

Deafness, Language and Culture in Education

TOWARDS QUALITY STANDARDS FOR STUDENT RESEARCH IN EUROPE



Edited by Miguel A. Santos & Lejo Swachten

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*Towards Quality Standards for
Student Research in Europe*

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Edited by
Miguel Augusto Santos
&
Lejo Swachten

Instituto Politécnico do Porto

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“The Highest Result of Education is Tolerance”

Helen Keller, deaf and blind author and educator (1880-1968)

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PREFACE

SIGNS OF A PROJECT

Miguel Augusto Santos

Escola Superior de Educação do Politécnico do Porto

It will be noticeable to all that the preface to this book will also be written as the epilogue to the project that originated it. This book is one of the main products of the SMILE project, which began in the autumn of 2008, with the acceptance, by the European Agency for Culture, Education and Audiovisual, of our application for a Comenius Multilateral Project. SMILE is the auspicious acronym of “*Sign, Meaning & Identification: (deaf) Learners in Europe*”, a title referring to a subject considered highly important by the six participating institutions in Portugal, Spain and Turkey. Centred in the main subject of Deafness, Language and Culture – all the participating schools had a history of teaching deaf students – the project established connections with other subjects, like European citizenship, Europe as a knowledge society and the challenges that higher education is facing, particularly in teacher training.

It was a complex project, with multiple levels of development and implementation. Comenius Multilateral Projects are undertaken to improve the initial or in-service training of teachers and other personnel working in the schools to develop strategies or exchange experiences to improve the quality of teaching and learning in the classroom. To achieve that, we implemented two training programs for students from the three higher education teacher training institutions focused on qualitative research of Deafness,

Deaf Education and European Citizenship. These training programs involved a period of intercultural dialogue enabling students to visit the foreign participating schools, exchanging perceptions and opinions and expanding their views on the main subjects.

But the project had yet another objective: the development of standards for doing qualitative research within a European framework. Based on the analysis of the products and perceptions of the students that participated in the training programs we were interested in clarifying which dimensions would be useful when planning and implementing similar programs. We managed to translate those dimensions into a set of quality standards that we consider may serve as a guide and a basis for further discussions.

Thus, this book intends to cover the main conclusions and proposals we achieved during the lifetime of the project. A public note of appreciation should be registered here to those that contributed to the project and to the book. I would like to thank my co-editor, Lejo Swachten, for his commitment to the project and his hard work on this book. I also would like to thank all the contributors for their chapters and for their contributions to the project. A special note of thanks to my Portuguese colleagues, Isabel Pereira Pinto and Susana Barbosa; they had a very important and significant role in the project SMILE and were directly involved in the initial application. I would also like to thank all the personnel and pupils from the schools involved in the project; without them the training programs upon which this project was built would not have been so successful. And finally, a very personal note of recognition to the 45 students that participated in the SMILE project; their involvement and willingness to learn, have been among the best results of this project. Thank you all!

Coimbra, July 23, 2010

Miguel A. Santos

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION: Dreaming the Challenge

Miguel Augusto Santos

Escola Superior de Educação do Politécnico do Porto

Lejo Swachten

Respect Network Foundation

Dreaming the beginning of a book is not something one expects to read about in the introduction. On the contrary, a crystal clear overview of the subject, its aspects and the different angles to look upon it, is what normally is expected. However, every book has a private beginning in the author's mind; the daydreams during waiting in queues or during daily routines. These trivial and private activities like waiting and doing routine tasks are more often labelled as 'doing nothing'. Ehn and Löfgren (2010) give another meaning to these activities; they are highly relevant and significant 'non-events' in the backyards of modernity with its 'constant flux and transformation, where solid melts and nothing stays the same' (p. 207). They are places to hide oneself from the everyday hectic of life, 'the bohemian flip side of Western modernity' (p. 208).

The daydream as originator of this book can be traced back to three years ago, when one of the authors was discussing with a friend some ideas for a project about deaf culture and teacher education. The following months this idea swirled around in his mind during

moments of actually doing nothing, such as taking a shower, staring to the blue sky, or being mentally absent during family meetings. Like fish in a tank the ideas were floating around; small ones, big ones and even crazy and rebellious ones. These mind wanderings were indeed the private beginning in the backyard of modernity before they reached the public domain discussing it with others, writing proposals and finding partners to participate. The first outcome of these private daydreams and beginnings was a submitted application of the SMILE project to the European Commission, whose approval laid the foundations for the final outcome, educational experiences about insights into deafness, language and culture in education. This final outcome has been made tangible in this book.

