was not used the Deaf Department pupils moved at a significantly slower pace. (Sophie)

The increase in deaf children with additional needs, in the school, not only changed the face of education for them, but paved the way for the other children to be treated in like manner. Once the vast majority of the partially-hearing children had stopped going to the special schools and were integrated into their local mainstream provision, the *raison d'être* for the pure oral method was removed as the profoundly deaf and those with additional special needs had always responded better to the use of visual cues. With an increase in those children, it brought to a head the need to change.

Although the school had allowed the use of signing in Dan Jenkins' class of students with additional special needs from the 1950s until 1965 and then with the setting up of a Remedial Unit (later renamed the Opportunity Department) in 1973 with Peter Taylor, the rest of the school embraced the oral method. In 1979, however, the institution started to embrace change and this movement for change was felt in many British deaf schools. I asked the participants why the change from the oral method had taken so long and why specifically the change started in 1979:

I don't know but it happened similarly all over Britain. It was as if the climate was changing. (Nigel)

Countrywide there had been an uprising in thought about signing. We had a day when people came to talk to the people in school about Paget Gorman, BSL and Cued Speech. (Rae)

Society was evolving with equal opportunities, cultural diversity, gay rights, Deaf cultural awareness. The climate changed. (Mark)

> *I guess it was because oralism wasn't working. But it was a National thing not just us. (Alice)*

Faye recollected how Cued Speech was adopted by the Partially Hearing Department:

> *We, many of the teachers, went to a meeting in Bristol and were convinced of the benefit and use of Cued Speech. The children were not reading and writing as they should, the oral system was failing so many of the children so we had to do something and Cued Speech fitted with oralism. Sign Language was still forbidden and all the teachers were oralists. The children for whom oralism worked were no longer being sent to deaf schools because they were oral and or cured of their deafness [and were] making use of excellent hearing aids. Things were moving on. The children who clearly had additional learning problems, in Peter's unit, were using sign to help with communication and eventually all used Signed English, this was successful for those 'slower' learners. So, it was decided that Cued Speech would be introduced across the school to the younger children. Ideally Cued Speech is introduced from birth and dropped later, only being used for new vocabulary so all the nursery classes, infants and juniors in the Partially Hearing Department and infants and juniors in the Deaf Department. We all spent sessions throughout the summer term learning Cued Speech and it was fully introduced in September with us cueing everything all day all the time.*

As the school began to embrace Cued Speech or sign (both Sign Supported English and later Signed English) participants were quick to point out that this was gradual change, not sudden. Although Rae had begun to use Cued Speech in December 1979 and Peter had begun attending working parties to discuss the use of Signed English at the same time, Sophie argued that change was small and piecemeal until 1981. The reasons for this were at least threefold: Firstly, there was no real overarching direction and change was driven by passionate individuals. The change was neither carefully orchestrated nor was it part of an overall vision for the school:

> *Roy Olding had a laissez faire attitude and latterly he let members of staff who had a particular skill, like Allen and Rae, do their own thing. It must be borne in mind that parents wanted their children to communicate intelligibly with them. It was a big step to admit that most would not achieve this unless the parents*

learnt to sign themselves. There was no comprehensive policy that I ever saw. (Peter)

Mr Olding neither signed nor cued. There was no compulsion, direction or expectation – it was just left to individual staff. I don't know what was going on in his mind - he was very much a head behind closed doors and 'Don't rock my boat.' I really feel that the school allowed this change because of Rae's drive, conviction and professionalism … and maybe supported Peter and Signed English. (Sophie)

Mr Olding stayed in his room most of the time. He hardly ever came out. I don't remember any staff meetings with him around. (Alice)

The ethos of the school continued to try and enable all the children to speak and learn English. The change was very slow and frustrating for those who saw and wanted to embrace bilingualism at least. School was dominated by the Head at the time, Olding was an oralist. (Faye)

Sophie had mentioned Rae's conviction and professionalism as a motivator for incorporating Cued Speech. She also talked about Peter's involvement with other deaf schools in the country to drive the development of Signed English. Faye also used a similar vocabulary when talking about the agents for change in the school, "We were vibrant and enthusiastic and we were well supported, financially and academically." She also stated that although Olding himself did not initiate any vision, he encouraged staff to implement their own. This is evidence of the influence of social structures and their role in social practices. Agents are not only grounded in structural contexts, they also draw upon their knowledge of structures as memory traces when they engage in purposeful action. Actors, then, can only draw upon rules and resources at their disposal when making decisions and choices. That Olding allowed the staff to make decisions for themselves was not necessarily going to change school policy drastically because he knew that all staff had been trained in the oral method, had practiced the oral method, and, as far as he knew, did not know any other method. The choices staff had available to them were very narrow, then, and it should not be a surprise that Cued Speech and Sign Supported English were the chosen communicative methods used to augment the continuing oral strategies of the school because the voice still had primacy in both approaches.

Both Esther and May, who joined the school at the start of the 1980s felt that the school ethos revolved around the commitment and enthusiasm of the individual teachers rather than an overall policy of language use. When asked about the efficacy of cued speech in the school, Esther responded, "I thought it was the answer to teaching phonics. To a certain extent it did help but I think part of that was down to me because I was so enthusiastic." The school's leadership had clearly taken a step back from the times when they had reinforced the oral policy by policing the staff ability to sign, for example. Esther was able to implement a policy that she felt an enthusiasm for. May felt that there was a real emphasis on teachers achieving their own aims, to a certain extent:

Thinking at the time seemed to go along the lines of, "If someone's really committed to something then it'll work." If you just rub the side of your nose but concentrate avidly on the literacy of a small group of children, it'll probably work.

Anything that people do passionately is usually done well. (Mark)

Secondly, staff needed time to acquire the skills in either Cued Speech or Sign Supported English. Rae, who had started to cue by Christmas 1979, emphasised this when she explained that a member of staff, just before the summer of 1980, said to her:

"Golly, I've got your kids next year - I'd better learn to cue." So cueing spread throughout the whole of the Partially Hearing Department. (Rae)

Sophie felt that it wasn't until 1981 that people really started to learn signing because there needed to be qualified people to teach it but it was Signed English, not BSL:

In 1981 …I had a classroom assistant at the time called John. He had had experience of signing and worked on Signed English with Peter. He then ran voluntary classes in the Partially Hearing Department and we did it if we wanted. There was no direction from above, we just did it because we wanted to help the children. We did our training and sat a test. My examiners were Peter and the Reverend George Firth for my level one. I think my level two was Peter and Faye. Many of the Partially Hearing Department staff never learned Signed English. (Sophie)

Thirdly, although the climate was changing, there was a better reception for Cued Speech, as it dove-tailed nicely with the oral method. Signing was still regarded with some scepticism and some staff felt there was still some 'official' opposition to it throughout the 1970s:

> *I think I told you before that I had to see [the Headmaster] and his Deputy and was told not to attend these [BSL] classes. I said I wanted to learn so I could understand the children and promised I would not sign myself. They said that if I learnt I would use it so I must stop going. That is how strong anti-signing was in our school and many others too. (Faye)*

> *In 1981 there was a relaxation of laws and the government allowed signing in schools. Now I am not sure of the facts on this but I know that there was something in the wind, I am sure you will be able to find it. That's when we started using Signed English in the Partially Hearing Department. (Sophie)*

> *Most [members of staff] were concerned about following suit [signing] because they didn't sign, oralism was all they were used to and they weren't sure what the school's and the parents' reaction would be. (Peter)*

Change, then, was still tempered by what the staff believed in, what they thought parents wanted and, despite no official position being taken from leadership, what they thought the school wanted. Although adding Cued Speech and Signed English to the oral arsenal may have seemed like seismic change, oralist values were still very much adhered to in that the voice still had primacy in the communications. This inevitably led to a change that was slow and piecemeal as Alice declared:

> *Well it became more relaxed – I did pick up their signs. (Alice)*

One of the questions to the participants was regarding what they felt were the biggest changes in deaf education. Marie replied,

> *Oralism to Signed English, at first, which deteriorated to signed support then deteriorated to BSL. (Marie)*

Here she reveals the influence of social Darwinism in her own attitudes towards sign language. Her choice of words reveals her distaste as the use of a signed system, Signed English, moved from a close manual representation of English to Signed Supported English and eventually BSL, a language far removed from English in its syntax (here Marie was reflecting on her experience of the school from the 1970s and though she retired in 2006 she still had contact with the school up until the interview in 2015 when BSL was then being used as a medium of teaching in the school).

In effect, the Partially Hearing Department adopted Cued Speech and the Deaf Department adopted the use of sign. It wasn't easy, however, and there were some teachers who could sign, but not cue and vice versa. There were also different reasons for going for one method rather than another. I asked Rae, specifically, why she had chosen to use Cued Speech, to which she replied:

> *Because it was available to anyone, whereas the frustration of getting half-way through a sentence and then not knowing what the sign was for what you wanted to say next in sign language. I was asked how I got on with Signed English, I'm so used to communicating with my children saying anything I want, when I want to say it – the restriction and frustration of Signed English! People would be half-way through a sentence in assembly and then they would stop and ask, "How do you sign that?" With Cued Speech, some people found it difficult to think in sounds, that was the main difficulty. (Rae)*

She highlighted some difficulties with both methods. Firstly, the use of sign required the user to know a large vocabulary. Secondly, the ability to use Cued Speech required a person to be able to think in sounds. May felt that Cued Speech was more difficult to start with than Signed English because the signing was used in conjunction with spoken language:

> *Quite importantly, Cued Speech is harder to learn than Signed English. People could know a few signs, talk loudly and think they were using Signed English. You had to know all the cues before you could use Cued Speech. (May)*

Peter, however, understood the need for teachers to develop a large vocabulary base and to be committed to learning:

> *Sign Supported English is OK but needs meticulous planning and should not be a soft option for teachers unwilling to try anything likely to break into their spare time. (Peter)*

From the perspective of the participants, the climate of Britain was changing and issues around rights and the oral method failing a significant proportion of deaf children led to the opportunity for staff to consider other options. The options considered, however, essentially bolstered the oral method and did not replace the use of voice in deaf education at this time. The social structures that propped up the oral method were still strongly embedded in the staff, generally speaking.

6.2 Impact of Change

The gradual changes to the communication policy affected all of the school's stake holders but I will now focus on three of them; parents, students and staff.

6.2.1 Parents

As previously outlined, many of the participants felt that one of the reasons that the oral method had been so pervasive for so long was because of the influence of normalisation on parents. Mention was also made of some parents who did not accept the new changes:

> *Some parents removed children from the school when signing was introduced as they felt it would hinder their children's oralism. (Sophie)*

Not all schools for the deaf in Britain introduced changes
and there was a core who continued to use oral only methods. Parents could move their children to these schools and, clearly, there were some who did. For those parents who chose to leave their children at the school, there was the issue of them having to learn the new methodology so that they could communicate with their children. As Peter

commented, "Very few parents in my time [1950s – 1980s] learnt to sign but it was a growing trend." For those who did not learn to sign, an ever widening communication chasm separated them from their children:

> *A saddening aspect of this was that a lot of our pupils from hearing homes preferred to be at school with staff who could sign and with whom they felt they could communicate whereas, in extreme cases, being at home meant being excluded from normal family matters and left in front of the TV. (May)*

> *I once heard of a boy who sat in silence for the whole holiday at home. (Peter)*

Some parents, however, did embrace the changes in communication methodology and supported the progress of their children:

> *You have to remember, though, that Cued Speech was only used in the Partially Hearing Department, not the Deaf Department. The children in the Partially Hearing Department had a lot more hearing and could develop good speech. Also, the parents of these boys all cued. There was a lot of input from home. [She shows me some old Primary books, some of which have a lot of annotations in the margin, written by parents, for example lists of words for a child to include in his writings and words with similar sounds, for example: shawl, poor, sort etc.] (Esther)*

> *Mark had meningitis at three. He lost almost all his hearing, he had virtually no residual hearing. The parents had been advised to learn Paget Gorman and BSL but found that the vocabulary was too restricting for him. Mark had shut down after his loss of hearing. After about a year he came to the deaf school in Exeter and began cueing [about 1980]. He started part time in a unit in Honiton and part time with us. His parents started to cue because Matthew was at the school. His father was a very good cuer but his mother was less so because of her poor lip patterns. (Rae)*

The School produced an Annual Report which was an opportunity to highlight the significant activities undertaken by the school in order to carry out the charity's purposes for the year. As such, it was sent to stakeholders, including parents, in which the President of the School Governors and Head Master wrote a report, along with the school accounts. In the 1978/1979 report, just before communication changes to the general school, Olding (1979; 11) reported:

The communication problems of our children have been debated in a much more liberal climate than formerly. Both parents and teachers have had frank exchanges on this issue during the year, and this can do nothing but good. The needs of the children are, however, precisely the same. They need to acquire meaningful language, to develop a common system in which they have confidence with which to communicate, and to support this linguistic skill with social and practical skills.

This seemed a positive statement where parents and teachers had been in discussion about communication methods. Although staff reported that cued speech and signing were introduced into the larger school, in some classes, from Christmas 1979, this is not reported in the official school report of 1979/1980. In fact, it was not until the 1980/1981 report that Olding (1981; 11) documented the use of Cued Speech:

As regards the development of linguistic skills we have, with the cooperation of parents, introduced in a controlled manner, Cued Speech… During the year six parents, six child-care staff and seven teachers passed the examination for the Certificate of Proficiency in Cued Speech. In addition several parents, care-staff, teachers and interested people have been attending classes at the school.

Olding was careful to mention parents, first, as if they were part of the driving force behind the changes. The use of the word "controlled" also conjures up a careful implementation and monitoring of the use of Cued Speech. This did not reflect the staff view of what was happening. They argued that change was piecemeal and relied on enthusiastic staff with no real direction from the leadership team with Cued Speech only being introduced into the Partially Hearing Department. It wasn't until the 1988/1989 report, ten years after broader implementation and fifteen years after its use in the Opportunity Department, however, that signing is mentioned in the official reports:

It is part of the school's ethos that all staff try to guide each child towards the use of speech as his oral method of communication. The exclusive use of signs, gestures or finger spelling is unlikely to be helpful. However, it must be acknowledged that there are children who find difficulty in acquiring the high degree of skill which is required for speech and speech reading. If they are not to be denied educational opportunity, it is important that the support of signing or cueing be employed. (Headmaster's Report, 1989; 10, 11)

The statement is careful to highlight the continued oral practice of the school. Only for students who did not have the ability to speak or lip-read was signing or cueing acceptable. So important was the promise between the parents and school that a student would learn to speak that one student commented on this when her family visited the school in the mid-1980s:

> *We came to have a look around but I didn't get to see all the pupils, just one group. The group I saw was an oral group. I didn't see any groups who were using BSL. (Beth, former student)*

Even though signed systems had been used in the school for a number of years by the mid-1980s, the itinerary for parents was still the oral only tour of the school and its students. This was still a powerful bias in the minds of the school leaders, to show off the students that were most 'normal.' I will now look at the reaction of some of the students themselves.

6.2.2 Students

The students at the school generally enjoyed school, mainly because it was a source of peers and provided access to Deaf culture and BSL, the preferred language for many of them:

> *Being at the Deaf School was like being part of a community, everyone could sign. I would go home at the weekend and just be bored. I couldn't wait to get back to school. I could get back with all my friends and communicate. Then I would be back home bored again. The six-week holidays were the worst. I had no friends at home, no one that could sign. (Denise, former student)*

> *Really my first language is BSL, my signing is good but my writing is awful. That's because when I was at school my teachers used signed supported English and I was a strong BSL user so it was a real challenge for me. I used to write using BSL structure, which is different, so it was really confusing to me…it was really difficult to change to SSE. I just couldn't do it. We were all different, some BSL users, some SSE users – a mixture of all sorts. (Dennis, former student)*

I'm definitely a strong BSL user, I've used BSL all my life. I really don't understand English. I've tried learning English but I just get more and more frustrated. My teachers used to try and teach me and tell me to read off the board but I couldn't do it. I got more and more frustrated, I just didn't understand it. I really wanted someone teaching me in BSL, someone using my language, which makes me feel more comfortable. BSL is completely different, it's my language, it's much easier for me than English. (Nick, former student)

Most students, certainly reflectively, however, recognised the need to be part of two cultures:

I realised I couldn't stay in the Deaf world full time but it was possible to stay in the hearing world. The Deaf world is still part of me, it's sometimes nice to have a break. I know the culture, it's inside of me. It's part of my life, it's nice to have both really but I am more involved in the hearing world. That's because I have two hearing sons but the Deaf world hasn't gone anywhere, it's still there. (Beth, former student)

My view is that I'm part of both communities, the Deaf community and the hearing community. To me there is no point in ignoring the hearing community and just focusing on the Deaf community all the time. I still have friends in the hearing community but I like to have a mixture of both, some hearing and some Deaf. I like to be a part of both communities. I know some Deaf people think they can just belong to the Deaf world but I'd like to see them both as equal, not thinking that the Deaf community is better but both equal. I've got friends in both and that's fine for me…we can learn so much from each other's cultures. (Lonnie, former student)

As the school started to embrace changes to its communication policy, it could be said to be developing Deaf friendliness. The transmission of culture and language no longer happened in secrecy and staff could be seen to be more involved in the acculturation of deaf children into Deaf culture, despite the fact that BSL was still not used by staff either for transmission of knowledge or even socially. The participants were asked about the positive and negative impact of the changes on the students and were asked to give examples. Some recounted examples of the impact of signing:

I'm thinking of Helen here, don't know why, she found a release in signing, I think. (May)

Greater access to the curriculum, less stress on the pupils from concentrating on lip reading. When signing was first introduced into the school, I was teaching GCSE History to a class of Partially Hearing pupils and a class of Deaf Department pupils. At the time signing was still not allowed in the Partially Hearing Department. With the help of signing I was able to teach the curriculum at the same rate of progress with both sets of pupils. It was evident that where signing was not used the Deaf Department pupils moved at a significantly slower pace. (Sophie)

They seemed happy in themselves and they were learning, I know. They were beginning to understand what this [education] was all about. (Peter)

It must be beneficial. The children are relaxed and happy. There must be tension in being told you can't sign. Relationships are affected by communication, as well as behaviour. Behaviour must surely improve if there is good communication. (Mark)

There were also some positive outcomes for those taught in Cued Speech:

I am sure you are also aware of the way in which [a student] was able to access Shakespeare, Chaucer etc. with the use of Cued Speech. These texts could never have been delivered by signing alone. (Sophie)

Mark had shut down after his loss of hearing. After about a year he came to the deaf school in Exeter and began cueing. If you were used to the speech of deaf children, his speech was understandable but not that clear but in terms of his literacy he was coming on very well. I was very pleased with how his language came on. One day his father came into school and was looking over his shoulder and what he had written was, "Jane is wearing an ice blue dress." His father asked, "Where did that come from?" He was surprised about how his language was developing. (Rae)

When I came back, I worked in FE [Further Education Department] to give them extra English and one of the people I worked with was Lenny. He said that the person who made the most impression on him was Rae. Cued Speech had helped him a lot… (Alice)

There did seem to be some things which didn't work out, however. Most criticisms were aimed at the inflexibility of the systems. As has been explained, the Partially Hearing Department was adopting the Cued Speech system and the Deaf Department was

embracing Sign Supported English and Signed English. Students, therefore, did not necessarily have access to both:

> *Tanya …could read but she didn't understand a word of it. She was barking at print. She only had Cued Speech. (Esther)*

> *Some did not use Cued Speech particularly well, Toby did not. (Rae)*

Not all staff agreed on the impact of Signed English on the students' achievement and progress. Some thought it was positive:

> *Signed English was very good to get the profoundly deaf to write. (Mark)*

> *I do know that Signed English improved deaf children's reading and writing skills, so it must have helped their understanding of English syntax. That was tested. In going around England and Wales doing assessments, I always ask the candidates what they really think of Signed English and the answers are always very positive. Some of the people using Signed English are mind blowingly good at it – expressive, inventive and accurate – they must be giving their pupils a very good version of syntactical English. Sadly the Working Party for Signed English doesn't feel confident to institute a really testing programme. It is felt that teachers have more than enough on their plates without us adding to their work load. (Peter)*

> *Signed English was a really good tool for helping the students learn. (Trish)*

Some thought that it didn't have the impact that was hoped for:

> *Alice: I thought this [using Signed English] was the way we were going to teach them English. When I came back 9 years later I thought I would see really good writing but it didn't happen.*

> *Interviewer: Why do you think that was?*

> *Alice: It just doesn't work as a language.*

> *Interviewer: Does that mean you saw no difference in the children who were taught orally and those taught using Signed English?*

> *Alice: I wouldn't say that. There was better communication, it just didn't impact on their writing and I thought it would.*

It must be added, however, that there would have been a change in the types of students going to the school after Alice's nine-year hiatus. There would have been less partially hearing children and more profoundly deaf children who would have started school later with less developed language and some with behavioural difficulties. Also, the teaching of deaf children to read and write using signed systems was still in its infancy and it has since been argued that the use of Signed English, on its own, is not sufficient to develop good reading and writing skills (Marschark & Knoors, 2012; Mayer, 2012).

6.2.3 Staff

The fact that all staff welcomed the advent of Sign Supported English or Cued Speech shows that the oral method was difficult for enough students for staff to embrace changes. These changes, however, did not necessarily mean that there were great changes in staff attitudes towards the overall philosophy of deaf education. For many, what was welcome was more flexibility and manual support for visual learners but, again, there was still primacy for the voice in all communication:

> *BSL wasn't used in my time. I left 15 years ago. I approved of Signed English because I think it was a good tool for reading and writing and also speech so that they used English. To me it's logical. If you want to teach them to read and write, you have to teach them English. I preferred Signed English in the end to Cued Speech. Signed English made the word more understandable because they could see the words which they recognised. Lip reading is a skill. Some children were brilliant. Some children had problems with speech, making themselves understood. If you had a motor skill problem, like Bob, then you couldn't cue. I think Signed English worked, I do, yes. I think it was a tool – it was speech and that's what I believe in. I want them to go out and be successful in the hearing world but if their speech is defective then they can't. I also think it's important to have access to peers and go to the deaf club. I think deaf children should be bilingual, they should be able to talk and use BSL, but they can pick up BSL later in their lives. You can't pick up being able to talk later in your life. (Esther)*

> *Just signing was a disadvantage to those who could speak and listen, so total communication had the advantage of signing and speaking at the same time. (Mark)*

A few of the teachers in the school became heavily involved within the school and on a national scale in forums that promoted the philosophy of teaching deaf students that they agreed with. Rae, for example, promoted and taught Cued Speech to the staff and was involved with the national Cued Speech Foundation:

Cued speech was going an absolute bomb. Results of the written language were much better than we could have anticipated. That was 1983 and it was still going extremely well and then [the headmaster] retired. (Rae)

The new headmaster, as far as Rae was concerned, did not have the same positive view towards Cued Speech as he did towards Signed English:

First year it wasn't so bad but when people leave and new people come they need to learn the system. I didn't realise that I was going to, but I ended up teaching CS to teachers and parents. New people were coming to me but then it was made practically impossible because they were expected to go to Signed English classes. (Rae)

The new headmaster not only re-joined the Partially Hearing Department and the Deaf Department but he also insisted that all staff should learn Signed English. Peter took on the mantle of teaching Signed English to staff as he was also part of the national Working Party in Signed English:

I found a willing ally in Steve [a Teaching Assistant] and we began to construct a system of Signed English based on local BSL but with additional manufactured signs with a BSL bias and markers to indicate tenses, plurals and apostrophes. Happily, we became aware that other schools were doing the same so in 1979 a meeting was convened for the southern region of the British Association for the Teachers of the Deaf to discuss the situation. Everybody agreed to set up a 'working party' [Working Party in Signed English] to see if a region wide system of Signed English would be viable. It was and was convened drawing a lot of intelligent deaf adults with good communication skills, social workers and teachers. Every sign had to be approved by the deaf people and all the member schools. It was a laborious process but we all got better at it with experience and in 1984 "Signed English for Schools" was in print and a training programme in place.

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There was a very good head teacher at Frank Barnes, Gareth, who knew all the parts of English and what was necessary to add to the BSL signs for literacy. A lot of intelligent deaf adults were also involved as well as social workers for the deaf to get a broad spectrum of people involved. If the deaf didn't like the signs, they were not used.

An HMI named Green was very keen on the system and drove it forward and drew people in who were going to be helpful in pushing it forward. The RNID were also very good. They seconded a man called Brian who was deaf. They paid for him and he was a member of the committee for several years. (Peter)

Despite changes to involve manual elements of teaching, there was still an overall focus of trying to get the students to adapt to the hearing way as the staff continued to value speech, even if it was augmented by manual cues or signs:

In general, all changes were perceived to be ground-breaking or the answer. In general, the idea was to enable deaf children to become hearing. (Faye)

We were still teaching deaf children how to fit in to a hearing world. (May)

When considering the education of the deaf, it is possible that it is the attitude of the hearing majority towards deaf people that is a disabling factor, which is the concept of audism. Audism has been described by Tom Humphries (1975) as:

1. The notion that one is superior based on one's ability to hear or behave in the manner of one who hears. (Bauman, 2004; 240)

2. A system of advantage based on hearing ability.

3. A metaphysical orientation that links human identity with speech. (Bauman, 2004; 245)[35]

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[35]The first point is the initial concept devised by Tom Humphries (1975). The second is adapted from Wellman's (1993) definition of racism and is mindful of Lane's (1992) discussion of institutionalized audism. The third definition was presented at the Deaf Studies VI conference by Bahan and Bauman (2000) (Bauman, 2004; 245).

As Lane (1999; 43) has said, "...in short, audism is the hearing way of dominating, restructuring, and exercising authority over the deaf community." Oralism, that prevailed from the 1880s for almost a hundred years, along with the banning of sign language, was perhaps an extreme form of audism but even as the institution began to experiment with cueing and sign language in a philosophy that would eventually be called Total Communication, it was not BSL that was embraced (although it could have been) but forms of manually coded English (MCE).

> *The ethos of the school continued to try and enable all the children to speak and learn English. (Faye)*

MCE, therefore, fitted with the ethos of the school. There were two forms of MCE that were used, Signed English and Sign Supported English. The allure of using MCE was perhaps clarified by May when she explained how easy it was perceived to acquire. "People could know a few signs, talk loudly and think they were using Signed English." Because the voice was carrying the message the hearing member of staff wanted to convey, it held primacy over the signs and if the signing wasn't very good, it didn't matter to that staff member as the voice message made complete sense to them even if the signing did not. The problems for adults in using MCE, simultaneously with speech, have been well documented (Swisher, 1984; Johnson et al., 1989). Teachers have been shown to present defective models of English syntax, their speech has been slower and stilted, and signs they have omitted have often been those which have donated the grammatical features of English (Kyle and Woll, 1985; Lynas, 1994b). Despite difficulties, however, some authors have said that this does not mean "that MCE *cannot* be effective" (Kyle and Woll, 1985: 256).

Attacks on MCE have been based not only on the linguistic problems it can create, but also on cultural violation by the larger hearing community:

> *Two factors have guided the development of signed forms of English, and both reinforce the control of the Deaf via linguistic and cultural deprivation, through forms of 'symbolic violence': firstly, the assumed superiority of English as a language for transmission of knowledge, and secondly the assumption that the*

Deaf needed to be assimilated as much as possible into the hearing world via the use of the majority language. (Branson and Miller, 1993: 28)

There are, then, many ways of looking at the influence of MCE in the classroom: as a system that is isomorphic with English and can help deaf children acquire English; as yet another system that, on its own, does not work; as a system that perpetuates oralism and does not meet the needs of the deaf as a cultural and linguistic group. Ladd (2003; xix), however, proposed another lens. Writing about sim-com, often used in Total Communication approaches, he wrote:

Although they had the benefit of freeing Deaf children and their parents from the atmosphere of fear and suppression that characterised Oralism, they represented a compromise in which Deaf teachers and bona fide sign languages were still constructed as objects – as 'educational tools', rather than bearers of an organic, holistic approach to the lives and experiences of Deaf children and Deaf communities. In these circumstances, it is unsurprising that these educational theories have achieved less than its proponents had hoped for.

Oralism, then, continued despite a policy change to Total Communication, although it was a break from pure oralism and paved the way for the future of bilingualism. One way to reduce the influence of hearing people is to encourage more deaf people to work within the setting and have them be part of the decision-making processes.

6.2.4 School

6.2.4.1 Issues of Culture

In making changes to the way deaf children were communicated with, many staff still clung to the essence of oralism, the use of the voice. Although there seemed to be little direction from the school leadership in the evolving communication policy of the school, the fixation with the use of voice led it inexorably to what was called total communication. Although total communication was, in essence, an umbrella term for the use of any communication

system that benefitted a student, for most of the staff it became synonymous with simultaneous communication through voice and sign or voice and Cued Speech. Instead of looking for what was best for the child, despite some flexibility that didn't exist before, what teachers thought was the way forward was still heavily influenced by the 'hearing way.'

As Lane (1993) has argued, this is because hearing people have a different 'centre' than that of Deaf people. An example he proposed was where hearing people put more value on people who are hard of hearing than those who are deaf. This is because those who are hard of hearing are almost hearing whereas the deaf are further from the norm. Deaf people, however, put more value on those who are profoundly deaf rather than those who are hard of hearing, because hard of hearing are more like the hearing community around them whereas a profoundly deaf person is more likely to have embraced Deaf culture and be like them. What was required was a shift in 'centre' to encompass the epistemological view of the deaf. Because of their reliance on vision, deaf people have a different world view from hearing people. Also, the way hearing people interact with deaf people, "has an impact on what these deaf individuals learn and how, and consequently on their attitudes, interests and values (Hauser et al., 2010; 486).

The concept of Deaf culture was in its infancy at this time, but a lack of leadership inhibited any meaningful contact with Deaf people that may have changed attitudes in the school towards its language use. The dominant attitudes of many staff were still very much colonial in style, that is, ethnocentric, paternalistic and benevolent toward a disabled group:

> *Staff retained a paternalistic and superior attitude to deaf people. They didn't know enough about Deaf culture and Deaf communities and nobody seemed to suggest it might be appropriate to learn. (May)*

> *I used to feel uncomfortable at staff 'get togethers,' that they were very much hearing culture. Attitudes towards the deaf were slightly patronising, they felt they were doing good. (Mark)*

Most members of staff admitted that the changes that were occurring did so without any reference to any impact they could have had on the Deaf community or with any reference to the Deaf community:

> *I was not aware of any consideration being given to the deaf community. (Sophie)*

> *I don't think it could have damaged. I didn't have much to do with the adult deaf. (Rae)*

> *I probably guess not. (Mark)*

Only Peter acknowledged the use of Deaf adults in the programme to develop Signed English:

> *The Deaf were always asked about the signs and sometimes they would say, "That's never going to work, try this." The deaf were suspicious of Sign Supported English, they didn't want it. There was a feeling that we were stealing their language. I knew we had to do something because I was used to teaching the deaf and I knew that we got them to a reading age of about eight and then it just stopped and didn't get any further.*

When asked how attitudes towards communication had changed, most of the staff believed there had been an improvement. Regarding the changes in attitudes, there were two frames of thought, however. One group felt that attitudes had improved, to the benefit of the students:

> *In some ways there's a lot more tolerance. (Rae)*

> *Attitudes are far more open and accepting than they were 40 years ago. (Faye)*

> *Things are evolving because the world is not so condescending. (Mark)*

> *I think it's all for the better really, with everyone learning to sign. (Nigel)*

> *The major change was in regarding deafness as a difference rather than a handicap. (May)*

The second group, however, seemed more dubious about change, especially the use of sign language and openly still clung to the values and attitudes of oralism:

> *I think that if they can't speak or read and write then they are unemployable. BSL is OK but it doesn't fit them for life. BSL is not English so it's OK for them to communicate to other deaf people but it's not going to help them communicate with the hearing world. (Esther)*

> *If a deaf person cannot use English then they cannot participate in the society. (Marie)*

One member of staff argued that for changes in attitude to take place, it required thoughtful consideration of methodology and ideology by each teacher regarding their own practice. She was asked how teacher attitudes had changed towards communication:

> *This presumes attitudes have changed and I'm not sure they have hugely. When I left [early 2000s], attitudes to communication methods were still pretty piecemeal. Very few people …were committed in any way …They just did what they were told without any ideology or thought for the consequences. (May)*

Here, this member of staff alluded to changes in attitudes being linked to a discursive consciousness where people considered their ideologies rather than just accepting the routines that were the trade mark of a practical consciousness.

6.2.4.2 Deaf Adults on the Faculty

The deaf are outsiders in a world largely created and controlled by those who hear (Higgins, 1980). Peter realised the importance of Deaf mentors in the Working Party on Signed English project. Peter, however, only saw the beginning of the transition from oralism to bilingualism.

Deaf people on the staff may have helped move the school forward in the right direction. An absence of any Deaf staff in the 1970s and 1980s did not help the school throughout the changes in educational methodology and it wasn't really until the mid-2000s that there

were enough Deaf people on the staff to start to make a difference. The impact of Deaf adults in the School would have been to help acculturate deaf children of hearing parents into Deaf culture. The tensions that Mark and May had felt was because they were changing their own beliefs about deaf education and were becoming sensitive to the ethnocentric attitudes of some of the staff:

> *Communication between deaf people is much richer than communication between deaf and hearing. It is more relaxed and they understand each other, relationships are better. The deaf have taken their future in their own hands and are much more involved. (Mark)*

The taking on of a Deaf cultural perspective would have been a huge shift within the education for the deaf at this time. This was not instantaneous but nevertheless was the beginning for some teachers to address their own ethnocentrism. Part of the reason why change did not occur sooner was because of the absence of deaf adults in the school. Deaf education was based on the view of hearing staff and had there been a core of deaf adults in the school, the concept of communicative methodologies could have been challenged.

In America, it has been estimated that deaf adults made up half of the teaching force before the edict of Milan and this was reduced to just over ten percent by the 1960s, most of whom taught trade training. In Britain a similar pattern followed, except that by the 1960s there were almost no deaf teachers in its schools (Erting, 1994). An article written in 1975, comparing American and British deaf education, reported that there were no deaf Teachers of the Deaf in English schools at that time (Barby, 1975).

Lane (1999; 152) argued that the single most important reform in deaf education was to get deaf adults involved in the education of deaf children. He argued that,

> *There is abundant evidence in America that hearing people as a group cannot single-handedly, without the involvement of deaf people, educate deaf children successfully.*

This was not a novel concept in Britain, however as the NCTD had stated, "…it is only deaf people themselves who know what it really feels like…" (BATOD, 1974; 186). Stone (2010; 42) has written a very simple, but powerful, scenario to show the differences in the way deaf and hearing people view the world:

> *As a people whose primary experience of the world is via their eyes, frames of reference are often couched in terms of what something looks like and how one would experience a specific phenomenon. For example, if thinking about using a vacuum cleaner, non-Deaf people think about the noise a vacuum cleaner makes and that it cleans, Deaf people think of things disappearing up the hose, the vibrations they feel handling it and that it cleans. A vacuum cleaner needs to be switched off to speak and can be left on to sign. A deaf person's experience of the world is influenced by these little differences every day and influences the way they describe the world in BSL.*

Only a Deaf adult would really be able to understand the consequences of everyday life and how vision frames their experiences and their interpretation of these experiences. They, too, would be nearer to understanding the effects of school policy and educational methodology on the children. They will be the only ones who have been influenced less by the 'Hearing Way' and will be able to identify the influence from hearing staff on the culture of the school. One of the issues with the school was that there was not enough care and attention given to attracting adult deaf role models. May highlighted this lack of appropriately qualified deaf staff in the 1980s when she said:

> *But, to be personal and talk specifically about our school, again hearing staff were not always sufficiently aware of the differences in intellectual levels of various deaf adults. Being deaf was not suddenly enough to be put in a position of responsibility and influence with deaf youngsters. Appointing deaf members of staff sometimes was just a sop, a nod to inclusion, when it could have been highly constructive if the right deaf adults had been found. Therefore, correct status and remuneration would have had to be offered in order to attract them to apply.*

Faye said something similar in the 1990s:

…on my return to the school [in the mid-1990s] I was shocked at the lack of deaf cultural awareness, lack of skill in BSL by all staff, lack of employed intelligent educated deaf people.

Linked to this absence of deaf input was that members of staff were very Deaf unaware. Rae said:

I didn't have much to do with the adult deaf. When I was at Elmfield[36] we did get involved, but not down here.

Without any deaf adults in the school and few opportunities to meet them outside of school there was a definite lack of input from a deaf perspective leading to a perpetuation of the 'hearing way' of doing things: patronisation of the deaf; phonocentrism; audism etc.:

I was totally shocked at arriving back in Exeter to find that there was almost no Deaf culture awareness amongst the teaching staff, that the Teachers of the Deaf could not use or understand BSL and that many of them were so grounded in oralism and Signed English – could not or would not change their ways. (Faye)

The school leadership was slow to identify the need to appoint appropriately qualified deaf members of staff as an integral part of the decolonisation process. As Nandy (1983; 51) indicated in his book about Indians under British rule, "Gandhi wanted to liberate the British as much as he wanted to liberate Indians."

Deaf adults would have helped liberate not only the children from oralism, but also the teachers. The concept of Deafhood, introduced by Ladd (2003), was about deaf people and those that worked with them, decolonising their minds from the influences of oralism. Lane (1999; 153) emphasised this point when he said:

Hearing people can work alongside deaf colleagues, provided that they learn their language, that they are endlessly vigilant against the disease of

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[36]Elmfield School for Deaf Children is a day school in Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.

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paternalism, and that they can persuade their deaf colleagues to hold them to account.