Marvin Miller, a deaf journalist had also a daydream envisioning the first deaf city in America. He named the city Laurent after the French sign language teacher Laurent Clerc to be built in South Dakota (Steuteville, 2005; Hearing Loss, 2005). His daydream was to create another Martha's Vineyard, the island just outside the coast of Massachusetts. In the 19th century during the peak of the island's deaf population, some parts inhabited 25% deaf and everybody, deaf and hearing people were able to speak sign language (Groce, 1985). Miller's dreams encountered critics as well as support; families willingly to live in Laurent registered at an early stage. But, though his daydream was translated into building plans ready to be implemented, probably bankruptcy eliminated its execution (Butler, 2008). It is interesting to take notice of Miller's motivation to make his daydream public: the lack of role models in his children's lives, whether mayors, factory managers, postal workers or business owners. In an interview with the New York Times (Hearing Loss, 2005) he added that, because society is not integrating us in a proper way, we will set up our own place showing our unique culture and society. In other words, social critics were the driving force behind his dreams and his plans.

Dreams hidden in the backyard of modernity can reveal thus the emergency to solve social problems of integration, social cohesion and education. What are the problems and challenges in 21st

century Europe, we had in mind when setting up this project and writing this book? What is the economic situation at the end of the first decade of the 3rd millennium and what challenges education is facing?

At the beginning of the 21st century in which Europe and other Western states want to become leading knowledge-based economies mainly through the creation of a highly qualified educational system, they are also facing a huge economic crisis. Growing unemployment due to bankruptcy of factories and cutbacks or rearrangements of state budgets are daily news. Law proposals to lower benefits or to rise the age for retirement are filling the headlines on television, papers and on the internet. As almost no domain of importance will be excluded, this economic turmoil will surely not pass education. Innovations foreseen will be postponed and mostly young dynamic teachers will be thrown into unemployment as their contracts will not be prolonged. The neo-liberal agenda with its focus on privatisation and marketable social services seems to be a failure and politics needs to reconsider its priorities as society and social cohesion is under siege.

The educational challenges for the 21st century were already visible for a long time. Although the number of students for which education is provided is growing, the number of dropouts is growing as well; early school leaving has become a huge problem especially in urban schools, where the diversity of the student population is at the highest, encompassing students from poor families, of colour, with disabilities or other differences in comparison to what is regarded the norm, white, middle-class and hearing standards. The teachers employed in these schools are in the majority white, hearing and middle-class people. In these settings policies of inclusion for a future in a knowledge-driven society have to be implemented, while a lot of schools and teachers are not equipped to take up this challenge.

Moreover, society needs employees in every sector; it cannot afford that all the drop-outs end up as unemployed, excluded from

career opportunities. The pressure on society would harm not only social cohesion but also the economy of the European Union. It is therefore of utmost importance that more students finish education and will be trained as qualified professionals. But changes within the world follow each other rapidly; today's knowledge and skills are not sufficient anymore for tomorrow's challenges. Education not only has to make sure that more students will be prepared to actively participate in economy, but also that they become willing to learn after graduation. For this purpose key competences for every European citizen have been developed, which serve as a cornerstone in education. Not only education but also teacher education is an agenda with high priority in the different member states and the European Union.

Of course, not all these subjects are addressed at the following pages. The SMILE project limits the scope of our dreams in two ways. First, the project is about three issues, deafness, language and culture and especially about the perspectives on these issues in education in the three different countries. These issues are not separately addressed but always in relation to one another. Deafness is interpreted from different angles, as a disability but also as a difference. Language, and thus sign language is related to deafness through which a lot of deaf people engage themselves in daily life, defining it meaningful and at the same time transforming it into a source of identification. Culture is strongly related to these processes of identification, but the concept is probably also the most contested term of the three; some take it for granted while others question the usability in our post-modern era.

Second, the project's focus is also about how teacher education can benefit from it, not only by implementing the subject into the different curricula, but through the involvement of students as researchers during the project. This part of the scope is highlighted in the subtitle of the book 'Towards quality standards for student research'. As teachers and teacher educators, we consider it important that (future) teachers are able to do qualitative research in their own classrooms and schools in order to implement other

and new ways of teaching and learning which take into account the diversity of each learner and his or her needs. It is needless to say, that within the SMILE project the focus was on deafness versus hearingness and deaf culture versus hearing culture.

These two limitations are reflected in the two parts in which the book is divided. In part one 'Deafness, Language and Culture' Swachten gives an account of the consequences of audist practices against the background of the human rights debate since modern times. The involvement of the sciences and governments in defining deafness as hearing impairment are described, as well as the counter-narrative of the deaf to fight for their signing and cultural rights. Swachten does not question the cultural right of the deaf, but the tools used to claim the existence of a deaf culture. In the globalisation age in which we live, he argues, it would be more beneficial to focus – in addition to structural audist practices instilled by the hearing society – on deaf personal narratives to get insights into audist attacks. Through accepting that the deaf have a shared experience, something cultural, this collection of personal experienced audist practices in our global world could become a powerful pedagogy in the education of deaf and hearing students.