This is not an easy process, however, as all teachers often have to subscribe to both the medical model of deafness as well as the socio-cultural model depending on factors such as school policy, ethos of the school, the student, wishes of parents, wishes of student's local authority (usually expressed in the Educational Health Care Plan), wishes of other professionals including the medical profession, etc. For example, in 2012, one third of the students in school had been cochlear implanted. This was clearly an expression of a parental wish for their child to be able to listen and speak in as hearing-like fashion as possible, based on advice they had received after their child had been originally diagnosed as deaf. With the implant comes a team of professionals who regularly meet with the child, family and school to ensure that the requisite speaking and listening opportunities have been made available to the child and that the equipment is working correctly. The cochlear implant has, historically, been regarded as part of the medical model of deafness, although there those who do not think that implants are incompatible with the socio-cultural model of deafness (Power (2005)) but this usually depends on maintaining access to sign language and deaf peers. Advice, such as the following, from the University of Miami School of Medicine website, contains information for recently implanted children:

> Using sign language during this time is not helpful and may reduce the ultimate benefit of implantation. (University of Miami, School of Medicine, 2009)

There has been much research on this issue to the extent that there is a robust literature to support that teaching young deaf children sign language would not impair their ability or motivation to acquire spoken language, for example Marschark et al. (2002; 137) have said that it is, "…a myth …that early use of sign language somehow impedes the development of speech and lipreading" and this has been further investigated and reiterated many times since (Davidson et al., 2014; Humphries et al., 2012; Knoors & Marschark, 2012; Marschark & Knoors, 2012; Marschark, Sarchet, Rhoten, & Zupan, 2010).

The information on the University of Miami Medical School website not only appears untruthful, it is also not helpful for parents and professionals in developing positive links between the implant and a socio-cultural model of deafness. In fact, it keeps the implant firmly in the realms of the medical model. This perpetuates beliefs that sign language somehow taints the child's speaking and listening abilities and provides no cognitive, social or emotional benefits that cannot be provided by the implant itself.

This brief example shows that all teachers who work with implanted children in a bilingual setting are faced with competing doctrines, advice, policies etc. as well as conflicting constructions of deafness. The primary construction of deafness centres on audiological information which categorises the impairment and aims to treat this disability through technology. Deaf people themselves, however, often "focus not on the level of hearing but on the value in the language, culture, and collective identity that they acquire as a result" (Obasi, 2008; 459, 460). They do not concentrate on their deficits (the ability to hear) but what they have, language through sign, collective experience and traditions and "a distinctive perspective of the world" (Jones, 2002; 55). Many authors in the field of deafness distinguish between 'deafness' with a small 'd', which identifies people with an audiological impairment, and 'Deafness' with a capitalised D used to identify people who celebrate their identity with the larger Deaf community, its sign language, culture and traditions. It is overly simplistic, however, to say that there are, therefore, two communities of deaf people: one which does not embrace sign language, either through choice (e.g. deafened individuals whose first language is the spoken language of their culture, or children who have been through oral schooling and have adapted to the speaking and listening culture) or through acculturation (trying to "pass" as hearing) etc., and another which shares a collective language, experience and traditions. These terms, deaf and Deaf, however, do not deal with the issue of multiple or plural identities, for example, the emphasis on the importance of sign language has resulted in the failure of some Deaf people to accept persons who are not 'pure' users of the language into the culture. This creates a subgroup within the Deaf population, a group that wants identity with the Deaf but are denied because their use of sign is perceived not to be 'native' or 'pure.'

The next chapter will analyse and discuss some of the findings from these last three chapters, concentrating on the impact of social structures, social practices and teacher motivation.

Chapter 7 Analysis of Findings

7.1 Introduction

This chapter concentrates on the primary research aim of this thesis: To investigate how teachers responded to contradictions in their careers during the oral only method of communication in deaf education. The chapter is organised around the following sub-questions:

1. What were the contradictions that teachers faced in their teaching lives?
2. As a consequence of these contradictions, what choices and barriers were the participants presented with?
3. What choices did some participants make as a result of identified contradictions and what were the consequences?

When analysing the data of the participants, it would appear that a number of themes help to get to the heart of agency. These themes involve the identification of social structures and how they shaped practice, or how practice shaped social structures, as well as a consideration of what motivated participant action (Downey, 2005; Ortner, 1984). I incorporate a discussion on these themes as I answer the primary research questions in the following chapter.

7.2 What Were the Contradictions that Teachers Faced?

During chapters 4, 5 and 6, some of the ways in which social structures shaped practice in deaf education were outlined. It was argued that, structural properties of the institution, that stretched across space and time and which existed internally as memory traces in the staff, created a bias for oralism that shaped their teaching practices. These sedimented histories were socially 'given' elements which emphasised: a quest for normality that focused on the development of speaking and listening; a medical focus on curing or fixing deafness which presented a narrow and deficit model of deafness as a life experience, usually as a disability; an element of social Darwinism that relegated sign languages to archaic and anachronistic relics from history and created an aura of modernity and progressiveness in terms of speaking and listening for deaf people; colonial styles of

'othering' deaf children by middle class executives who decided on the meaning of deafness, constructing it around notions of loss. These structures, along with the influences of charismatic oral teacher educators in teacher training and a hope that improving technology would indeed provide cures, such as better hearing aids and cochlear implants, ensured that teachers were convinced of the 'rightness' of the oral method. None of the participants divulged any qualms about the ethics of these methods when they first started out in their teaching careers. The participants enacted a range of practices and expectations that reproduced the structural properties of the institution. However, as Shilling (1992:81) suggests: "there is no guarantee that these expectations will go uncontested", especially when contradictions arise in teacher practice.

Teachers might reproduce the institutional bias, insisted upon by the school leadership, their professional body, their training, social positioning and expectations of parents but it is also the case that they might have some power over their own resources and an ability to enact decisions which might 'go against the grain'. Giddens (1984) refers to this as the dialectic of control, where subordinates can influence the activities of their superiors. In the teaching profession teachers might be considered to be socialised into the established attitudes and cognitive outlooks collectively in the staff room (Cole, 1984; Woods, 1979). Indeed, one participant, Faye, mentioned this when she said that she was "always in discussion with all teachers about how to teach deaf children English and how to speak." Actual teaching practice, however, is often isolated from other staff in a more cellular fashion (Giroux, 2001) giving rise to the possibilities of private opposition rather than public opposition. It is within the classroom that teachers can develop their own teaching styles and methods or 'underlife' (Goffman, 1961) - developing practices that fit their own ideologies and beliefs.

What these theories emphasise, then, is the possibility for agency amongst teachers, and their abilities to exercise will. The opportunities for oppositional behaviours were realised because of the contradictions in the structural principles and the real-life situations in which teachers found themselves. Institutional change can be triggered by critical agents who identify a misalignment between structural properties and their own interests (Seo &

Creed, 2002). When agents identify a set of contradictions in their working environment it raises the potential for institutional change. Here, I am using the term contradictions to refer to the structural properties that are in opposition to each other as well as misalignments between existing social arrangements and the goals of the teachers. As part of our research conversations, participants mentioned three institutional contradictions: firstly, the oral method did not work for all deaf students despite the training and theory that suggested that it should and would; secondly, there was a critical difference between the interpretation of the lives of deaf children from a medical interpretation of deafness and a cultural/linguistic lens; thirdly, there were tensions that existed between the developing aims of normalisation and the growing acceptance of diversity. Not all participants recognised or were fully challenged by all of these contradictions. Most of the participants recognised that the oral method was not working for all students but challenges that arose from differences in medical and cultural interpretations of deafness as well as the disjuncture between the aims of normalisation and diversity were only discussed or recognised by a few of the participants.

The oral method was practised, almost exclusively, at the school for almost a hundred years from 1883 to 1979. The power of the bias towards the oral philosophy, to carry the method almost unchallenged throughout this period of time, highlights the colossal bias that led to oralism, along with its most powerful ally, the discourse of normalisation, to become a 'juggernaut' (Beattie, 2006; Mitchell, 2006). Occasionally, contradictions may have led to oppositional behaviours, but in the main, teachers were regrooved back into the oral method, largely because there were no other officially sanctioned methods available to teachers.

7.3 What Choices and Barriers Did the Participants Face?

As mentioned in the previous section, none of the participants questioned the oral method when they started out in their teaching careers as Mark summarised, "People really believed in oralism." Giddens (1984: 178) summed up the position of this situation perfectly:

Why is it that some social forces have an apparently 'inevitable' look to them? It is because in such instances there are few options open to the actors in question, given that they behave rationally – 'rationally' in this case meaning effectively aligning motives with the end result of whatever conduct is involved.

There were definitely few options available to staff when it came to teaching deaf children because the training and the school only provided one, the oral method. Even if teachers thought that sign language should or could be an option, the fact that they could not sign and were, as Faye discovered, in fact strongly deterred from learning to, meant that this was yet another limitation of options that were available to staff if they thought the oral method was not working.

Although the use of the oral method in the school appears to have created a stifling environment which constrained teaching practices, teachers were still able to express some choice. All the teachers would have been involved in replicating the school's routines of the day but through their participation in these routines, they were able to modify them. The participants had their own motivations and reasons for participating in and either replicating the routines or modifying them. For example, I will show in the next two sections that, as a result of the oral method not working for all children, decisions made in individual classrooms created school wide institutional drift. I will also show that institutional change, when the school began to address the failings of the oral method in 1979, was also given direction and impetus from teacher resistant behaviours.

7.3.1 Institutional Drift

Before the school was split into two departments in 1968, there could be seen to be an erosion or drift within the school from the oral method. A number of the participants disclosed to either allowing or seeing other teachers permit sign language using students to interpret or pass on information within classrooms, even if just on occasion. This was evidence of individual oppositional behaviours that could be seen as a collective resistance to the difficulties of teaching students who could not adapt to the oral method.

The choices that were available to staff, however, were limited to allowing or not allowing the students to sign to each other because they did not know how to sign themselves.

When the school split into two Departments, the Partially Hearing Department "followed a very strict oral policy" (Peter) but the rules were not so rigorously implemented in the Deaf Department and in some cases were modified. For example, students were allowed to sign to each other at break times, dinner times and in residence. This luxury was not afforded to students in the Partially Hearing Department. This is evidence of modification of practice through the participation and choices of staff and students in replicating the routines of their days. Some of the participants, for example Mark, were aware that the students in the Deaf Department "were never going to learn to speak …oralism hadn't served them well." The motivation to accept a level of sign language usage in the department seems to have been created before the departments split. When the 'interpreters' for the children who now populated the Deaf Department moved to the Partially Hearing Department, the precedent for allowing a degree of sign language usage, for this group, had already been set. Although this arrangement may be said to have bettered the lives of the students in the Deaf Department, the oral method was generally applied in the classroom. Only in Peter's and Nigel's classroom was the oral method augmented with signs on a consistent basis.

Another evidence of institutional drift was in the Deaf Department with speech training, an event which Peter described as "futile" and stated that his enthusiasm and effort must have decreased. He explained that he went through the motions but he related that it was also a waste of time for the students, who knew they were never going to be able to speak intelligibly. The teachers and students were simply acting out a charade. This was another example of individual teacher opposing the rules and regulations of the school. Physically, Peter and his students participated in the speech and language training, as set on the timetable, but there was little enthusiasm for it. It would appear then, that institutional drift was an outcome of both individual and collective oppositional behaviours and resistance. The next section will explain how individual resistance potentially created movement towards institutional change.

7.3.2 Institutional Change

It has been posited that "social change is often commenced by episodes of resistance" (McFarland, 2004; 1311) but the changes that occurred in the school seem to have been triggered by the confluence of a number of factors, both internal and external. The growth of mainstream units led to a decrease in the number of students, over time, and an increase in deaf children with additional special needs, who did less well with oral communication. This allowed Peter to persuade the headmaster to allow him to use sign language with this group of students in 1973. As the school reacted to lowering enrolment throughout the late 1970s, perhaps due in part to the external strengthening principle of mainstreaming children with special needs (Warnock Report, 1978), other external influences such as a "more liberal climate" (Olding, 1979; 11) allowed the school to investigate other ways of teaching deaf children. Mark and Nigel also commented on the 'changing climate' in Britain at that time. Despite this 'changing climate', Faye still felt that the Partially Hearing Department adopted Cued Speech because there was a feeling that the use of sign language was banned and that the teachers at the school were still confirmed oralists. She implied, then, that the Partially Hearing Department adopted Cued Speech mainly because it was congruous with the oral ideology of the time. Change, for that department, was simply the addition of a manual cueing system. Teachers carried on talking but they augmented talk with manual handshapes representing the phonemes of sound to make the words more distinguishable for lip reading purposes.

Change in the Deaf Department, however, seemed to be propelled by Peter's successful use of sign language in the Remedial Unit, as attested by Alice, Mark and Faye. If signing worked for his group, they told me, then it would work with all the groups. Hence, the Deaf Department adopted Sign Supported English and Signed English as communication tools. It would appear that the signed provision for deaf children with additional special needs was a significant factor in laying the foundations of change from pure oralism to the use of signs and Cued Speech in this case study. In other words, it was pragmatism rather than anything else which paved the way for change. This theory, however, is contrary to that posited by some authors who claim that is was the poor literacy abilities of deaf students

highlighted by Conrad's (1979) book, *The Deaf School Child,* that influenced the communication changes (Densham, 1995; Gregory & Hartley, 1991; Gregory, 1996; Jackson, 1990; Ladd, 2003; Lewis 2016). This case study supports Evans (1982; 16) assertion that the impact of integration of the partially hearing into local schools and units led to special schools becoming "preoccupied with the needs of the more severely handicapped, and this brought into question the suitability of pure oral teaching for all deaf children."

The teacher resistances that have been identified in this case study, however, did not appear to influence the communication systems of the school until the changes to the oral method took place in 1979. Collective resistance was identified in the school in terms of allowing students to sign but after 1968 the separation of the school into departments served to reinforce the tenets of the oral method in the classrooms. Three teachers were identified as showing resistance, in the 1970s, but were engaged in isolated pockets of resistance and constructed "'safe spaces" (Shilling, 1992; 80) within their classrooms. These spaces, however, did not appear to stretch beyond the immediate classroom.

7.3.3 What Motivated Action

I will now briefly discuss motivation that directs agency and actions. Giddens (1984; 6) argues that motivation is "potential for action." His model of motivation in action proposes that there are two modes of consciousness, practical and discursive. To recall, practical consciousness is often a set of routinised actions that agents implement without being able to express why they were doing them whereas a discursive consciousness is the ability of an agent to express reasons, intentions and motivation for actions. He emphasises that much of our everyday "conduct is not directly motivated" (Giddens, 1984; 6) and that most of what we do is driven by practical consciousness. Discursive motivation, then, is not normally a part of human action, only when actions break with the routine (Gauthier, 2007). Discursive motivation, therefore, emerges at critical times when "actors mobilize their efforts and focus their thoughts on responses to problems which will diminish their anxiety, and ultimately bring about social change" (Cohen, 2000; 97).

As described in the Methodology chapter, I have used Cole's (1984) categories for identifying whether teachers used their discursive consciousness in their discussions with me, (see table with questions in appendix 5). Cole asked a series of questions which could be used to identify if the participants were analytical in the interview rather than just being descriptive and whether the answers were extended and introduced, for example, abstract concepts and scepticism. This is evidence of a high level of reflexivity and shows the potential for a participant to have recognised the influence of social structures and have been able to shape, even in some small way, their destiny through active choices using a discursive consciousness.

Of the eleven participants that were interviewed, three did not meet the criteria of engaging in the interview process using a discursive consciousness as their contributions were either simple descriptions or narratives without any analytical or explanative reflections. It may be said that they used only a practical consciousness to engage, evidence that they were being shaped by social forces. A further three only made cursory penetrations into their recount of educational experiences leaving five who engaged more fully with their discursive consciousness.

The next sections consist of my analysis of practical and discursive consciousness used by the participants in the interview process.

7.3.3.1 Practical Consciousness

A practical consciousness is often linked with the routinisation of the day. Teachers inhabit an extremely routinised form of work that is, apparently, beneficial to both staff and students:

> *Routines are the backbone of daily classroom life. They facilitate teaching and learning. That's the bottom line. Routines don't just make your life easier, they save valuable classroom time. And what's most important, efficient routines make it easier for students to learn and achieve more. (Shalaway, 1997; 25)*

If teachers maintained a practical consciousness for the most part of their lives, then their motivation for teaching, for the curriculum they used, for the way they communicated with students and the way they viewed the students, would be based on replicating the social structures that they had inherited as school traditions and their own memory traces. This type of motivation, then, was one based on ontological security: the need for predictability, safety and routine in an individual's life.

Only two of the participants passed any specific comment on the routines of the day. Marie said, "We had speech every day for half an hour" and Faye said that they had, "Speech teaching and language lab every day." There was evidence in discussions with participants, however, of how practical consciousness helped to deflect them away from the contradictions in their teaching lives. There were a number of ways in which this 'regrooving' into oralist practice took place. One important aspect of their lives was the camaraderie with other staff. Their successes with the students were also important in keeping them motivated and some of the participants warmly talked about them, especially when parents were gratified as well, usually through the improved production of speech. Humour was also a very important part in the teacher's lives and having fun, all part of the 'regrooving' of staff attitudes which occurred continually and on a daily basis (Cole, 1984; Woods, 1979) but this practical consciousness did not contribute cognitively to some of the realities of their situation as teachers. As Cole (1984; 68, 70) has suggested, a practical consciousness does not lead teachers to ask, "Do I believe in what I'm doing?"

7.3.3.2 Discursive Consciousness

Actors who use a discursive consciousness, through which they can identify intentions and reasons for certain actions, however, "cannot necessarily do so of their motives" (Giddens, 1984; 6). Motivation is, therefore, not necessarily accessed through interviewing alone, and a degree of interviewer interpretation is at play here. Five members of staff were able to discuss some of their educational experiences discursively and were able to identify contradictory discourses and values in their careers. I will now discuss some of the

motivations, either declared or inferred, from these five participants: Nigel, May, Faye, Peter and Marie.

Nigel talked about the Deaf community and Deaf culture and included discussions he had had with deaf people and could relate to their perspective. This must have had impact on the way Nigel thought because he also reflected that he had seen the students signing to each other, when he worked at the school in the evenings as a house parent and decided to learn sign language from the students and use it in his own communication with the students, simply because if it worked for them it would work for him. He also introduced, in our discussions, the benefits of the Deaf community, "I think it's all for the better really, with everyone learning to sign. Before, there were a lot of children who were isolated. Back in my day the Deaf community was not as strong as it is now."

It appeared, from our discussions, that Nigel had developed a cultural competency enabling him to take a different perspective towards deaf education, one that encompassed the needs of both deaf learners and the Deaf community. He showed a belief that education should be about purposeful communication with the students, he saw them signing with each other and thought that he should copy their ways. He used this motivation to acquire sign language from the students and to implement the use of signs in his classes. He also seemed to be motivated to learn sign because, for students unable to use their residual hearing and lip-read, the benchmarks of oral success, they were, as he said, "churned out the other side." This seemed to rankle him as, what I interpret as a dehumanising effect of the institution.