In the following three chapters the developments of deaf bilingual education and inclusion in respectively Spain, Turkey and Portugal are described in detail. In chapter 3, López González, Llorent García and López Baena place deafness in the context of disability as described by the Spanish government. The provided figures give a clear idea about the scope of the subject. In great detail, the legislation and procedures for education of the deaf are described as well as the notion of deaf culture and the organisation of the deaf.

The situation in Turkey is different from that in Spain. Although Turkish government officials and experts are promoting the inclusion of the deaf, the authors Sari and Sogut question in chapter 4 the availability and quality of the support needed. Furthermore, they stress the importance of special deaf schools as an additional beneficial education during adolescence.

After the legal recognition of Portuguese Sign Language as a national language, bilingual education and inclusion of the deaf became a priority. In chapter 5, Tété Gonçalves and Augusto Santos criticise the efforts made because the pedagogy was not always based on the concept of deafness as difference, neglecting the fact that cultural learning is part of sign language learning. In providing opportunities for learning sign language as first and Portuguese as second language, they remind us that the cultural component is essential for the deaf as human beings.

In part two 'Quality Standards for Student Researchers' the research done by student teachers during the project and the outcome, i.e. the standards are described. In chapter 6, Augusto Santos focuses on the changeability of society's needs and the necessity of educating teachers as researchers. In addressing official documents and declarations in which lifelong learning is spearheaded, he takes a stance for the education of students as researchers in order to empower learners.

The research experiences of the Spanish, Turkish and Portuguese students within the SMILE project are made visible in chapter 7. Augusto Santos, Llorent García and Sari describe the project SMILE as one way to do student research, which means collecting knowledge at home and abroad, collaborating and communicating with others during and after the research and finally taking social responsibility for the outcome. They provide the reader with students' comments which reflect their learning process during their own research on deafness, language and culture.

In the last chapter of part two, Augusto Santos & Swachten contextualise the quality discussion in Europe and its offspring, such as the European common principles and the key competences for the teacher profession. Based on these principles and competences, they propose a set of three key standards and twelve requirements for the education of student teachers as researchers. These standards are not presented as an assessment tool but as a framework for a critical pedagogical dialogue between educators and students.

Finally, some polemic thoughts about educational politics with its focus on standards, indicators and assessment are part of the afterword. Swachten proposes that teachers should become involved in the debate about quality and should reclaim their rights as owners of qualities. But, stepping into the political arena has to be learned as well.

What follows has been partly sprouted from daydreams representing the act of coming from the outside to the inside, from the backyards of modernity to the platform of public social life, bridging, in the words of Ehn and Löfgren (p. 216), the private and collective worlds; it is part of the fabric of every society.

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Part I

DEAFNESS, LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Chapter 2

BETWEEN AUDISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS: Educating Deaf Selves in the Cultural and the Global

Lejo Swachten

Respect Network Foundation

... the corporate institution for dealing with deaf people, dealing with them by making statements about them, authorizing views of them, describing them, teaching about them, governing where they go to school and, in some cases, where they live; in short, audism is the hearing way of dominating, restructuring, and exercising authority over the deaf community.

Harlan Lane, 1992, p.43

... States must recognise and promote the cultural and linguistic identity of the Deaf community, as well as recognising and promoting the use of sign languages. (...) States shall facilitate the learning of sign language and supports Deaf people's right to receive education in their own language. It guarantees the right to access professional sign language interpreters. (...) that all persons with disabilities shall be entitled, on an equal basis with others, to recognition and support of their specific cultural and linguistic identities and this includes sign languages and Deaf culture.

Foreword to 'Deaf People and Human Rights', WFD/SNAD, 2009

Introduction

In 'Does God have a cochlear implant?' Michael Harvey (2001) invites the reader to join him in a daydream to a sushi restaurant, where he meets the deafened 8-year-old Tommy, his parents and friends. The daydream starts during a staff meeting at the hospital where Michael works. Before this staff meeting he was in family therapy session with Tommy and his parents Leo and Shirley about cochlear implants. Leo is a black sociologist and his white wife Shirley runs the household. Tommy's question 'Does God have a cochlear implant?', followed by the discussion between Tommy's parents Leo and Shirley, who both hold opposite views regarding the implant provoked this daydream in the sushi restaurant. In this daydream some friends of Tommy and his parents are also present: inventor Alexander Graham Bell, black activist W.E.B. Dubois, black professor Cornel West, deaf community leader Marie Jean Philip, Deaf Studies scholar Harlan Lane, dr. Implant and God. They are all playing an important role in the continuing discussion about the implants. In Harvey's daydream, dr. Implant and Bell support Shirley, while Dubois, Cornel West, Marie Jean Philip and Harlan Lane backup Leo; God however, plays the role of observer. The discussion sheds some light on ethical issues and illustrates the impacts of the pathological or medical model and the cultural model. The story reflects also the ongoing discourses about deafness as impairment, as an audist practice and deafness as culture with its own language and especially the individual and collective rights of humans. Below we will follow the history of this discourse between audism and human rights. We will see that between both opposite views an open space comes visible, where, due to globalisation and individualisation forces, new perspectives emerge. We might say that these discourses are about a coming-of-age of modernity, the role of cultural emancipation and the fight for equal human rights as well as breaking down conventions in a post-modernistic era. However, as an outsider and hearing cultural anthropologist I will not give a full overview of all perspectives and angles in this debate; it goes beyond the purpose of this chapter. Nevertheless, I like to take a position in this