May recognised that teachers needed an ideology that embraced "deafness as a difference rather than a handicap." She bemoaned the fact that her colleagues "just did what they were told", a nod towards practical consciousness, and did not think about learning about Deaf culture. She also commented that, "Very few people …were committed in any way." It seemed to me that she wanted staff, who worked with deaf children, to be culturally competent not just to become sign language users, although

signing was a step in the right direction. She felt that a knowledge of Deaf culture should be intrinsic knowledge for staff because this knowledge could change their attitudes towards the students. I believe that she was motivated by the need to differentiate communication methods so that students received an individualised communication package. She felt that too many teachers worked in deaf education without any underlying pedagogical philosophy that could have driven an ambition for differentiated approaches with the children. She appears to point out that far too many were not motivated by anything other than the established school traditions. Her view, then, was that most members of staff did not involve themselves in critical thinking about their position in deaf education. The result was that she felt that most staff treated deaf children as if they were disabled.

Faye also recognised that Deaf children of Deaf adults came to school with a language and a culture and that Deaf children had a right to be educated bilingually. She also recognised, however, that most changes in deaf education during her time were cosmetic and that normalisation remained the unspoken, underlying goal, "In general, all changes were perceived to be ground breaking or the answer, in general the idea was to enable deaf children to become hearing." Faye had left the school in the early 1980s and returned a decade later but lamented that Deaf cultural awareness was still lacking in the staff. She also recognised the difficulties of deaf children from hearing families developing Deaf culture and that this issue was challenging, "How can you take a child into a different culture when their family is in another culture? It is an extremely difficult situation."

For Faye, motivation for learning sign language was initially generated out of the wonderment of discovering that deaf children had a language and culture of their own. She wanted access to that language and culture in order to understand it and then, as a result, to give access to students. She was warned by the school leadership to stop attending sign language classes but that did not deter her from continuing. She also said to me that her "other huge motivation [for acquiring sign language] was that the children still had unintelligible speech." She eventually moved to an area of the country which used BSL in their approach to communication with deaf children. She was motivated by a desire to

acquire Deaf cultural competency in order to understand and teach deaf students. She acknowledged that her own discoveries about deaf children and culture initially led her to stretch the limits of her oral teaching through use of BSL influenced gesture. Although this may seem a fairly inconsequential move, hardly worth mentioning as a form of resistance, another participant, Sophie, helped put this in context for me when she related that one of her colleagues had failed her Teacher of the Deaf exam because she had used too much gesture in the classroom. Faye also recognised the power of social structures in her colleagues and that this bias prevented them from exploring other options for teaching deaf children.

Peter recognised how the school was changing in terms of the deaf students that were coming to the school in the 1970s compared with previous cohorts. He recognised that many partially hearing students were being placed into their local mainstream schools because of the advances in hearing aid technology and that there was an increase in numbers of students into the school with additional special needs. He recognised that the oral method was not particularly effective with this group of deaf students, "Its continued practice was futile, a waste of valuable time and totally inappropriate…" He volunteered to create a special educational needs group, with leadership approval, and began the introduction of sign language with them. Peter, however, also mentioned the feelings of the children in the Deaf Department, how they resented using their voices under the oral method when voiceless signing was more natural for them and he was clearly influenced and motivated by this perspective as well.

Marie recognised, and was able to discuss, the need for deaf children to be part of and receive the benefits of the "hearing world". She recognised the need for an individualised approach to teaching and learning, and, therefore, the diversity of needs and approaches in communication methods in deaf education. She still felt that the oral method, however, was top of the evolutionary tree and that signed approaches were backward steps, albeit necessary retrograde steps. She did recognise that deaf children were stigmatised because of an interesting experience of her own in the late 1980s when she was frowned

upon by a fellow train user passenger when she had been observed practising signed English with a colleague.

For Marie, her motivation was interwoven with oralist aims and intentions. She wanted the students to "participate in society" through the language of English. I felt that the gospel of normalisation was a critical motivator for her. She wanted children to achieve in the mainstream world and felt that to do this they needed to be on equal footing with their peers, hence their first language needed to be English, "because any kid who can't use the language of their home country is at a disadvantage." She was a reluctant sign language user in the 1980s with children for whom the oral method had failed but felt, that for them, "that Signed English was the best thing" as it replicated the syntax of English. Using signed supported English was a worse option and BSL was a worse option still. She appeared to be motivated by the arguments which normalisation and social Darwinism proffered her.

Of the five teachers who showed a discursive consciousness, three of those teachers showed resistance to the oral method by learning and introducing sign language to the school prior to the communication changes in 1979. May had joined the school as the changes were occurring but was very pro BSL and Deaf culture but Marie was still very much aligned with the oralist traditions. A discursive consciousness, therefore, did not necessarily lead to oppositional behaviours. In the case of Marie, although she understood the need for alternatives to the oral method, she did not like them.

For teachers who used their discursive consciousness, there seemed to be two motivations: to embrace the oral method, as this would give the children the language and opportunities of the mainstream world, or to embrace sign language, as this appeared to be the language of choice for some of the children. Some of the participants suggested using BSL as the main language of instruction but to use Signed English or Cued Speech as the bridge for acquiring English, especially reading and writing.

For the participants who expressed their motivations, they could be expressed as cultural understandings of the deaf. For Marie, she had thought about oralism and concluded that it was the right model for integrating the students into the "hearing world." Her ideology, therefore, was based on the outcomes of integration but did not address the shortcomings of oralist practice in education. For May, Faye, Peter and Nigel, however, their discursive consciousness led them to explore the meanings of deafness more from a Deaf cultural focus. The motivation of staff who worked with deaf children, then, appeared to be based on either the ontological security provided by the practical consciousness or a discursive consciousness that focused on either integration into the mainstream culture or a bicultural approach that acknowledged both the mainstream culture but also recognised Deaf culture and the importance of its language.

7.4 What Choices Did the Participants Make?

In this section, I wish to address a few choices that the participants made as a result of the intertwining of powerful social structures that supported the oral method and the contradictions that they recognised in their teaching lives, along with the motivations for choices that they discussed. The choices I want to focus on specifically are the oppositional behaviours and resistance rather than the choices to conform.

7.4.1 Learning to Sign as Resistance

The aim of an oral approach is to teach [deaf] children to speak so that they can communicate with their family and the rest of the hearing community into which they have been born. (Watson, 1998; 69)

Resistance, as I have chosen to interpret it, involves teachers taking on a different logic or perspective from the hegemonic position of oralism and all that it entailed and which informed long term emancipatory goals for the students. Whereas many, if not most, of the participants had occasional forays into the world of oppositional behaviours, most did not persist and fell back to the default setting of the oral method as their guiding teaching method. Nigel and Faye, however, while conforming to the oral method in public settings,

created safe spaces in their classrooms where a distinctive deaf pedagogy was the result of their labours. Peter, while exercising the use of sign in his classroom in a more public space, found the space to be a limited public as the school did not appear to celebrate this as a signing provision with all its stake holders as evidenced by the sesquicentennial publication of the school's history in 1976. These pedagogies differed not only from their own previous oral practice and the practice of their peers but also from the practice that would have been espoused in deaf education as a whole. For Nigel and Peter, it included the use of sign language but for all three, there would have been more use of gesture and other visual methods as well as language preparation and other pedagogic activities such as scaffolding. This deaf-centric vision came about from their own personal experiences of working with deaf children and how they came to understand deaf children as knowers and learners. In other words, they used epistemic reflexivity based on their own personal testimonies of deaf students as knowers and learners.

Learning to sign was seen to be anathema to the oral approach. It was not only a shift in focus from the language of the hearing community but also from the culture of the hearing community to that of the Deaf community. Before the school started to discuss augmentative methods of deaf education in the late 1970s, three teachers learned to sign and either used sign language with the students or changed their teaching to incorporate more visual elements to make learning easier for deaf learners.

In this study, the participants were faced with a dilemma. They could either persist with speaking and listening, or they could resist the institution's intolerance to signing and use it in the knowledge that they were being disloyal to their employer which put their jobs at risk. A small number of them preferred to act in the spirit of Freire's (1970) injunction that teachers also have a loyalty to marginalised communities and that they should, therefore, develop a praxis that helps these communities understand and resist oppression. They should, in the last analysis, foster social transformation. This transformation started with the acquisition of sign. I use the word sign rather than sign language because Nigel, for example, did not acquire a language but a collection of signs. Peter, from the recollection of the student Paul, also acquired and used "basic signs" but once he opened the

Remedial Unit, he started to implement Signed English and Sign Supported English, both signed systems because they tried to replicate English syntax not BSL syntax. Peter did acquire BSL, however, and discussed with me the times when BSL and Sign Supported English and Signed English should be used in the classroom:

> *I'm not advocating Signed English as a communication mode – it is quite clear in all the literature and training courses that it is only a teaching tool. It is Signed English for schools, nothing more. So, BSL and when you want to be more specific about the English form then use Signed English, help the pupils to read for meaning using it too. (Peter)*
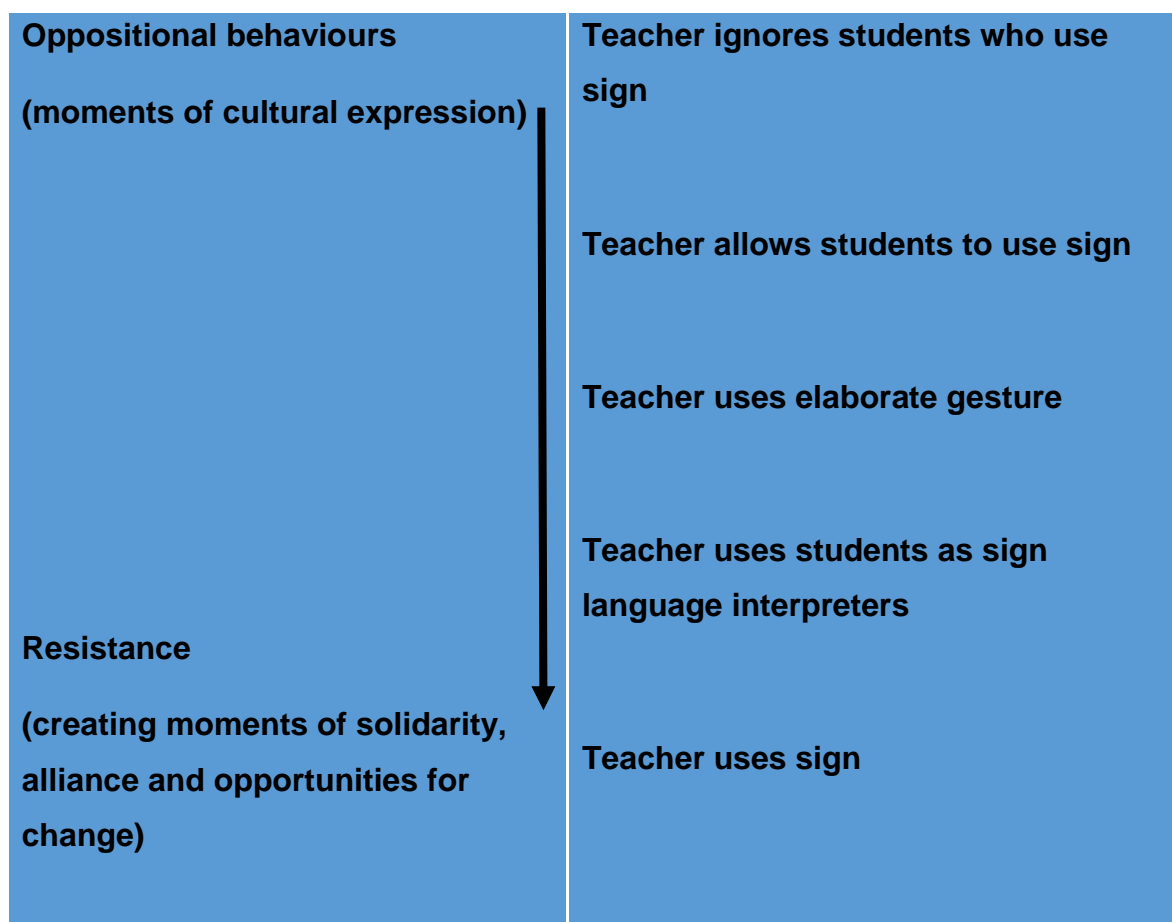
For Peter, communication should have been in BSL and the bridge that linked BSL to English was Signed English. Faye, on the other hand, learned BSL almost from the start, but not from the students. She also acquired cued speech and learned Signed English to help with literacy development. Learning to sign and using it with students, for me, is a clear moment when staff moved from mere oppositional behaviours to resistance. Another mode of resistance, however, was when staff used students who could hear and/or lip read but who could also sign, to communicate to the students who could not hear and/or lip read. Peter acknowledged that he had used students who could sign to communicate to those who did not understand what was happening in class. He also said, however, that this was not unusual with other members of staff at the time. These members of staff were, therefore, circumventing the school's oral practice in order to ensure that students, who could not cope with the oral method, understood the teaching of the classroom.

From the discussions with the participants, it would appear that many of the school's teaching staff had moments of opposition, when the use of sign was deemed momentarily appropriate. These lapses could be termed moments of cultural expression because in these points of time, sign language was privileged with respect to spoken language. An example was Trish's use of a signing member of a Deaf family as an interpreter, to find out what a nursery sibling was trying to communicate to her. As I mentioned earlier, when Trish experienced a temporary glitch in her normal routine, she admitted to breaking a rule by getting the child's sister to come and interpret, it was occasional opposition not resistance to the oral method. Trish didn't know how to sign herself and did not learn. In

other words, this event was a disjuncture in the normal running of the school and its oralist principles, it did not essentially threaten the system. Had Trish learned to sign, however, and instead of relying on an interpreter had communicated with the child herself, then this would have been a threat because Trish would then have had the resources to effect change within the system.

Oppositional behaviours are produced amidst contradictory discourses but the key difference between oppositional behaviours and resistance, according to Giroux (2001), is that resistance has emancipatory interests. In this case, the softening of the oral method so that a new deaf pedagogy could emerge, if only in fitful spasms and spurts in classroom spaces. Nevertheless, this deaf pedagogy valued British Sign Language and showed some alliance to Deaf culture. It would appear to me that the difference between oppositional behaviours and resistance was what staff allowed to happen or encouraged to happen on a continuum. I have summed up this theorisation in the following table (Figure 7.3):

Oppositional behaviours (moments of cultural expression)	Teacher ignores students who use sign
	Teacher allows students to use sign
	Teacher uses elaborate gesture
	Teacher uses students as sign language interpreters
Resistance (creating moments of solidarity, alliance and opportunities for change)	Teacher uses sign

Figure 7.3 Oppositional Behaviours, Sign and Resistance

At the most innocuous level, teachers could ignore students using signs at school. Some of the participants revealed that the use of sign language could have been punished by writing lines or, as Faye informed me, they "were rapped with a ruler across the back of the hand." Some teachers, as Peter indicated, ignored the sign language "or tried to believe it didn't exist." Whether this was because teachers did not want to punish the use of sign language or because the use of sign language by the students simply overwhelmed them is not known. The next step would have been to consciously allow the students to sign. There is a difference between ignoring and allowing sign language. Ignoring indicates that there was some level of intent shown by members of staff towards the infraction and I would imagine that a member of staff would avert their eyes in order to pretend that they had not seen anything. Allowing sign language to be used, however, was a stronger level of intent and would mean that the teacher would not have averted their eyes. Peter talked

about a student in his class who required the intervention of other students who could sign to him and he allowed this communication to happen, although he did not instigate it.

Faye's fascination with students who signed led her to explore beneath the veneer, that the signing was indeed a language and was part of a rich culture that children handed down to each other. The impact of learning sign language and Deaf culture for Faye was that she then used elaborate gestures in her classroom, gestures influenced by British Sign Language.

I propose that the next level, however, was when teachers purposefully used sign language skilled students to convey messages to the sign language reliant students in the classroom. Although the teachers may not have been able to sign themselves, they recognised the impact of this mode of communication for some of the students and showed a degree of allegiance with the language of sign even if this was for their own purposes, not necessarily those of the students. By this I mean that the teacher may allow the use of sign because the student was not understanding, not because the student required that particular language input. In other words, the change in communication is because the teacher is inconvenienced by the student not understanding speech or lip reading not because the student is inconvenienced by being forced to use a mode of communication that is beyond their capability of understanding. The ultimate expression of alliance and solidarity, however, was when a teacher acquired sign language skills and used them, even if just occasionally, for the benefit of the students. I interpret this as resistance because these teachers were informed by emancipatory goals that were aimed at improving communication with what could be referred to as a disenfranchised group, their students. The students, then, would have been the major reason for the adoption of signing because it was part of their cultural heritage and preferred choice.

7.4.2 Public Versus Private Resistance

In the face of an ideology that was well articulated, had stood the test of timeless challenges, and with no other publicly accepted options, it is easy to see how even those

who resisted the oral method did so in private and were compliant in public. Although there were occasional oppositional behaviours in the school, and even moments of resistance, at the public level members of staff appeared compliant with the school's vision of oralism. The staff room was not the place for discussing issues to do with oral failings. The staff room was a place for reinforcing oralist values and developing a camaraderie that revolved around the school's mission and focus. Few examples of the school's links with its stake holders were given by participants but Marie did mention the link with parents, "Parents would come in on Friday afternoon and we would give feedback about speech."

It would appear that the famous Victorian annual display of oral successes, "where the children were paraded and taught for the benefit of a somewhat bored audience" (Denmark, 1945; 137) still persisted into the twentieth century. This display was created, however, to impress parents:

> *At the end of the week we did a speech session and the mother saw him say*
> *his part and she broke down crying, "I never thought I would hear him speak,"*
> *she said. (Marie)*

The institution's formal link with stake holders was the Annual Report, which focused more on the business of the school, not issues to do with communication or curriculum. For the Annual Reports from 1978 to the early 1980s, for example, the priority seemed to be falling rolls rather than communication changes that were being made or even considered. Sometimes the public messages did not match the reality of school practice. For example, even though some form of sign language or sign system had been used with the Remedial Unit, since 1973, and within the Deaf Department after 1979, it was not until Jones (1989) that the Annual Report finally publicly acknowledged that signing was used within the school, albeit to support the spoken element of the children's development. It would appear that the school leadership was wary of making a public declaration that could be construed as running counter to the national picture of deaf education, oralism. In the 1979 Annual Report, the head teacher reported:

> *The communication problems of our children have been debated in a much*
> *more liberal climate than formerly. (Olding, 1979; 11)*

He almost seemed to be sowing the seeds for a discussion on change but that is as far as he went and he did not mention either Cued Speech or sign language although Sophie mentioned that some parents removed their children from the school when signing was introduced. The school leadership must have been acutely sensitive to any threat to the organisation that would lead to a loss of students. It was, as an independent maintained school, clearly susceptible to parental wishes and had, from the perspective of quite a few participants, a philosophy that represented parental wishes.