rather political debate. It is up to others to evaluate my contribution¹.

Before I give an overview of the contents of this chapter, the term audism needs a further explanation. It was introduced by Tom Humphries in a never published paper and described as “the notion that one is superior based on one’s ability to hear or behave in the manner of one who hears” (Humphries cited in Bauman H-D.L., 2004, p.240 and 2008, p.13). The term is also used for the structural oppression of the deaf. In Lane’s *Mask of Benevolence* (1992) this structural oppression is given a more concrete description when he refers to a corporate institution for dominating and controlling the deaf in so many different ways, through the interference of many professionals about almost every aspect of life². Nowadays, it is good practice to use the term when referring to discriminatory

¹ It is common practice within Deaf Studies to write deaf with a capital D as Deaf. Most authors refer to Woodward (1982) for the explanation, like Padden & Humphries (2006) who write: “... we adopted the convention of using the capitalized “Deaf” to describe the cultural practices of a group within a group. We use the lowercase “deaf” to refer to the condition of deafness, or the larger group of individuals with hearing loss without reference to this particular culture”(p.1). In the guide of the European Union of the Deaf (EUD, 1997) “Deaf” is used for persons who communicate primarily in sign language and identify themselves with other Deaf people, while “deaf” is used to refer to status of hearing loss. Some make no choice and write deaf as “d/Deaf” or include even for hearing “h/Hearing”, This dividing issue on how do the deaf like to call themselves is also addressed in Brenda Jo Brueggemann’s article *Think-Between: A Deaf Studies Commonplace Book* (2008). I, however, as an outsider will make no distinction and will write deaf as “deaf”. Only when referred to deaf studies as community of scholars I use “Deaf Studies”.

² See Lane’s structural definition of audism at the top of this chapter. In his note with reference to the definition on page 43, he states that he is paraphrasing Said’s ‘orientalism’ in his famous work under the same name (2005, p.27). By using the term ‘orientalism’ in this context, Lane paves the way for introducing the very powerful concept of colonialism, which in my view is not necessary. It blurs the boundaries between the concepts and puts a too heavy burden on the discourse on human rights. See also Wrigley (1996) and especially Ladd’s *Understanding Deaf Culture* (2003), who are using the concept of colonialism in a similar way. Without doubt, comparable colonial patterns can be detected in the treatment of deaf people; for instance the role of professionals inscribing an essence onto a deaf subject reminds me of the anthropologists transforming the colonial subject in a stereotype, an object with a map, model or culture, archived in Western academic institutions as true knowledge (Pels & Salemink, 2000). But why using ‘colonialism’ if audism, described as personal and structural audism, is like racism powerful enough to render visible those audist practices imposed on deaf people.

actions, whether personal or structural. Bauman H-D.L. (2008) predicts that in the near future the term will be found in every dictionary as a twin of racism and sexism.

The history of deaf people is actually a history of audist practices and a fight for equal human rights. In the first section I will give a short historical account from 1750s till the 1970s, about the first residential schools in France, their spread to Britain and America and the institutionalisation of the deaf through associations (Ladd, 2003; Lane, 1984, 1992)³. But this modernisation was attacked by those who at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century warned for a deaf race with their manual signs, like Alexander Graham Bell. It marked the start of 'oralism', a 'method of instructing deaf people through the use of speaking, lip-reading and hearing' (Bauman, H-D.L. 2008, p.1) as means to internalise hearing norms and values. 'Oralism' in practice meant teaching the spoken language and forbidding the use of sign language which led in the end to the closing-down of residential schools and mainstreaming the deaf children into regular schools (Baynton, 1996). The term is also used to criticise the medical model which promotes normalcy policies; some even compare these normalcy policies with colonialism or genocide (Ladd, 2003, 2008; Lane, 1992). This model can also be interpreted as governmental ways to instil their bio-power on complete populations. According to Foucault (1998) who coined this term, bio-power is used to control entire populations within the modern state⁴.