The first mention of Cued Speech in the school Annual Report was in the 1980/1981 Headmaster's Report. Such tardy recognition of cueing and signing, I can only surmise, was down to fear of local authority and parental disapprobation in a time of falling rolls for the school. As both Sophie and May discussed, the business end of education seemed to be the priority for the school.

In public, teachers clearly conformed to the expectations and policies of the institution they worked within. The public included fellow colleagues and the teachers did not appear to drop their guard in terms of their allegiance to the oralist vision and practice with each other. They continued with speech lessons and using the audiology available to them. The private resistance of a few, however, challenged the blanket success of the oral method and created other forms of teaching and learning that involved, for example, "animat[ion], using gestures and props" (Faye) and Nigel's use of sign in the classroom. This teacher 'underlife', however, had a limited audience and involved the teacher and some students in the teacher's classroom space.

The picture that I have drawn from my data of teacher resistance is that it occurred in safe places that were created by the teacher. This space was away from the prying eyes of other staff who may or may not have condoned the use of elaborate gesture or sign language in the classroom. This micro-level space not only involved a geographical location i.e. a classroom but also constituted a place in the mind, a way of thinking, and,

therefore, a buffer between policy and practice and a buffer[37] between the culture of the deaf students and the macrostructural dominant group. Certain teachers, then, exercised some flexibility and while still maintaining an essentially oral programme, offered students visual cues to help them during their lessons. Resistance, importantly, was camouflaged with conformity. Certain aspects of the curriculum and norms of teacher behaviour were publicly submitted to so that others could be resisted in private. It seems to me that there were at least three options available to teachers: guardians of oral policy and practice; guardians of student culture and language or buffers between the intersecting cultures. As already stated, all the teachers started with option one, guardians of oral policy and practice. Only through time did some begin to recognise contradictions in their roles as teachers. Many teachers involved themselves in oppositional behaviours that circumvented particular oral practices, three of the participants actually resisted oral practice to some degree and, again in some small degree, chose option three, becoming buffers between the two cultures. The second option, of standing as guardians of Deaf culture and language, was not an option available to them if they wished to remain employed at the school as Faye discovered, she had to leave the school to find a BSL environment that she felt comfortable with. Creating a classroom 'underlife' that allowed the occasional use of elaborate gesture and even sign language was still a daring enterprise by the teachers involved. They acted in the spirit of Freire's (1970) injunction that teachers also have a loyalty to marginalised communities and that they should therefore develop a praxis that helps these communities understand and resist oppression.

Because of the powerful structural properties associated with oralism, individual resistance was silent and only emerged when external influences provided opportunities for these beliefs and practices to finally break into the public domain. With Peter, the opportunity to use signing in the Remedial Unit only emerged with the influx of deaf children with additional special needs and the pressure for a change was applied. This change was possibly facilitated because Devon County Council was questioning the admission policy of the school, almost insisting that the school take in deaf children with other special

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[37] This idea of a teacher as a buffer came from Spivak's (1988; 79) discussion of stratified Indian society and how the dominant regional Indian elite were "a buffer group, as it were, between the people and the great macrostructural dominant groups… defined as a place of in-betweenness, what Derrida has described as an 'antre'."

educational needs. Faye left the school rather than be stifled by the oral policy and the threat of losing her job and the fruits of her resistance were experienced in other settings. For Nigel, his thoughts on signing to deaf children were only made public in 1979. In discussion with him there was no evidence that the school had acknowledged his use of signs in the classroom beforehand. Either the school leadership was not aware of his use of signs or, because in the Deaf Department where Nigel taught, the school leadership was not as concerned over his use of signs as it did not affect the flagship department of the school, the Hearing Impaired Department, where Faye showed there was a high level of surveillance and interest in ensuring the banning and punishing of the use of any sign language.

7.4.3 Resistance and Social Position

Very few of the participants mentioned their social position and the expectations that came with it, probably because my discussions with them focused on communication change and culture. Nevertheless, some did talk about how their focus in education included being advocates for the school and its vision of oralism. They also mentioned the pressure that parents brought to bear in wanting their children to learn to speak. Teachers will have felt a clear responsibility towards the school vision and parental wishes.

There was also an expression, by some participants of a growing awareness to be advocates for the students:

> *There is no one size fits all. Language acquisition, auditory training, signing etc. are all important and necessary parts of deaf education and each child should have an individual programme of learning to meet his or her needs. (Faye)*

The wishes of the parents seemed to match that of the vision of the school, they were pro-oral. Some of the teachers, however, felt that some students preferred an approach that involved sign language. Nigel commented that teachers needed to embrace the communication system that the students used successfully between themselves. Peter argued that the oral method, for students with additional needs, was a waste of their time not just his time. Like Nigel he was looking at education from the perspective of the

students. Faye also took on a child centred approach, "I have always adapted methods to suit the child." These participants recognised that this need for a child centred focus created a contradiction between the school's stake holders. The resistance shown by some teachers in this case study can be seen as a reworking of the teacher's role in the position they occupied in school and the wider society. There was a discrepancy between the goals that the institution and some teachers were working towards. The institution insisted on the focus of speaking and listening but some teachers were more interested in communication and comprehension. Some teachers, then, took a different perspective and were in a situation where their new aims did not match those espoused by the school.

Marie can be used as a counterpoint for the participants mentioned above. She represented the thinking of many teachers in the school and was quite articulate in what her motivation was. Her social position was very much interwoven with oralist aims and intentions as she wanted the students to "participate in society" through the language of English. The discourse of normalisation was a critical motivator for her. She wanted children to achieve in the mainstream world and felt that to do this they needed their first language to be English. When asked about what changes had occurred in her lifetime in deaf education she said, "Oralism to signed English, at first which deteriorated to signed support then deteriorated to BSL."

She clearly shows influences of Social Darwinism and that English is at the top of the evolutionary tree with any other language or language system used being a degradation. She was a reluctant sign language user with children for whom the oral method was failing but felt, for them, "that Signed English was the best thing," probably because it replicated the syntax of English. Using signed supported English was a worse option and BSL, the language of the Deaf community, was the worst option of all.

It would seem that the differences in perspectives, for the teachers, were based on whether the teacher took on the overwhelming ideology of society and its bias for deaf

children to speak and listen, or whether the child's individual needs were more prominent and a teacher was able to grasp a view of Deaf culture.

7.4.4 Costs of Resistance and Compliance

The costs of resistance for staff are difficult to assess. As Giroux (1983; 242) has pointed out:

> *To be committed to a radical transformation of the existing society in all its manifestations always places the individual or the group in the position of losing job, security, and in some cases friends.*

Faye did move away from the institution as she wanted to pursue the use of BSL in her teaching career. She chose to exit the situation rather than stay and voice her beliefs and opinions. I have also discussed the imposition of a culture of teacher isolation that would have affected relationships and would have prevented like-minded colleagues forming alliances which may have fostered a resolution for change. The majority of the participants, however, did not appear to question oralist practice during their careers or even in moments of reflection in retirement. The cost of conforming, for them, was that their minds had been colonised by the rhetoric of oralism and they could not perceive of a different educational format for deaf children that may have been better for a portion of their students. As Faye indicated, they believed that "...the children would learn English and would learn to talk." The occasional failures did not seem to interrupt their enthusiasm and faith in this method of teaching and, thus, it did not lead them to question or change their practice.

The costs of resistance were rarely mentioned by participants, or they were downplayed, although I had not asked them specifically about these issues. Some participants, however, did comment on the costs of not considering the student perspective. With Joan and Fran, their questioning did not appear to come until after they had retired and this led to questions and a modicum of regret in the way they had taught:

Are we to blame ourselves for teaching oralism when signing might have been less stressful for the pupils? (Joan)

We were never allowed to sign when I worked at the deaf school. I know they [the ex-pupils] have forgiven me, but I am not sure that God has. (Fran)

As both of these teachers are now dead, I cannot ask them when they first had these notions that all was not good in the world of the oral method. Perhaps their perspectives had changed over time as they were confronted with viewpoints from the Deaf world as well as the challenge of changing cultural values in society, generally. Joan, in her memoirs, questioned the oral method in retirement, after having watched a television programme about a deaf man who felt that not being able to sign at school was an infringement on his rights. She said she had felt "Aghast" and, "As an oralist I felt quite chastened."

For Joan, she used words like "aghast" to describe the shock of finding out that deaf people had different views towards the oral method than the ones she held and felt "chastened." For Fran, she also felt that with the use of sign language many of her students may have gone to University. This was a conversation just before she died, however, and I was never able to ascertain when she had come to that conclusion, during her teaching time but felt compelled to comply with the oral teaching or in her retirement. Some of the participants, such as Marie and Esther, however, remained resolute to the principles of oralism throughout their lives but some, such as Mark and Sophie acknowledged that they had conformed to the oral method originally but in their later teaching life, when the school had allowed cued speech and signed systems into teaching practice, recognised that the changes had a positive impact:

The emphasis on oralism and good speech put a lot of unnecessary strain on deaf pupils – many of the older staff felt that the children would stop using their voices if they signed – on the whole this did not happen. (Sophie)

The Teachers had been warned in their training that allowing signing would interfere with the deaf child's ability to acquire spoken language. Faye said that the training was

essentially "propaganda and brainwashing" for the oralist cause but without alternative information, one can understand the teachers' reticence to engage with sign language if they believed that it did damage the students' abilities to speak.

One cost of resistance was to weigh up where to place one's allegiance, to the oral method or to sign language using students. For some teachers a sense of worth was acquired through awareness of institutional loyalty, pride in having adhered to institutional practices and values; for others, that sense of worth was constructed through knowledge of the contribution they had made to a different deaf pedagogy and the difference they helped make to the lives of their students as members of a Deaf community.

7.5 Summary

Despite the power that the oral method presented previously to 1979, there was still evidence of choices that staff were able to make in the face of this bias such as staff allowing the use of sign language in the classroom, or even a diminishing of enthusiasm in teaching speech in the Deaf Department. Nevertheless, without the teachers' ability to use sign language, the availability of choices for what to do with those students who did not do well with the oral method was limited. Three participants, however, resisted the oralist hegemony by learning sign language. Peter used sign language in his teaching but had official backing even though there was very limited public awareness of his methods. Nigel did not have official backing but persisted in using signs in his private space, the classroom. Faye stretched the limits of the oral method and used some BSL gesture in her teaching, again within her private teaching space. To me, the motivation for resistance was initially based on the reality that some of their students were not responding positively to the oral method and needed the language that some students persisted in using with each other, the language of signs and gestures even in the face of its oppression. However, Faye, Peter and Nigel also recognised the culture and language of the Deaf community and made choices that, I believe, were about empowering a disenfranchised group, deaf children. The next chapter will present a model to show how these three teachers moved from initial conformity to the oral method to one of resistance where the learning of sign

language and the use of sign language, even if only in private spaces, was evidence of their developing cultural competency and emancipatory interests.

Chapter 8 Discussion and Conclusion

8.1 Discussion

Traditions and practices of the School for the Deaf in Exeter may have offered teachers a narrow oralist practice between the 1880s and 1979 but I have shown that teachers mediate the structures of domination and constraint, either recreating the traditions or even reshaping them giving them some flexibility that previously did not exist. These traditions may have appeared to have trammelled teachers but they also created the potential for adaptation and change. This was largely due to tensions created by contradictions in structural properties that were in opposition to each other as well as misalignments between existing social arrangements and the goals of the teachers. Teachers were able to construct a shift in their professional identity that provided some flexibility from the social position ascribed to them by society, their training, the traditions of the school, as well as the expectations of school leadership and parents.

8.1.1 How did Teachers Move from Acceptance to Resistance?

In order to outline the progression that some teachers made from conformity to resistance, I have created a model, based on Hall's (1973) model of Encoding/Decoding that summarises this case study (**Error! Reference source not found.**4):
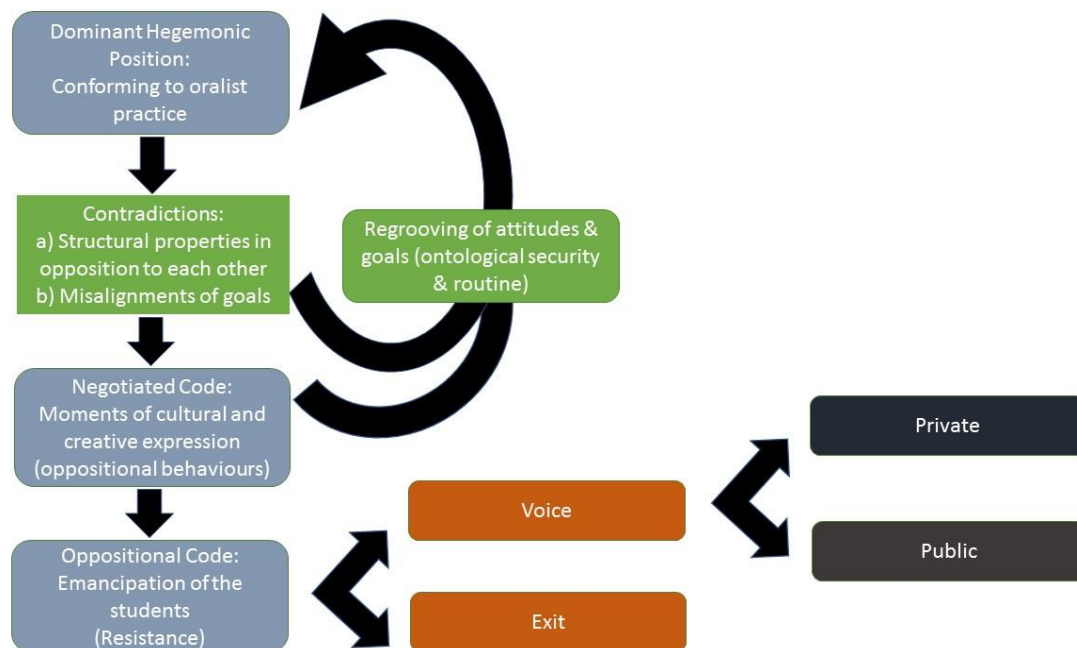
Figure 8.4 Model of Teacher Movement from Acceptance to Resistance.

Hall (1973), writing specifically about viewers of television programmes, claimed that viewers derive their own meaning from the content. Although encoding and decoding are related, they are never identical and Hall (1973) proposed three ways in which viewers derive meaning: dominant hegemonic; negotiated code; oppositional code. These decoding strategies could be seen to be mirrored in the way the participants and other teachers at the school reacted to the tenets of oralism. They could conform to oralist practice, they could occasionally engage in oppositional behaviours, moments of cultural and creative expression, or they could exercise resistant behaviours with a view to the emancipation of students.

As previously mentioned, all the participants initially accepted the tenets of oralism and were therefore operating, as Hall (1973) would ascertain, within the dominant hegemonic position. The seeds of oppositional behaviours appear to have been sown by contradictions in their working lives when some chose to interpret the rules of the oral method loosely, at times. From discussions with participants, it would appear that many

members of staff, during the 1960s and 1970s, engaged in occasional oppositional behaviours but would then realign themselves with the values of the school. It has been suggested that much of this regrooving would take place in the staff room (Cole, 1984; Woods, 1979), with its emphasis on ritual and solidarity, and simply because alternative ways of teaching, through sign language, for example, were both expressively forbidden and beyond their abilities. Peter, Faye and Nigel did say that the staff room was never a place for discussing the failures of their teaching methods, only for reinforcing the ways to teach speech, lip-reading and listening.

Oppositional behaviours are "produced amidst contradictory discourses and values" (Giroux, 1983; 103). Some participants mentioned that some of their colleagues used students as interpreters in their classrooms to effect improved communication with students who did not respond well to lip reading and voice. Most of these oppositional behaviours were "moments of cultural and creative expression that are informed by a different logic" (Giroux, 1983; 108). Simply expressed, the different logic was that sign language was, for some, a better mode of communication. These members of staff could be said to be using a negotiated code. Negotiated code, according to Hall (1973), contains some adoptive and oppositional elements. In other words, not all actions operate within the hegemonic code and there is a mix of conformity and opposition. People operating in the negotiated code, according to Hall (1973; 17), still agree with the legitimacy of the hegemonic viewpoint or "what is 'natural', 'inevitable', 'taken for granted' about the social order." Nevertheless, because of the contradictions, for example between the deaf students that teachers were told about in their training and "the 'real' deaf"" (Peter) that sat in front of them in the classroom, some teachers developed oppositional tactics in order to facilitate more effective communication. This may have been allowing students the occasional use of sign language in the classroom (either through approval or even through ignoring) to the practice of a few teachers who used interpreters. Some teachers, in the Deaf Department "…didn't use voice. The lip patterns were there but they were completely silent" (Marie). Modifications to the oralist methods, then, could have been as radical as the teacher using students to sign to others to the less radical ignoring of students using signs with each other to the innocuous mouthing of information with an absence of voice. These behaviours did not necessarily lead inexorably to resistance, however, and although

the regrooving effects of the staffroom, for example, drew teachers back into the oralist fold (the hegemonic position), some of the participants have indicated that many teachers operated within some form of negotiated code for much of their teaching lives, certainly before the separation of the school into two departments. For some of the participants, oppositional behaviours seemed to me to be momentary lapses, such as Trish's use of an older signing sister to understand what a child was trying to communicate to her in the nursery class. Some staff, such as Marie, gave the impression that oppositional behaviours were distasteful even if they were necessary.

It was in the Deaf Department that institutional slippage from oralist principles was most pronounced, for example the students were allowed to sign amongst themselves at break and dinner times. Another example, that on one of the participants mentioned, was the teaching of speech which became less urgent, it was evident that this did not have the same priority that it had in the Partially Hearing Department. These examples could be said to be a negotiated code at the organisational level.

For a few staff, however, oppositional behaviours did lead to acts of resistance, evidenced by their learning of sign language. They were motivated by a different logic or perspective because they identified with the language of the Deaf community, created alliances with their deaf charges and created opportunities to affect change. There was also a degree of moral indignation that was expressed, for example, in the mechanical nature of the way some of the students, who could not cope with the oral method, simply passed through school almost unscathed by education. Embedded in acts of resistance, there "is an expressed hope, an element of transcendence for radical transformation" (Giroux, 2001; 108). The use of signs with some students gave the teachers, and these students, a hope that education could mean something, that the students could be included in learning rather than just being incorporated into a geographical space.

Hirschman (1970) has argued, there are two types of responses to unsatisfactory conditions in one's workplace, fight it (voice) or run for it (exit). For Faye, although she

learned sign language in defiance of the school leadership, she chose to exit the social order she disapproved of, rather than fight it. Her resistance was in the way she modified her teaching approaches, using, what she termed BSL gestures which occurred in her classroom space. Peter began to learn sign language and, as a result of setting up a unit for deaf children with additional special needs, lent his voice to setting up an alternative to the oral method in a public way, although he had leadership approval. At that time, however, there was a clear delineation of deaf children within the school: those who could hear and/or lip read (members of the Partially Hearing Department); those who did less well with an oral approach (the Deaf Department) and the special needs class (the Remedial or Opportunity unit). Peter's unit did not have any immediate impact on the rest of the school as it was hived off from the others and had different rules of governance. Nigel also acquired a degree of sign language from the students and used it, showing that he did not agree with the tenets of the oral method for all deaf children. Although he never left the school, in a sense he chose to fight it but only in his classroom within his private space there. His resistance, then, was not public but private or, in other words, with a limited public, the students he taught. The following figure (**Error! Reference source not found.**) reflects how the participants matched the model using the information gleaned from the interviews (Esther and May have not been included as they started at the school after 1979):
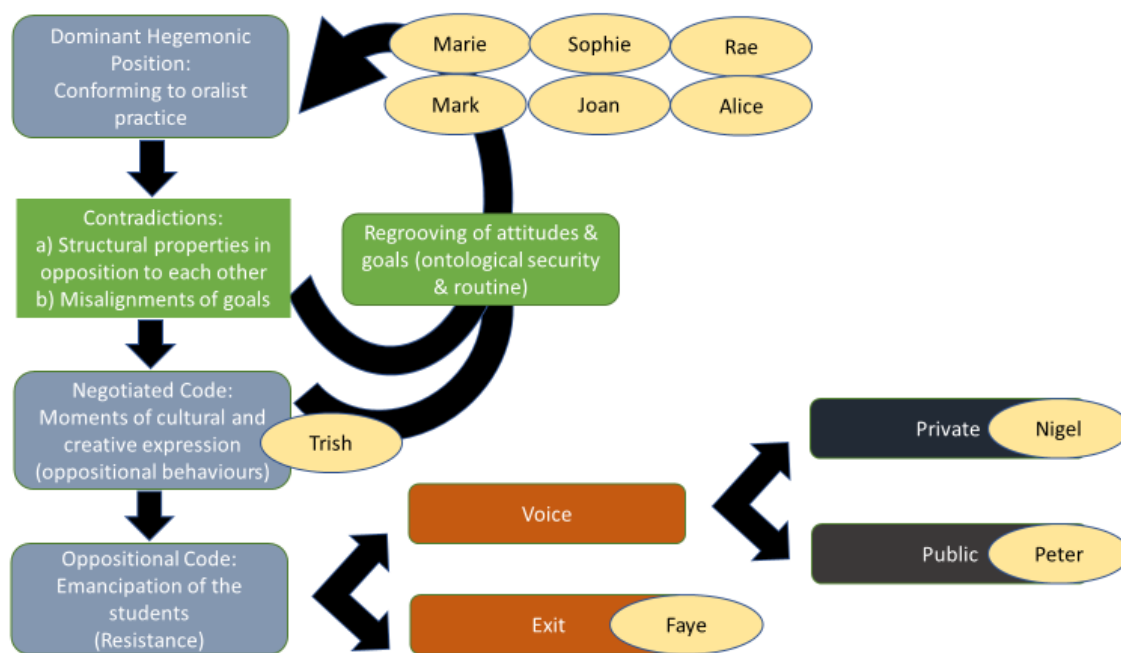
Figure 8.5 Model of Teacher Resistance and Participants.

In this study, it appears that the practical consciousness is the default mode for most of the participants. From the data, six of the participants maintained the dominant hegemonic position of the school. One participant, Trish, had acknowledged that she had exercised negotiated code as she had used a student as a translator on at least one occasion. My feeling, however, is that she was quickly regrooved back into the dominant position. Three participants exercised oppositional code, resisting the tenets of blanket oral education but these were expressed very differently. Faye chose to leave the school, Nigel exercised private resistance whereas Peter's was public, although that public was limited. It may be argued that the degree of resistance that occurred within the school was not 'serious' (McFarland, 2004) in that it did not form a collective to change the social order but private because of a limited public (Scott, 1990). Although Peter's resistance was in some ways public, his unit was sited at the back of the property and had limited opportunities to mix with the other students. Giroux (2001; 166) has commented on how school organisations isolate most teachers to "prevent them from working collectively." The very organisation of school life, then, reduces the opportunities for collective resistance but increases opportunities for individual resistance which are expressed as part of a teacher 'underlife' (Goffman, 1961). Overall social life was not transformed, school wide, but some

transformations were made in individual classrooms. Social change does not occur in a vacuum, however, and it is often inspired from individual acts of resistance, so one cannot say that resistance is never serious.

I believe that those teachers who walked the path of resistance had developed a discursive consciousness which led them to critically assess their situation and were able to ask themselves, as Cole (1984; 68, 70) has suggested, "Do I believe in what I'm doing?" As critical agents they could use "an emancipating process of reflection" (Czank, 2012; 803) to become transformative teachers and go against the oralist hegemony. Unfortunately, the original questions to the participants did not include this question, specifically, but the very acts of resistance suggest that there were some teachers who did not believe that the oral method was a panacea for all but simply one method amongst others.

This model is important because it shows how pervasive the dominant hegemonic position is and that only acknowledged contradictions can jolt teachers into considering alternative paths of action.

8.1.2 Discursive Consciousness, Critical Consciousness and Resistance

Teachers who resisted the hegemonic ideology of oralism initially recognised the oral method as an inadequate system for some of their students. This reflection was acknowledged by all the participants, to some degree, but what separated the participants was their level of reflexivity. I believe that through active recursive processes, those who resisted the oral method began to dissociate themselves from the organisation's stance on oral education and the ascribed teacher role within it, creating more flexibility to achieve their own goals. Hibbert et al. (2010) have argued that modes of reflexivity can change, from moment to moment, allowing, for example, negotiated code, where teachers allow for instances of cultural and creative expression that involve an active appreciation of sign language or a form of deaf pedagogy. These teachers could still, though, revert back to the

dominant hegemonic position by simply accepting that it was not their responsibility to affect change, that responsibility fell to the institution, or "front office" as David recalled.

As resistance in this case study was in a private space, publicly the teachers needed to be seen to collude with the oral method making resistance camouflaged. As De Certeau (1984; 25) has argued, the worker's own work had to be "disguised as work for his employer." All staff, as previously explained in the Deaf Department, continued with speech training, even if they had very little return but their commitment to the exercise may have reduced. In a sense, oppositional behaviour was evidenced here as the decrease in enthusiasm but was masked by publicly continuing to do what the school's practice required. Only when the participants started to recognise contradictions between policy and practice could oppositional behaviours begin, although this did not necessarily lead to resistance. When agents are confronted with institutional contradictions, as I have shown existed in deaf education at this time, a teacher can create an 'underlife' (Goffman, 1961). According to Brooke (1987; 142), the 'underlife' can be described as "the activities (or information games) individuals engage in to show that their identities are different from or more complex than the identities assigned them by organizational roles." Resistance is one such activity but the motivation of the three resisting teachers seemed to be based on different logics. Here, I am responding to Giroux's (2001; 110) challenge, that any research on resistance needs to link the behaviour with the "interest it embodies."

For Faye, it was, initially, the wonderment of discovering that Deaf children had a language and culture of their own. For Nigel, he understood that education should be about purposeful communication with the students, he saw them signing to each other and thought that this method should also be used by the teachers. For Peter, he felt that the oral method was a waste of time for children with additional special needs and felt that signing would work because he had seen a colleague successfully do this in his past. Peter and Nigel also made reference to the almost industrial processes of oralist education, that it could produce "automatons" (David) and, for those for whom the oral method did not work, were just processed through the school. I interpreted these statements to mean that the oral method could have a dehumanising effect on some

students, which sits at odds with its role in the process of normalisation. These different motivations, however, still led the participants to a position of cultural pluralism based on three influences: the challenge that the oral method was not working for all deaf children; that these deaf children belonged to a linguistic/cultural minority who used sign language between themselves, in spite of sanctions; the rejection of the premise that deaf children needed to be normalised through learning to speak and listen. This could be interpreted as a humanising influence within the school.

A discursive consciousness did not necessarily lead a teacher to resist or even consider resisting oral practice, however. Marie, as previously explained, clearly had thought about what she was doing but felt that the overriding benefits of fitting in with the mainstream ability to use English as speaking and listening was paramount and she, therefore conformed with the oral method. A discursive consciousness, therefore, does not lead inexorably to the development of a critical pedagogy, or resistance in this case, but it does mean that the teacher believes in what they do, they have interrogated different positions and are able to describe what they believe in. Hibbert et al. (2010), argue that structurally dominated individuals who possess passive rather than active processes of recursion, are likely to come through periods of reflexivity with the initial structures reinforced. This is one explanation as to why some individuals resisted and others conformed, the reflection may have been similar but the levels of reflexivity were different. In other words, active recursion, inspired by a critical consciousness, opened up opportunities for resistance but a passive level of recursion led to the reinforcement of existing structures despite discursive thinking.

May said of her colleagues that they had no ideology of their own. If she was right, then maybe they did not question their actions but simply followed a recipe provided by the school and, in her opinion, asked no questions about the outcomes. This certainly backed up the suggestion of Mardle and Walker (1980) that perhaps the structures of teaching ensure that only the critically unreflexive enter into the profession in the first place. Some of the participants, then, possibly through a practical consciousness or passive processes of recursion, instead of changing their practice reconciled themselves to the fact that it was

the school's responsibility to make the decisions regarding communication practice. In other words, they allowed themselves to be regrooved back into oralist practice despite misgivings simply because they allowed the institution to make the decisions about deaf education.

In considering that the oral method did not work for all deaf children, when teachers had been convinced in their training that it would, reflexive thinking led Nigel to learn signs from the students and use them in his classroom. Mark indicated that other teachers resolved this situation with the hope that improving technology would settle these issues at some future time. Marie, on reflection said that the children "had fun, all the time." They may not have succeeded educationally but this was assuaged by the fact that they enjoyed school which, perhaps, convinced some of the rightness of persisting with the oral method. Also, many teachers could have felt that they had no other choice. An awareness that things could be different is a significant factor in resistance.

The motivation of the teachers who resisted the oral method was based on communication. For these teachers, it appeared that it was not only necessary to convey information to the students, it was also necessary to understand what the students were communicating back. That some students could not be understood, or with great difficulty, through speech, led some teachers to resort to communicating through the signs the students used with each other. They understood that communication was a two-way affair and what the students were trying to communicate actually mattered as opposed to those teachers who conformed to oral principles where the student must have been very much the object of education. This is reminiscent of Freire's (1970) concept of 'banking' education as opposed to 'problem-posing' education. In the first instance students are treated as empty vessels for the teacher to fill, whereas problem-posing education is based on "dialogue and communication" (Freire, 1973; 150). This seems to be a useful analogy of the difference between the conforming oral teachers and those that resisted. If problem-posing education is essential, as Freire (1973; 133) suggests, for developing critical thinking, then students who are not involved in dialogue because they cannot be understood, only had access to the banking type of education, which, "if they succeed… it

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is in spite of their education." This statement is mirrored in one of Peter's statements about his teaching life before he started to use signing where a boy in his class "learned in spite of me." Here, Peter acknowledged that he allowed the partially hearing members of the class to sign to this boy so that when he learned it was not only "in spite of" but also because of Peter that he learned because Peter had allowed students the freedom to translate oral messages to signing in his classroom. At least the boy and Peter understood each other through the mediation of other sign language students. Freire (1973; 164), summarised his beliefs about agrarian-educators in South America who did not fully engage with the adult peasants they taught:

> *If they are incapable of believing in the peasants, of communing with them, they will at best be cold technicians. They will probably be technocrats, or even good reformers. But they will never be educators who will carry out radical transformations.*

For Freire, then, resistance was an unlikely event for staff who did not believe that students could become agents influencing their own futures and who did not bother to engage with the students. Freire's conceptualisation of banking education involves an almost constant stream of information from the teacher to the students but a problem-posing education is one of dialogue and mutual discussion. The banking concept was also considered, by Freire (1973; 152), to be "an instrument of domination" whereas the problem-posing type of education is one that "is in the constant search for liberation." Domination, in this case study, was the blanket use of the oral method as it was implemented at the time for all deaf children whether they had the propensity for it or not. Liberation meant the freedom from limiting situations that barred students from full participation in society. Initially, teachers that allowed signing in their classrooms and who used sign language themselves, where interested in liberation from the consequences of an oral education that was inaccessible to the students. With no other option available, however, many students who did not respond to the oral method simply passed through the school unless the teachers did something about it. This could have been allowing other students to assist in the communication within the classroom through signing or the teacher using signs themselves. Participation in society, for teachers who used sign

language, revolved around written communication, not speaking and listening an idea that was, as Peter discovered, difficult for the school governors to accept.

Liberation also involved adapting teaching methods to match the needs of the deaf. Nigel recognised that the language he used had to be different and Peter recognised that as well:

> *I personally always wanted to improve their language and understanding of it. I was ambitious for them, on their behalf, if you like, they weren't ambitious enough. I wanted to expand their BSL vocabularies, I always thought they were limited, not to say narrow and conservative. I saw Signed English as a means to open their minds. (Peter)*

However, the participants who remained fervent believers of speaking and listening, the tenets of the oral method, also felt that they were liberating the students as Marie commented, "I think we gave them the freedom to live." She also said that people who could not effectively communicate in the home language were disadvantaged. There were, then, two different perspectives on what constituted liberation for the deaf student. Liberation from perceived oppressive practices that involved the banning of what could be termed the 'natural' language of the deaf or liberation that involved including the deaf as fully as possible in the hearing culture through a process of normalisation so they could access jobs, education etc. in mainstream life. As Peter summed up, "The Deaf community is a tiny minority and really cannot survive in a ghetto." Freedom would have involved an ability to break out of this ghetto but, as he said, could involve the use of both sign language and written English, in other words access to a bilingual education that made the most of both worlds. Bilingual programmes have often been criticised because of their focus on natural sign language. Johnson et al. (1989; 17) proposed guiding principles for working in a bilingual environment and argued that:

> *Some readers might misinterpret our focus on [natural sign language] discourse as a neglect of English. It is not our intention to diminish the value of learning English for deaf people. It is an undeniable fact that proficient English is necessary to economic survival…*

Most of the participants agreed that deaf children needed a set of English skills to help them in the hearing world, even if it was reading and writing rather than speaking and listening. Liberation for sign language using deaf children meant access to their natural sign language and using this language development as the bridge into English language development (Mayer & Wells, 1996; Mayer, 2007).

A consequence of incorporating dialogue into an education that is problematised, whether planned or unintended, is the development of a critical awareness of the world which students can then change. For Freire, this is his concept of conscientisation, "the process whereby people become aware of the political, socioeconomic and cultural contradictions that interact in a hegemonic way to diminish their lives" (Ledwith, 2005; 97). Students and teachers who involve themselves in dialogue around a problematised natural, cultural and historical reality in which they are immersed can become transformative agents of these realities. While this research did not set out to identify different pedagogies utilised by the participants, from our discussions there is still a distinctive flavour of the experiences resistant teachers had with their students, they tried to individualise their teaching methods with effective visual communication as the prime focus.

Many of the participants, as a result of the contradictions that existed in their professional lives, either a misalignment of goals or structural properties in opposition to each other, experienced a "gradual reshaping of consciousness" (Seo & Creed, 2002; 233). For three of the participants, this happened during their teaching life and led to resistance and for four others this happened largely in retirement, probably as a result of the growth of concepts in society, generally, such as the importance of cultural diversity (UNESCO, 2001) and they began to question the oral method. This reshaping, however, did not mean that all staff came to believe that the oral method was wrong, just that it was not quite right for a certain section of deaf children. Most of the participants did not disengage from the institutional rules of oralism even if they accepted that the oral method may have not been the most beneficial system for some of the children.

Some teachers, though, were clearly disappointed with the changes to the oralist tradition that began in 1979 and felt it was a retrograde step, even when they admitted themselves that the oral method did not serve all children well. Even in retirement two of these participants were still adamant that the oral method "gave [the students] the freedom to live" (Marie) and even despite changes in society, "…speech …that's what I believe in" (Esther). The reasons for the disparities in beliefs, I surmise can be found in the cultural arguments surrounding deaf children.

8.1.3 Resistance and Culture

An issue that this research has raised is the issue of what is best for deaf students. Most staff at the school in the 1970s felt that the oral method was indeed best for the students so that they could participate in society. Some of the participants, however, felt that there was a place for sign language in the education of some students. One of the difficulties of perceiving deaf children as part of a culture is that the vast majority of them are children of hearing parents and, therefore, grow up, initially, within the parameters of their parents' culture. That most deaf children acquire Deaf culture from Deaf people is a difficult concept for hearing people to grasp and acknowledge as Faye acknowledged. Even the participants, reflecting on almost 40 years ago, had problems identifying how Deaf culture was transmitted to the students in school. Only six participants commented on how they thought culture was transmitted and one said, "I honestly can't answer this one - I don't know how this was done" (Sophie). Two participants felt that it came through access to the Deaf club (Marie and Esther), while, interestingly, the three teachers who learned sign language (Nigel, Faye and Peter) were able to identify fellow students as the medium for this transfer. I propose that an understanding of Deaf culture and its transmission was a significant understanding for these teachers. Freire (1970; 147) has suggested:

> *In cultural invasion the actors superimpose themselves on the people, who are assigned the role of spectators, of objects. In cultural synthesis, the actors become integrated with the people, who are co-authors of the action that both perform on the world.*

Teachers, therefore, who did not acknowledge the existence of Deaf culture and its language could be said to have been engaged with deaf children using a colonial type relationship because they interpreted their social position using the hegemonic code. I imagine that they could be characterised as trying to enforce the tenets of oralism, banning sign language, persisting teaching deaf children to speak and listen, whether the students could adapt to this method or not even if it meant that these students passed through schooling functionally illiterate. Perhaps these teachers were unaware that their identities, as teachers, are fluid and are subject to the competing discourses which they listen to (Phillips & Carr, 2010). As teachers exercise reflexivity in relation to contradictions and paradoxes in learning, these corrective moments can shape their identity in positive ways for the students (Phillips & Carr, 2007) and they can develop a cultural openness.

An alternative position was where staff used a developing cultural competence as a result of interpreting their function in school using a negotiated or oppositional code. Although only the resistors learned the ability to use signs, before the school transitioned to the use of signed systems in 1979, those who used a negotiated code or even some oppositional behaviours, were enticed to do so because of the failings of the oral method to effectively engage all students. These would have been the teachers who used students as interpreters in the classroom or at least turned a blind eye as students signed to each other.

I believe that some of the participants were able to grasp the intercultural context that they were involved in and chose options that brought about improved communication with students through the use of sign language and through cultural awareness of the Deaf community. Faye, for example, recognised that BSL was "the natural language for many" and some other participants recognised that the acquisition of sign language was empowering for the students (May and Sophie).

Teachers who embraced the language of sign embraced the logic of cultural competency and rejected, in some small measure, the dominant ideologies that convinced so many of

their colleagues that the oral method was the only course to pursue for all deaf children. Any resistance was *de novo*, however and concurred with Foucault's (1990; 95, 96) assertion that "points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network… [with] no single locus… each of them a special case."