In the second section, the acknowledgement of sign languages as fully grown languages (Stokoe, 1960) with their own syntax and morphology will be contextualised as the beginning of the self-awareness of the deaf community. As a consequence of this validation,

³ As the accounts on deaf history are mainly written by Western hearing people, Wrigley labels it 'hearing deaf history' based on a Euro-American perspective (1996, p.43- 45). However, after the publication of his book, more historical accounts have been published by deaf scholars (for example Ladd, 2003; Padden & Humphries, 2006).

⁴ Foucault came up with this term in his 1st volume *The Will to Knowledge of his work The History of Sexuality* (1998). According to Rabinow & Rose (2006) Foucault promised to come back on the issue of bio-power, but he never did.

the deaf community and deaf studies started to focus on culture as the main distinguishing factor (Ladd, 2003; Lane, 1992; Padden & Humphries, 2005). The deaf community began to see themselves not only as a linguistic minority but also as a cultural minority. The letter d in deaf was written with a capital D not only showing pride to be Deaf but also awareness whom should be included and excluded.⁵

The first two sections contain the elements of the debate around the medical versus the cultural model, or in other words the fight against audism and for human individual and collective rights. In this fight, deaf culture plays an important role and cannot be isolated from it. However in the globalisation era, culture is a highly contested concept: definitions of culture are debated as too rigid, less dynamic and too often stressing essentialist features. Concepts like subculture, biculturalism, ethnicity, identity, 'Deafhood'⁶ and Deaf World, proposed by Deaf Studies scholars haven't stopped these critics⁷. On the contrary, it created more confusion especially when in other academic disciplines globalisation, localisation, diversity, mixed and multiple identities led to a reinforcement of constructionist theories in which identities are produced and reproduced and thus object of continuous negotiation, ascription and appropriation (Swachten, 2007). In a detour I will address the globalisation forces which led to the contestation of culture as concept. In following

⁵ Membership of the deaf community and deaf culture is very delicate matter. Lane (1992) gives some rules: in addition to all the deaf, hearing Deaf Studies scholars or sign language interpreters are regarded a member of the deaf community, but excluded from deaf culture. The same goes for people, who turned deaf later in life or people who are not proficient enough in sign language. Hearing children born in a deaf family are included in deaf culture, if they are raised culturally deaf and able to speak sign language. See for a critique Davis (2007).

⁶ This term was introduced by Paddy Ladd in 1990 and in his book *Understanding Deaf Culture* (2003) with the subtitle *In search of Deafhood* he explores it further. It is introduced to replace deafness for reasons of medical orientation. "Deafhood is not seen as a finite state but as a process by which Deaf individuals come to actualise their Deaf identity, positing that those individuals construct that identity around several differently ordered sets of priorities and principles, which are affected by various factors such as nation, era and class" (p.xviii).

⁷ Some even suggest the word DeaF with a capital D and F, where F refers to fluid identity construction (McIlroy in Bauman, 2008).

Padden & Humphries (2006), I will introduce 'the cultural', as opposite to 'the global', as a rather fluid, dynamic and historically rooted idea of what keeps but also what brings people together.

If culture and all other related concepts like for instance family are contested, we could feel lost within our contemporary dispersed society; the only 'safe haven' (Lash, 1977) we possess is our body as the ultimate tangible place, space and framework for exhibiting who we are as deaf or hearing persons: male or female, black, coloured or white, homo- or heterosexual, higher or lower economic class, disabled or not. The individual or self becomes a rather diverse subject. In addition, the virtualisation of society with its networks, blogs and vlogs paradoxically decreases the importance of the local or place of being and living as most important source of what we are (Breivik, 2005). Nevertheless, the quest for authenticity and for what is real is still active for political reasons. Although some might define themselves as European or World citizens, traditional places of belonging (*cf.* migrants) are rooted in our perceptions of being, whether hearing or deaf. However, contrary to this quest for authenticity, personal questions born from sensory daily experiences pointing to ethical and even metaphysical issues, need to be taken seriously as research route as well.

In the fifth section, I will come back on bio-power, which went global and could be characterised as bioethical complex (Rabinow & Rose, 2006). It still reflects the discourse about normalcy and audism as vivid and alive. Finally, I will also look ahead to the role of education and democracy in preserving, promoting and debating human rights in the 21st century.

The modern, the science and the education of deaf people

The modern state has a rather short history; just a little bit more than 200 years. The former aristocratic regimes with strong links to churches in Europe collapsed in the aftermath of the process of discovering *terra incognita* outside their borders on other continents;

new ideas of superiority and civilising their people emerged in opposition to the discovered primitive other. These ideas grew in importance during the Enlightenment and paved the way for the first civil revolution in mankind. In the dawn of the French revolution, the first school for the deaf was set up; it was a token of civil awareness which led to an increase of schools for the deaf, but also to an incorporation of every inch of the state's territory.