Having membership in a culture is acknowledged as being a primary good, vital for an individual's self-respect and the source of values for making choices (Kymlicka, 1995). The argument, however, is which culture or how to give deaf students access to both Deaf culture and mainstream culture so that they have choice and can participate in both[38]. I have already discussed the imposition of colonial type practices and attitudes within the school and that cultural competency was not practiced, in the main. However, individual teachers did engage in a certain amount of self-reflexivity. For example, Nigel took his lead from the students when he recognised that they had a perfectly good form of communication with each other using sign language and decided to acquire and use signs learned from the children. Faye recognised that the signs the students were using was a language and wanted to be part of their culture which motivated her to learn BSL by going to classes outside of school. Peter recognised the effectiveness of a previous colleague who used sign language with his class of students with additional special needs and decided he must use a similar pedagogy. Reflexivity led these teachers to acts of resistance which not only allowed more d/Deaf-friendly pedagogies in their classrooms but also set them at odds with their colleagues who either conformed with oralist practice because it was simply 'rational' or colluded because they had decided that it was better for students to be integrated into the hearing world. Little wonder, then, that resistance was in silence and although not in a single locus, was not joined in a network.

Earlier I explained that some participants believed that accessing Deaf culture and using the language of BSL to be ultimately liberating for a section of deaf children. Some participants, however, also felt that accessing the language of the mainstream community to be liberating because of access to jobs, facilities and services. These perspectives, at

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[38] Some students may have a cultural background that is also different from White British and this adds further complications.

first, seem diametrically opposed to each other but current minority rights see the value in opening up opportunities for minority peoples through integration as long as minorities have access to their culture at the same time:

> *While international human rights law does not impose a unique educational model, it does favour integrated over separate education. The objective of this is to give minorities the dual effects of identity transmission and equal opportunities. (Ringelheim, 2013; 93)*

Deaf students, however, do not usually have access to Deaf culture in their homes and have to wait until they go to school as "it [comes] with the residential life" (Peter). This makes the concept of integration into mainstream schools more difficult for deaf students because they will not have access to Deaf culture in their home and may not in a mainstream school. Integration, then, would not necessarily offer deaf students cultural choices in the same way that it would offer other minority children who would have access to their culture in the home. Liberating deaf students, then, was and still is a complex ethical issue which largely depends on how educators understand the situation:

> *Because our cultural values shape our assessment of options so deeply, it is very difficult to make assessments about how members of other cultures might feel about the relative value of sets of options. (Sparrow, 2002; 14)*

Both of these 'liberating' perspectives involve choices made for the greater good of deaf students, but the oralist perspective was made by adults (parents, teachers, doctors, speech and language therapists, audiologists etc.) on behalf of the students often from a normalisation/medical point of view whereas the Deaf cultural/linguistic perspective incorporated a view of what the students valued themselves. Nigel made a comment that a former student "said on more than one occasion we [hearing people] shouldn't be telling them [Deaf people] what to do." Both views of liberation are about giving the students choice and both views are also about providing deaf children with opportunities to achieve, although these opportunities come loaded with notions "of how a human life is best lived" (Sparrow, 2005; 143). Although deaf children are initially imbued with concepts of "how a life is best lived" from their parents, who have the right to "make significant decisions about

the interests, education and upbringing of their children" (Sparrow, 2002; 15), "Children are also citizens, or future citizens, and so society also has an interest in their upbringing" (Ibid.). What is at issue here is the cultural outcome of the students because the conception of how a life is best lived is culturally driven and depends on what cultural perspective is taken. These are difficult choices because if students are funnelled towards the majority culture and fail, they may become:

> *…trapped "between cultures," unable to function effectively in a hearing context but also lacking the facility with sign language available to those who grow up with it as their first language. (Sparrow, 2005; 143, 144)*

I feel that there is an ethical imperative for teachers to reflect on the cultural milieu in which they inhabit and to do so critically. McLaren (1991; 247) indicates that it is not enough to reflect on the need for cultural diversity but to critically analyse the impact of cultural choices for students:

> *A critical diversity means that choices need to be seen as social practices which are themselves historically and socially constructed and teachers need to distinguish cultural choices as liberating or oppressive.*

Thinking critically about social choices, however, is not only important for student outcomes, it is also important for teacher outcomes as two of the participants questioned the ethics of the oral pedagogy in their retirement years, too late to make a change in their own teaching lives. Teachers, perhaps, should be encouraged to reflect on their own actions and cultural knowledge and be "suspicious of [them]selves" (Young & Mintz, 2008; 505) becoming reflexive in these cross-cultural situations (Gay & Kirkland, 2003) and questioning their motives for becoming teachers in the Deaf community in the first place (Foley, 2007).

Another issue is that teachers often revert to the hegemonic position because of their social position, school traditions and ascribed roles in social space, despite learning different strategies of teaching in teacher training. Despite input from Colleges, most

teachers revert back to the way they themselves were taught when they start teaching (Knoors & Marschark, 2014). Teachers, perhaps, need opportunities to be aware of the dangers of becoming institutionalised and enacting scripts that encode institutional practices (Barley & Tolbert, 1997) and to avoid becoming rooted in unquestioned routines:

> *Compliance occurs in many circumstances because other types of behaviour are inconceivable; routines are followed because they are taken for granted as the way to do things. Institutions are thus repositories of taken-for-granted cognitive schemata that shape people's understandings of the world they live in and provide scripts to guide their action. (Meyer & Rowan, 2006; 16)*

This position of Freire has particular relevance, here. He points to "the unfinishedness of our human condition" (Freire, 1998; 66), where he means that teachers need to immerse themselves into their critical consciousnesses so that they can intervene in, recreate and transform the world. As most deaf children have hearing parents, enculturation into the culture of their family begins at birth. As these children meet other deaf peers and Deaf adults, however, the process of acculturation can begin to happen and some deaf children start to absorb the cultural traits of the Deaf community along with its language into their lives. Deaf children, then, may 'migrate' from a British based culture towards a Deaf culture. Some will, later in their lives, feel bicultural and bilingual. In this way it is important for all adults involved in deaf education, whether they are hearing or d/Deaf, to be aware of these cultural implications and to provide a truly bilingual environment where both cultures and languages receive equal value and prestige. In order to do this, it would appear that these adults could review their cultural competence:

> *Cultural competence is a set of behaviours and attitudes and a culture within the business or operation of a system that respects and takes into account the person's cultural background, cultural beliefs, and their values and incorporates it into the way [services are] delivered to that individual. (Betancourt, Green & Carrillo, 2002; 3)*

As Burnell and Schnackenberg (2015; xv) have observed, cultural competence is not a destination but a journey where we "examine ourselves and the ethical and culturally competent practices from whatever point we currently find ourselves." Reviewing our

impact on deaf students may lead us to treat them in a different way and to heed the warning of Marschark et al. (2002) that "the appealing but dubious assumption that cognitive development is precisely the same for deaf and hearing children may be leading to ineffective or less than optimal educational practices" (in Lang, 2011:14). Some authors advice, then, that Deaf students, therefore, should not be taught as though they were hearing students who cannot hear (Marschark & Knoors, 2012; Knoors & Marschark, 2014).

The dilemma that confronted the teachers in this study should not be seen as something to be consigned to the history books. In many ways, the tensions that the participants experienced between the 1940s and the 1980s persist today. Despite progress made in the Western World towards the emancipation of disabled people, the historical view that they are deviant, pitiable and in need of a cure, is still ingrained in our culture (McDonnell, 2016; Squires, 2015). Deaf people are still a marginalised group (Sharples & Hough; 2016) and despite some movement from a medical to a social model of disability (Lang, 2001; Oliver, 2004; Obasi, 2008; Sullivan, 2011), the discourse that labels deafness as a disability is still very much alive (Komesaroff, 2008; Ladd, 2003; Lane, 2002, 2005; Obasi, 2008; Wrigley, 1996). With the growth and impact of science, a new biological outlook of human life, biologism, can still be seen as a political construct and Skinner (2006; 459), for example, reflects that with racism:

> *The growing ascendancy of biologism has prompted both utopian and dystopian accounts of the future: one in which scientific racism is revived, the other in which science finally abolishes race thinking.*

For the deaf, the utopian image of biologism is the deaf being able to integrate into mainstream society but the apocalyptic message is the dismantling of Deaf society, the destruction of a minority group along with its culture and language:

> *At no time in our history has there been more overt stress on the miraculous abilities of science to cure deafness …the focus now is hearing. (Branson and Miller, 2002; 228)*

Oralism never really went away, it is too embedded in the memory traces of teachers. High value continues to be placed on getting deaf children to speak and use residual hearing (Andrews et al. 2004; Corbett, 1996; Ladd, 2003) because it is still a dominant discourse in our society (Bauman, 2004; Humphries, 1975; Skinner, 2006). Hegel's maxim that 'the only thing we learn from history is that we learn nothing from history' needs to be challenged. Modern Teachers of the Deaf who are involved with signing students can learn from their predecessors. Just as my model shows the pervasiveness of the dominant hegemonic position with few resisting the oralist practices of forty years ago, so too can today's teachers be aware of and resist some of the current institutional structural properties. The reasons are twofold, firstly that signing deaf children should have access to a culture and language that they will most probably belong to[39] and, secondly, the teaching of signing deaf children should involve a specific pedagogy that is different from that of teaching hearing children.

Just because teachers can sign to their students does not mean that all the issues around a Deaf pedagogy are resolved as Stewart (2006; 207) has indicated, "There is more to good teaching than just the way a teacher communicates." Some authors indicate that the cognitive differences between hearing and deaf children require a deaf pedagogy that is specific to the strengths of deaf learners and will involve more strategies than just simply using sign language (Knoors & Marschark, 2014; Lang, 2011; Marschark et al., 2002). One of the issues of a deaf pedagogy, however, is that methods commonly used in this approach, "were found to have little or any evidence to indicate their validity" (Knoors & Marschark, 2014; 236). Also, much of what has been proposed to form the base of a deaf pedagogy, for example, language chaining (Humphries & MacDougall, 2000), diamond discourse strategy (Enns, 2006), dialogic enquiry (Mayer, Akamatsu & Stewart, 2002) is not, in my experience, generally used in the classroom with deaf students. Knoors and

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[39] Deaf people tend to seek each other out (Clarke, 1962; Rée, 1999; Stokoe, 1960) to the extent that 80 - 90% of deaf people marry another deaf person (Groce, 1985; Kyle & Woll, 1985; Mallory, Zingle & Schein, 1993) and those who attend deaf schools acquire sign language there from their peers (Anglin-Jaffe, 2013b; Deuchar, 1984; McDonnel, 2016; Stokoe, 1983) making it highly probable that students in bilingual settings will become members of the Deaf community to some extent.

Marschark (2014) argue that some of the blame for this situation lies firmly with the teachers themselves. Despite the teacher training programmes that teachers engage in and the various pedagogies and techniques they acquire, within a few months of starting in their first placement, they end up "teach[ing] the way they themselves were taught, not the way they were taught to teach" (Knoors & Marschark, 2014; 240). One of the reasons for this is because teachers quickly acquire the culture of their new schools, "regardless of whether these are congruent or at odds with what they learned in teacher training" (Ibid). These authors suggest developing a community of practice in schools to help teachers acquire and implement deaf pedagogies. The term community of practice was originally coined to refer to a community that acted as a living curriculum for an apprentice learning a trade, initially on the periphery of an organisation (Lave & Wenger, 1991). The community of practice broadened to describe a model of workplace learning where people "share understandings concerning what they are doing and what that means for their lives and for their communities" (Lave & Wenger, 1991; 98). However, the term 'communities of practice' has evolved to encompass not just groups where people are on the margins but also groups where people are core members. The communities of practice which I have in mind are those which arise when canonical work practices fail and groups arise to propose novel solutions to those problems rather than perpetuating existing knowledge. "Canonical accounts of work are inevitably flawed, inflexible and limited" (Cox, 2005; 32) and so improvised new practice can arise to challenge the status quo and provide alternative solutions.

A community of practice, however, needs to avoid being, or becoming "contrived collegiality" (Hargreaves, 1994; 195) or "cosmetic empowerment" (Hargreaves, 1994; 209). The community of practice envisaged would need to have real power to change the curriculum and the way it is delivered within the school (Kincheloe, 2004c). What is essential for a community of practice to succeed, however, is knowledgeable staff who know the issues around bilingual deaf education, creating deaf pedagogies, cultural competence and how dominant discourses can restrain and yet at the same time enable educational choices and outcomes for deaf students. Teachers could be supported to develop critical reflection, not just on procedural issues but on "equity, justice, caring, and compassion [to] inform educational goals" (Dunn, 2005; 140) and by working together,

creatively (Arvay, 2003). Thus, emancipatory practice can be developed, a practice that liberates deaf children from underachievement as well as constraining attitudes and practices of the dominant discourses in our society.

8.2 Future Research

What this study has shown is that teachers who 'step' into their students' world, those who do not remain detached from them but see and respond to their students in their own particular situations and contexts rather than challenge them from a "hearing world" perspective can develop a different pedagogy for their students. The epistemological relationship between the teachers and the students could have been explored in more depth, particularly the stance teachers take towards their students as knowers, specifically in the way they believe their students construct knowledge. It would be interesting to see how the teachers, as knowers, relate to their students based on their own epistemological views of the deaf as knowers. Using approaches that have been used by Perry (1970) and Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986), teachers could be identified on a scale that begins with how teachers initially look at knowledge in terms of "true or false" and "black and white" to one where they have become "relativist" knowers, understanding reality to be socially constructed, and ultimately "constructivists", where they are able to generate their own theories. This research could also, ultimately have implications for authorities and institutions in hiring new staff if the relationship between staff and students is seen to be damaged by teachers who only see the world in a certain way:

> *Lytle and Cochran-Smith (1994) argued that the metacognitive dimension of teachers' knowledge, or "knowing one's own knowledge" might be key to differentiating quality teachers. In other words, teaching expertise "may not be mastery of a knowledge base, but rather standing in a different relationship to one's own knowledge, to one's students as knowers, and to knowledge generation in the field" (Lytle & Cochran-Smith, 1994; 31). (cited in Musanti & Pence, 2010; 75)*

Working with bilingual deaf children involves the use of a natural sign language but because this occurs in a cultural context (Johnson et al., 1989), hearing members of staff can be advised to avail themselves to Deaf culture. Assessing epistemological views of

deafness and cultural competence can therefore be an important aspect of the interviewing process. Linked to this, is the epistemological impact that cultural competence should have on teachers. Teachers can be led to reflect that marginalised groups, such as Deaf communities, are "led to believe that existing social arrangements are natural and unassailable" and it is therefore the responsibility of teachers to expose "the relations of domination that create this virtual reality" (Williams, 2006; 213). Teachers, therefore, can be encouraged to develop an awareness of the historical, political and economic structures that have created this domination and social oppression, the evidence of which is "often buried within a range of specific and mostly contemporary concerns regarding deaf people and their world" (Thoutenhoofd, 2000; 262). Teachers can then assist deaf students to understand how this domination permeates their lives through stigma, inequity of opportunities and internalised oppression through consciousness raising. Teachers, at the last resort, "are expected to have knowledge and expertise that can benefit their clients. On the basis of that knowledge, expertise, and state-based authority, they have power that cannot be put aside through a commitment to embracing uncertainty" (Williams, 2006; 213).

8.3 Limitations of the Research Design

Common criticisms of case studies are that they lack methodological rigour (Verschuren, 2003; Yin, 2018), external validity (Bryman, 2008; Cohen et al., 2007; Wellington, 2000; Yin, 2018) and that there are concerns regarding researcher subjectivity, although as Yin (2018) argues, this last point is a criticism of both qualitative and quantitative research. Methodological limitations are discussed in more detail in the Methodology Chapter (3.1.4), however, one issue still looms large, that of external validity. Although the goal of a case study is the case itself, meaning that generalisability is not a goal that is sought after (Yin, 2018), case studies still create theoretical propositions that can have meaning outside of the case.

This study has presented a model for teacher behaviours in the school (based on Hall's (1973) model of encoding/decoding, along with Hirschman's (1970) concept of fight or flight as a reaction to unsatisfactory conditions and Scott's (1990) idea of private and

public resistance), where the participants conformed to the dominant oralist hegemony, where they used negotiated code or where they utilised oppositional code. However, theory confirmation is not a strong point of case studies (Gerring, 2006). There is always a degree of uncertainty about using a theory or model crafted by a study of one case, whether the findings reflect what might have happened in other oral school of the time or whether the participants, who engaged in the oppositional code, were simply outliers. The only way to confirm the model is to have expanded the research to involve other schools of the deaf from this time period.

8.4 Doctoral Learning

Here, I revisit retrospective reflexivity (Attia & Edge, 2017), introduced in Chapter 1.1.4, which is concerned with the influence of the research on the researcher. At the start of the research I had a conception of me as the researcher investigating an event in time with a group of retired teachers that I had managed to convince to be interviewed. On reviewing the data of the first interview, however, it started to become clear that this world of teaching, of which I was also a part, was significantly more complex than I had previously imagined. As contradictions and challenges in the world of deaf education emerged to my view, the stories of some of the 'researched' took on almost heroic proportions. I started to reconstruct their position in my mind not as 'researched' but as 'participants.' I had a growing appreciation of them as people in the real world making choices, sometimes very difficult choices, in the face of a teaching practice that has been deemed by some to be an oppressive practice for some deaf students (Anglin-Jaffe, 2013; Craddock, 1991; Ladd, 2003; Lane, 1992; Woll & Ladd, 2003) but which I was beginning to realise could also be deemed as a repressive practice to the teachers themselves.

This shift in thinking about the participants lead me to realise that the stories they shared with me, in trust, needed to be treated with respect. I did not have ownership of the stories and I could not carve up the data simply to suit my initial purposes of understanding institutional change. To be true to the voices of the participants, I was not simply representing them but acting as a conduit for what they wanted to have heard. This inspired the use of grounded theory, where I allowed the participants to lead me instead of

the other way around. I started to ask more how and why questions in my interactions with the participants (Charmaz, 2008) and allowed the introduction of further aims and questions and a revision in the overall focus of the research from one of institutional change to teacher resistance to the oral method.

As a researcher, interacting with fellow teachers, I also began to learn about the structural forces which not only presented barriers and opportunities in their lives but also mine. I had never considered that I might also be a dupe of social bias in my own teaching and I began to increase reflexivity in my own practice by asking myself, "What discourses of power do I choose to privilege in my classroom?" I have, as a result of this and other questions, begun to change the curriculum that I offer deaf students for whom I teach.

8.5 Conclusion

This research highlighted the impact of resistance of three hearing teachers involved in deaf education during the 1970s. Teachers who resisted the oralist hegemony developed a cultural competence, learned sign language and developed a deaf pedagogy that focused on the needs of the students. I believe that these teachers reflected on their social position and identified differences in what they felt they should have been doing, as described by the dominant discourses of the time (highlighted in their training, the traditions of the school, school leadership and parents), against what they felt they could do which was influenced more by the students as learners. There are profound issues around professional identities here, for example, the question of to whom teachers owe their allegiance, to the institution or the students. This raises the question about the types of knowledges professional educators should possess (Kincheloe, 2004c). Discourses in education came laden with an ideology that was heavily biased towards oralism: what was good practice; how the students should be taught and managed, including the use of technology; what represented success and failure etc. Teachers who resisted must have felt the weight of the bias that they were against but had their own knowledges and goals which were their own and were hidden from other teachers. This was very much private resistance in safe spaces.