However, given rights to the 'people', making them rightful citizens with obligations to the state and others, meant also instilling power on them. For this instillation of power a huge state apparatus was needed; not only a police and administrative force, but also cartographic institutions mapping the territory, clinics to control bodies and diseases, prisons to put away law offenders, schools to train righteous citizens and moreover, knowledge to legitimate and organise these demands.

Despite the numerous ways⁸ the deaf were described in the two centuries preceding the French revolution, we could with some imagination interpret these developments towards the establishment of the first school for the deaf in Paris as a first stage in the emancipation of the deaf as citizens. With regard to this, Ladd (2003) notices that in texts in the period preceding the year 1750 the deaf "... collectively present a compelling case for at least partial acceptance (...) by lay people" (p.103).

Oralism and the forbidden sign languages

When in the 1750s philosophers started to speculate about the nature of man, Leibnitz brought up the idea of an universal language

⁸ Ladd (2003) mentions especially Socrates, who uttered himself rather positively compared to Aristotle when he said: "if we had neither voice nor tongue, and yet wished to manifest things to one another, should we not, like those which are at present mute, endeavour to signify our meaning by the hands, head and other parts of the body" (Hough cited in Ladd, p.91). In addition, the Jewish accepted the deaf as group with a common language. In this respect, Ladd speaks of 'ur communities'. With the rise of Christianity, deaf were seen as individuals who were possessed by demons. During the Enlightenment, deaf started to be engaged at courts as painters or servants. Ladd mentions also the settlement of a deaf community on the Island Martha's Vineyard in 1640, where everybody, including the hearing people spoke sign language.

when referring to the deaf and he even spoke about sign language as distinguishing man from animal (Ladd, 2003). Within this time frame, Pierre Desloges, a deaf French bookbinder published the first text written by a deaf person. Desloges' statement that a particular sign can be made in the twinkle of the eye for explaining what happened, while writing requires several pages for a complete description (Desloges cited in Bauman, H-D.L. 2008, p.6), "commanded attention of Parisian society and its intellectuals" (Bauman, H-D.L. 2008, p. 5). In providing detailed information about the deaf community in France, Desloges is considered a founder of international Deaf Studies.

The written history of sign language starts actually in the years, when Abbé de L' Epée began to teach two deaf. In 1755, he founded a school for every deaf child born in France and other countries in Europe⁹. For nearly 30 years he organised demonstrations for the public, replying to critics, especially from people within the churches (Stokoe jr., 2005). His success led to a mushrooming of schools in France and Europe. But the oppositional views were not defeated as Ladd (2003) reminds us. From 1830 onwards the deaf Parisian community and especially its leaders, such as Berthier, organised annual banquets to "formalise both the strength of Deaf society and the power and beauty of sign languages" (Ladd, 2003, p. 109). Deaf from other countries as well as invited guests like Victor Hugo were welcomed to witness these "true festivals of mimicry" (Mottez cited in Ladd, 2003, p.109). The growth of deaf schools in the pre-revolutionary years was accompanied soon by public schools, of which the school in Paris was the first. The revolutionary call to educate deaf people as 'children of the nation'¹⁰ encountered a warm welcome in the National Assembly in 1791.

⁹ Take into account that his method and that of his successor was opposed by oralists like Samuel Heinicke in Germany. The school he set up in Germany is actually the first oral school for the deaf. His ideas were based on the view of the Swiss oralist Johann Amman. His Christian view resembled the ones held by the churches: "how little they differ from animals" (Lane, 1992, p.107; Ladd, 2003 and www.milan1880.com).

¹⁰ At the time of the French revolution the Catholic church in France communicated another opinion based on the new testament that the deaf were people without souls (Ladd, 2003).

After the death of Abbé L'Épée in 1789, his successor Abbé Sicard gained credits as well for the education of deaf students. One of his students was Jean Massieu who became teacher at the same school and another Laurent Clerc¹¹. In the tradition of L'Épée, Sicard welcomed everyone who was interested in their work. One of the visitors was Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet who represented a group of public spirited citizens of Hartford, Connecticut. He was sent to Europe to study the methods of teaching the deaf. After a stay in Paris in which he got acquainted with the method of the school he returned to America accompanied by Laurent Clerc, who became the first deaf teacher at the first American School for the Deaf at Hartford in 1817. By teaching French Sign Language in Hartford he laid the foundation for American Sign Language. At this school and other schools the natural sign language and methodical sign system, developed by L'Épée was used (Stokoe jr., 2005)¹².

Lane (1984) 'uses' the teacher Laurent Clerc in his *When the Mind Hears* to retell the story of his life which is also a history of deaf education and the upcoming opposition in the 19th century. Below, I will give the opening sentences of Laurent Clerc's story.

My name is Laurent Clerc. I am eighty-three years old. My hair is white, my skin wrinkled and scarred, my posture crooked, I shuffle when I walk. Undoubtedly my life will soon end in this time and place, 1869, Hartford, Connecticut. (...) I know what's going on. Important people, distinguished gentlemen, are repudiating the cause to which I have devoted my life. Endowed with the sacred trust of my people's welfare, they seek, without consulting us, to prevent our worship, marriage, and procreation, to stultify our education,

¹¹ Laurent Clerc published several articles in the *American Annals of the Deaf*, in which he explained the method used (Stokoe jr., 2005). In this respect, it is also interesting to notice the work of American Frederick Augustus Porter Barnard *Existing State of the Art of Instructing the Deaf and Dumb*, published in 1835. He was far ahead of his time when describing bilingual education (Lang & Stokoe, 2000).

¹² Through these historical developments French Sign language and American Sign Language are in some ways a little bit similar. Contrary to what could be expected, American Sign Language is completely different from British Sign Language (Bauman, 2008).

and to banish our mother tongue simply because our way and our language are different from theirs (...) I am impelled by the present threat to the well-being, dignity, and freedom of my people to tell our story, one that I have lived almost from its beginning: how we gathered in France and in other European lands and then in America; how our language spread throughout Europe and crossed the Atlantic; the great struggle to create schools for us, in which it was my lot to play a leading role. It is a story of builders: of an abbé rejected by the church who established the education of an entire class rejected by society; of a deaf shepherd who achieved international acclaim by personifying what such an outcast class can achieve through education; of a frail New England pastor who channeled the love of a little deaf girl into a mighty force that has created the first college in the world for that class. It is also a tale of destroyers: of a zealous physician who put mock science ahead of true humanity; of a haughty nobleman who imposed his will on the deaf, knowing, he believed, what was best for them but knowing, in fact, none of them; of a professional reformer who has sought to recast entire classes of society in his own image. (p. 3-4)

In these first sentences builders are detected in the battle for the right to sign: on one side, the builders Abbé L'Épée, Jean Massieu and Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, already introduced above and the destroyers Jean-Marc Itard, Baron Joseph-Marie De Gérando and Samuel Gridley Howe. Itard was appointed at the L'Épée School as physician at the time Clerc was still a student. He had a lot of freedom to use several inhuman methods to let the deaf students recover their hearing, however without success. De Gérando was a well-known administrator, who as board member started to reorganise the L'Épée School. Both however, discovered at the end of their battle against signing that teaching the deaf cannot be done without using some manual signs. While working in America, in Hartford, Clerc witnessed other opponents such as the reformer Samuel Gridley Howe, who together with Horace Mann, launched a campaign against signing in favour of oralism. The effect of this campaign was partly successful as it led to the introduction of articulation classes for those deaf students, who were exposed to the

national oral language before turning deaf. By accepting this approach at several residential schools for the deaf and by giving it a name, the combined method¹³, it was also a tactical move disempowering Howe's position. But according to Lane, who finished in his book Clerc's story after his death in 1869, the worst still had to come.

At the end of the 19th century, the discovery of the evolutionist paradigm by Charles Darwin led to the discussion of its applicability for other purposes. Francis Galton was the one who adapted Charles Darwin's biological theory on natural selection to mankind. He was driven by Herbert Spencer's Social Darwinism about the 'survival of the fittest'. His Social Darwinism laid the foundations for the eugenics movement promoting selective breeding of humans to improve the human race, however with devastating effects¹⁴.

At that time Alexander Graham Bell, inventor and married to a deaf woman, Mabel¹⁵, warned for the development of a deaf race. He promoted in his Memoirs¹⁶ the oral-education philosophy and method, i.e. the teaching of speech as the only way to be human. In a review¹⁷ of Bell's call for action, Galton approved the given advises.

¹³ The combined method was proposed by Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet's son, Edward Miner Gallaudet (Lane, 1984).

¹⁴ The eugenics program of the Nazi's was based on Spencer's Social Darwinism and was meant to 'delete' disabled and deaf as inhuman costly objects. Propaganda in Nazi Germany in 1940 was clear as water. With the money spend on keeping the disabled and the deaf alive, complete families could make a living. The program was called T4 after the location of the headquarters: a Jewish villa in the Tiergartenstrasse 4 in Berlin. The program was shut down officially as answer to concerns of family members of disabled who were sent to institutions of whom so many were declared dead after some while. But actually Hitler closed the program as precaution before America would discover it and would get involved in the war. In total, nearly 240.000 disabled and deaf people were killed in gas chambers, later used in the massive killings of the Jews in Poland (Brueggemann, 2009).