I believe that resistance is still required today for teachers who are involved in providing deaf education for bilingual students (BSL and English) as the dominant discourses in our society still very much have an oral bias (Andrews et al. 2004; Bauman, 2004; Corbett, 1996; Humphries, 1975; Ladd, 2003; Skinner, 2006) and a preoccupation with the medical model of deafness which views deafness as a disability (Komesaroff, 2008; Ladd, 2003; Lane, 2002, 2005; Obasi, 2008; Wrigley, 1996). Emphasising the need for teachers to explore their own ideology regarding the medical model of deafness, Young and Temple (2014) argue that is does not matter whether the bias is conscious or unconscious, the outcome is the same, it leads to the oppression of deaf people in a cultural linguistic sense. For teachers working with deaf children, then, my advice is that they should not naively hide behind not knowing about key discourses in society or even their own ideologies as the consequences for deaf children may be the same barriers and hurdles presented by many educational staff in the throes of the oral method. One of the lessons, so as to speak, from three of the participants who conformed to the oral principles of teaching, was the level of regret for not having contemplated their methodological position when they were teaching. Sophie remarked that with hindsight, signing would have benefitted many of the students. Joan expressed a modicum of regret when she asked herself, "Are we to blame ourselves for teaching oralism when signing might have been less stressful for the pupils?" Fran should have the last word on this issue, however, "We were never allowed to sign when I worked at the deaf school. I know they [the ex-pupils] have forgiven me, but I am not sure that God has."

Another threat to deaf education is the way in which education, generally, is focusing on student standardised testing and the achievement of teacher behavioural competencies. These aims lead teachers to make their goals for teaching relate to test preparation, rather than epistemic aims, as well as encouraging the achievement of behavioural competencies, rather than intellectual aims (Lunn Brownlee et al., 2017). Teachers, perhaps, should be encouraged to consider the barriers that may be constructed for deaf children by these types of behaviours.

Bilingual deaf education, by its nature, should require hearing teachers to understand elements of hearing and Deaf culture and explore ways of teaching that benefit deaf children, both visually and cognitively. Teachers can be supported in knowing what they are doing, which involves using their critical consciousness to explore their beliefs in light of competing options. This can be done through communities of practice and through reflexivity. In this way, the school in its entirety becomes a safe space, focusing all of its resources and efforts on a deaf pedagogy that interweaves the benefits of both communities and cultures. These efforts will liberate both students and staff.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Consent Form

GUIDE INFORMATION/CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEWS

Title of Research Project: The literature surrounding the reasons for change from the oral method to bilingualism has put education and literacy development at the heart of these changes. Is this interpretation validated by people who taught in deaf schools through this period of change?

Details of Project: The past forty years has seen unprecedented change in the history of deaf education, especially in Britain and more specifically the school. From nearly one hundred years of oralism (from 1880 until the mid1970s), the school has, in the last forty years, shifted away from oralism to a bilingual method of education. I wish to interview professionals from the school to gain an understanding of their views on these changes, why they think they happened and what they feel the consequences for these changes have been on the lives of the students.

Contact Details

For further information about the research or your interview data, please contact:

Lee Fullwood, Department of Education, Exeter University, Devon UK.

Tel 00 44 (0) 1392 263240, mlrf201@exeter.ac.uk

If you have concerns/questions about the research you would like to discuss with someone else at the University, please contact: Martin Levinson, [M.P.Levinson@exeter.ac.uk]

Confidentiality

Interview tapes/videos and transcripts will be held in confidence. They will not be used other than for the purposes described above and third parties will not be allowed access to

them (except as may be required by the law). However, if you request it, you will be supplied with a copy of *your* interview transcript so that you can comment on and edit it as you see fit (please give your email below). Your data will be held in accordance with the Data Protection Act, held indefinitely on an anonymous basis.

Anonymity

Interview data will be held and used on an anonymous basis, with no mention of your name, but we will refer to the group of which you are a member. E.g. Former teachers, current parents etc.

Consent

I voluntarily agree to participate and to the use of my data for the purposes specified above. I can withdraw consent at any time by contacting the interviewer.

TICK HERE: **DATE**…………………………....

Note: Your contact details are kept separately from your interview data

Name of interviewee:...
Signature: ....
Email/phone:..
Signature of researcher……………………………………………..

2 copies to be signed by both interviewee and researcher, one kept by each

Appendix 2: Themes given to the participants before the scheduled interview.

These are the themes I would like to talk to you about:

1. Changes in deaf education, throughout your career, and how they affected the educational outcomes of the students.

2. Your perspective on attitude changes to communication methods/language.

3. Your perspective on the deaf community and both the cohesion and tensions between the educational methods of the deaf school and the deaf community.

4. If you had your time in school again, what would be the communication methods you would use and how would you teach literacy, specifically.

Appendix 3: Initial interview questions

Questions:

When did you start working at the school?

What methods for communication did you use at the time?

Looking back over your career, what have been the major changes in deaf education and how do you feel about those changes?

What were the outcomes for the deaf students?

Can you give me some examples, perhaps some students, who benefitted from these changes?

Can you give examples of children for whom changes seemed to have no benefit or may have even been detrimental?

As these changes unfolded, were you aware of any consideration given to the impact of these changes on the deaf community and how these changes may have supported the deaf community or even damaged the deaf community?

Was there any consideration, that you were aware of, given to the effects of these communication methods on the self-esteem and the formulation of deaf identities?

How do you feel about how attitudes have changed towards communication methods in deaf education?

If you had your time in school again, what would be the communication methods you would use (and why?)

How would you teach literacy, specifically (and why?)?

Appendix 4: Second Interview Questions

Questions to ask next:

1. What was oralism like? How did you feel about it?
2. During your teaching career, did you ever feel that your 'hearing' culture was at variance with Deaf culture? Can you give any examples of culture clashes from your experiences in the school?
3. Did you ever feel multicultural, in that you not only had British hearing culture in your life, but also Deaf culture? How did you feel culturally?
4. Did you ever feel that you were a gatekeeper to culture? If so, how?
5. The following passage, by Henry Wolcott (1994), who had written of his experiences as a White American teaching Canadian First Nation children, was read to the teachers who were being interviewed:
   In a setting in which critical differences between a teacher and his pupils are rooted in antagonisms of cultural rather than classroom origins, I believe that the teacher might succeed in coping more effectively with conflict and in capitalizing on his instructional efforts if he were to recognize and to analyse his ascribed role as "enemy" rather than attempts to ignore or deny it. To those educators who insist that a teacher must always present a facade of cheery optimism in the classroom, the notion of the teacher as an enemy may seem unacceptable, overly negative, perhaps even dangerous. One might question, however, whether cheery optimism and a determination to accomplish "good" inevitably serve the best interests of culturally different pupils... (270)
   Did you ever feel that you were an "enemy" to the students in any way because of culture differences? If so, how?
6. In what ways did students ensure that Deaf culture was passed down to the next generation of students?
7. In what ways did school encourage students to embrace Deaf culture?
8. In what ways did school try and block student access to Deaf culture?
9. Why do you think that the history of manual communication (both pre-Milan and throughout the 50s and 60s) at the school was not mentioned by Olding in his sesquicentennial history of the school?
10. Some modern researchers have described oralism as an oppressive practice. When you were in school, do you think there was any awareness that oralism oppressed the cultural rights of deaf children? Why do you think this was?

Appendix 5: Discursive Consciousness

(categories from Cole, 1984; 60, 61)

Teacher	Respondents try to be analytical in their discussions rather than simply descriptive or narrative	Respondents offer some sort of extended explanation for their observations rather than a normative evaluation	They introduce abstract concepts instead of focusing just on particular concrete events	They revealed scepticism and a willingness to tolerate ambiguity rather than the dogmatic certainty that tends to accompany normative evaluation
Sophie	With hindsight I think we did deaf children a disservice in the early days by not embracing sign... I feel that perhaps the 'partials' did not have a clear picture of themselves in the deaf world. They were continually trying to fit into the hearing world. There was, however, also a lot of parental pressure to make this happen – there was not such a clear idea of deaf culture in those days.			
Esther	Simple narrative			
Nigel	I could see that oralism wasn't the answer… all the boys were signing so I thought, "This is the way to communicate, we must do the same."	[a Deaf man] said on more than one occasion that we [hearing people] shouldn't be telling them [deaf people] what to do. [different cultural perspectives]	I think it's all for the better really, with everyone learning to sign. Before, there were a lot of children who were isolated. Back in my day the Deaf community was not as strong as it is now. Now deaf people can jump in a car and meet up and with modern technology they can text or use the internet.	
Faye	As a young teacher I was interested to find that one of my students signed fluently although at that time of course I could not understand her. I learnt that she had a brother in the Deaf Department and they were the children of deaf parents where signing was their home language.	It was my first realisation that it was not just signing, it was in fact a language.	This was my first understanding of the possibility of a Deaf culture	There are still people, sadly, who insist on a method rather than the outcome. There is no one size fits all – language acquisition, auditory training, signing etc. are all important and necessary parts of deaf education and each child should have an individual programme of learning to meet his/her needs. In general all changes were perceived to be ground breaking or the answer, in general the idea was to enable deaf children to become hearing. [scepticism]
	BSL gave children their own language. They		Deaf children have a right to their natural	There were few professionals who knew

	could express themselves in a way never open to them before through the oral system.		language, BSL, and their native language, English. [The concept of bilingualism]	and understood deaf culture. Parents of deaf children were and are always hoping that their child will be 'normal' and it is hard for them initially to understand the impact of deafness because the deaf child looks normal. How can you take a child into a different culture when their family is in another culture? It is an extremely difficult situation. [Issues of culture and who decides on the culture of a child?]
Mark	The separation of the profoundly deaf from the partially hearing was a good thing for many parents as they didn't want their children's identities to be deaf			
Alice	I think the power of oralism came from the fact that the deaf did form a group and the idea was to get them into the wider world.			
Rae	All narrative but she did say: people don't always know the ins and outs to sound off about things. [Hedging?]			
Marie	Parent power fuelled oralism.	Parents were desperate to get their children into the Partially Hearing Department because they didn't have a deaf child, they had a partially hearing child. [negative images of disability]	Most deaf children live in a hearing world. If a deaf person cannot use the English then they cannot participate in society. [Inclusion]	I believe you should do what the child needs. [Differentiation]. [Interviewer – how do you feel about the changes?] Oralism to signed English, at first which deteriorated to signed support then deteriorated to BSL. [Social Darwinism]
May	Signing has been an empowering of the pupils.	Very few people were committed in any way… They just did what they were told without any ideology or thought for the consequences. [need for a discursive consciousness whereas most teachers were rooted in a practical consciousness]	The major change was in regarding deafness as a difference not a handicap. [Differentiation] We are still teaching deaf children how to fit into a hearing world. Staff retained a paternalistic and superior attitude to deaf people. They didn't know enough about Deaf culture and Deaf communities and nobody seemed to suggest it might be appropriate to learn.	…acknowledge that not all deaf children are the same and so may need different approaches but that all approaches are equally valid. …that the primary and vital thing is that a Teacher of the Deaf should be competent in all methods - radio aids, lipreading, cued speech, SSE and BSL - and understand the difference between the two last ones. We were still teaching deaf children how to fit into a hearing world. [scepticism]

Peter	…pure oralism reigned. Children were positively discouraged from signing, even punished.	After a brief short time it was obvious that a significant portion were lagging behind and dependent on the partials for help.	I cannot comment on cultural deprivation.	
	I saw Signed English as a way of opening their minds.	We all [other deaf schools] agreed to set up WPSE with the intention of producing a complete system to replicate English syntax by manual means that we would support and subscribe to with the sole intention of producing what turned out to be volume one of Signed English for Schools. We also set up training courses and assessments for trainees. Thus, signing and BSL could be sold to the doubters because they would make signing grammatical and teach English to an acceptable standard.	Sign supported English is OK but needs meticulous planning and should not be a soft option for teachers unwilling to try anything likely to break into their spare time. BSL is the deaf's language and must be practised as such but in the teaching of reading and English language it has limitations – these do not seem to be evident or admissible by the deaf on the whole. Why paraphrase spoken and written English into BSL when it is possible to sign the whole thing? I'm not advocating SE as a communication mode – it is quite clear in all the WPSE literature and training courses that it is only a teaching tool. It is Signed English for Schools, nothing more. So, BSL and when you want to be more specific about the English form then use SE, help the pupils to read for meaning using it too. [SE as a bridge from BSL to literacy]	
	Reasons for change are, then: More and more PHUs and latterly integration in mainstream schools Survival, better diagnosis and influx of more handicapped children Falling numbers in special schools Dawning of realism about oralism and an impetus to learn new skills	The increasing number of Partially Hearing Units also creamed off the partials, quite rightly, so that the old special schools were suffering a numbers problem. As a result, more multiply handicapped were admitted. [Impact of fall in finances on intake]		
Trish	Narrative only			

Appendix 6: Certificate of Ethical Research Approval

UNIVERSITY OF
E**X**ETER

Graduate School of Education

Certificate of ethical research approval

STUDENT RESEARCH/FIELDWORK/CASEWORK AND DISSERTATION/THESIS
You will need to complete this certificate when you undertake a piece of higher-level **research**
(e.g. Masters, PhD, EdD level).

To activate this certificate you need to first sign it yourself, and then have it signed by your supervisor and finally by the Chair of the School's Ethics Committee.

For further information on ethical educational research access the guidelines on the BERA web site: http://www.bera.ac.uk/blog/category/publications/guidelines/ and view the School's statement on the 'Student Documents' web site.

READ THIS FORM CAREFULLY **AND THEN COMPLETE IT ON YOUR**
COMPUTER (the form will expand to contain the text you enter). **DO NOT**
COMPLETE BY HAND

Your name: Mark Le Roy Fullwood

Your student no: 590047600

Return address for this certificate: High View, Nadderwater, Exeter, EX4 2JQ

Degree/Programme of Study: PhD

Project Supervisor(s): Dr. Martin Levinson, Dr. Hannah Anglin-Jaffe

Your email address: lee@fullwoodml.freeserve.co.uk

Tel: 01392-438519

I hereby certify that I will abide by the details given overleaf and that I undertake in my dissertation/thesis to respect the dignity and privacy of those participating in this research.

I confirm that if my research should change radically, I will complete a further form.

Signed:...... *M. V. Fullwood* ....**date:**.. 12.12.11 ....
.... *Anglin-Jaffe* 12.12.11

*NB For Masters dissertations, which are marked blind, this first page must **not be included** in your work. It can be kept for your records.*

Chair of the School's Ethics Committee
last updated: August 2009

Certificate of ethical research approval

Your student no: 590047600

Title of your project: The effects of Cued Speech on the context of a school's educational outcomes, bilingual policy and its community (both deaf and hearing).

Brief description of your research project:
Cued speech (CS) has already been shown to be successful with some of our students in helping them acquire phonological awareness, spelling strategies and ultimately advancing their performances in reading. The use of CS, for some of our parents, could be seen to help cochlear implanted children and the opportunities they have to access sound with cued support. For others, however, there is the potential for creating tension as they may see CS as supplanting native BSL (a form of colonialism), foisting on students attitudes towards speaking and listening as prestigious and 'normal,' while reinforcing negative attitudes towards sign language.

Give details of the participants in this research (giving ages of any children and/or young people involved):

Participants will be former teachers (probably about 10 former teachers), present teachers (currently 11 teachers), former pupils (potentially about 10 that I could interview), former parents of Academy pupils (potentially 10 -20), present parents of Academy pupils who are involved in cued speech, present Academy pupils (approximately 10 parents where the children have been involved in CS).

Give details regarding the ethical issues of informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality (with special reference to any children or those with special needs) a blank consent form can be downloaded from the SELL student access on-line documents:

No names will be used in the research. All adults and students will have anonymity. Parents will be asked to complete a consent form for themselves and to allow their children to be involved in discussions and complete the tests. Students will be asked if they want to participate and would be allowed to withdraw at any time.

All students have a statement of special need. As such they are all vulnerable children. Coupled with my role as Deputy Principal at the Academy, I have known the parents and students since 1990. As someone who is hearing impaired as well, this gives me a privileged position in the deaf community (as a professional in deaf education, as someone who is fluent in BSL (the language of the deaf community) and as someone who has known many of the deaf community members over more than twenty years). I am well aware of the need to safeguard these children and their families and I would exercise the sensitivity towards the research that is required. There are already ethical agreements in place as a professional working in education and the protection of children and parents from unethical behaviour is paramount.

Give details of the methods to be used for data collection and analysis and how you would ensure they do not cause any harm, detriment or unreasonable stress:

Questionnaires and interviews. Results of Reading, spelling and CELF (clinical evaluation of language fundamentals) scores may also be used. I am likely to be aware of any stress the children

show, and I will ensure that the children are very aware of their right to withdraw – i.e. I will not exploit existing relationships, and will seek the approval of both colleagues and academic supervisors, with regard to questionnaires and interview schedules.

Give details of any other ethical issues which may arise from this project (e.g. secure storage of videos/recorded interviews/photos/completed questionnaires or special arrangements made for participants with special needs etc.):

All questionnaires kept on file. No photographs. Video footage and tape recordings will be used with informant permission and erased once transcribed. I will adhere to the University of Exeter conventions and to BERA ethical guidelines (2004 and 2011).

Give details of any exceptional factors, which may raise ethical issues (e.g. potential political or ideological conflicts which may pose danger or harm to participants):

As a privileged insider, there may be tensions between my role as a researcher and my role as a professional working with deaf children and their families. I am aware of the need to protect these families from any psychological or emotional harm. My research is supported by the Academy and is designed to be of benefit to the deaf community.

*This form should now be printed out, signed by you on the first page and sent to your supervisor to sign. Your supervisor will forward this document to the School's **Research Support Office** for the Chair of the School's Ethics Committee to countersign. A unique approval reference will be added and this certificate will be returned to you to be included at the back of your dissertation/thesis.*

N.B. You should not start the fieldwork part of the project until you have the signature of your supervisor

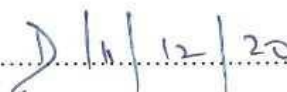**This project has been approved for the period:**   **until:**
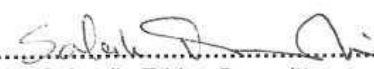
By (above mentioned supervisor's signature): .... date: 12.12.11

N.B. To Supervisor: Please ensure that ethical issues are addressed annually in your report and if any changes in the research occurs a further form is completed.

School unique approval reference:........ D.11.12.20

Signed:.....................................date: 04/01/2012
Chair of the School's Ethics Committee

This form is available from http://education.exeter.ac.uk/students/

Chair of the School's Ethics Committee
last updated: August 2009