¹⁵ See for an imaginary exchange of postcards with questions to Mabel about her life with 'Alec', B-J. Brueggemann's fictive account 'Posting Mabel' in her book *Deaf Subjects. Between identities and places* (2009).

¹⁶ Bell who invented the phone spoke about the deaf heredity that could be spread by inter-marriage and could create a deaf variety of the human race. His work is known as '*Memoir. Upon the Formation of a deaf variety of the human race*' and was presented at the National Academy of Sciences, New Haven, USA, in 1883.

¹⁷ Galton's review of Bells' Memoir was published in the journal *Nature* on January 22, 1885 under the title *Heredity Deafness*.

The advisability of various forms of restrictive measures is judiciously and carefully discussed by the author, with the general result that gesture-language should cease to be taught, the oral system being enforced in its place, and that the philanthropic custom of massing the deaf and dumb together in separate societies (read 'residential schools' LS), and of making their life as happy as possible in those societies, should be discouraged. (p. 270)

Already three years before Bell's call for action, hearing educators for the deaf from several countries met at the 2nd International Congress of Teachers of Deaf-Mutes in Milan, in September 1880. The objective was to promote the oral method and to ban the use of sign language. This proposal was accepted against the will of the American and British representatives.¹⁸

In retrospect, the Milan congress became the turning point in the development of the deaf community. As oralism became the method of instructing deaf through speech, lip-reading and hearing, deaf teachers employed at residential schools for the deaf had to find other jobs. But this was not enough, the banning of sign language needed to be backed up by disciplinary measures such as physical punishments to keep the students from signing (Baynton 1996; Padden & Humphries, 2006). A lot of schools for the deaf had to close their doors or stayed open, using the oral method as agreed. Nevertheless, some schools in Britain and America went on teaching sign language supported by deaf organisations such as the American National Association for the Deaf, founded shortly after the Milan declarations. In the aftermath of the Milan congress, more deaf national organisations in Europe were founded such as the British BDA in 1890 (Ladd, 2003). We might say, that although

¹⁸ GIn total 162 hearing teachers and 2 deaf teachers were present. They represented Italy, France, USA, Britain, Sweden, Belgium and Germany. Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet and his son Edward Minor Gallaudet were part of the American delegation. See www.milan1880.com for more information about the congress, its objectives and program. One year later, Edward Minor Gallaudet wrote an article about this congress called *The Milan Convention*. Later in his life, he founded the first college for higher educational institute in 1864, later renamed after his father as Gallaudet University.

oralism became the leading method, it also provoked an unforeseen chain reaction as deaf people started to unite themselves.

Oralism became a very successful practice in the 20th century: almost all sign languages without exception were banned from the schools and hearing educators, not trained for dealing with deaf children, started to run the “speech clinics”, as Lane (1992, p. 133) cynically remarks. It was, according to Lane, the first stage in the assimilation of the deaf. The dismantling of residential schools as a breeding place for a deaf variety of the human race, as Bell argued, was the next step. Day schools for the deaf were founded in order to expose the deaf to a larger oral environment. This was followed by the introduction of supportive methods to teach the dominant oral language through the use of finger-spelling, lip-reading, and speech accompanied by signs. This total-communication method became rather popular in the USA. As fourth stage, Lane points to developments of mainstreaming the deaf in schools for hearing children, actually dispersing them. Here they found themselves as only deaf child in the class full of hearing children. In some cases, deaf children could be grouped together in ‘self-contained’ classes, just sharing some art and sports with the other, hearing, children¹⁹. I will come back on the issue of mainstreaming in the last section, in which inclusion and bilingual education will be addressed. Last but not least, Lane points to the surgery of cochlear implants, the promise of hearing, as the ultimate stage of this assimilation process. As a tool for living, they can be helpful for some. Its medical and educational presentation as a cure for everyone demonstrates “the denial of a difference” and thus “not the solution to a social issue”(Lane, 1992, p.135).

Normalcy and deficiency

The image of the deaf on the eve of the establishment of the modern state was a mixed one. The medieval and by Christianity

¹⁹ Depending on resources and the number of deaf children, sign language interpreters could be appointed (Lane, 1992)

fuelled image of the deaf as possessed by demons and therefore not human changed due to the growing interest in the other, the different, and the exotic. From then on, the image of the deaf as speakers of a very interesting language evolved into children of the nation, with the rights to an education as every other citizen. This promotion, however, needed to be defended against the church and the first oralists over and over again. The final stroke to the children of the nation was given at the congress in Milan, where the oralist view prevailed. In the pre-Milan period, this view was based upon Christian values like the one held in middle ages, but with the development of evolutionist paradigm the view found support from a more powerful contemporary ally. Bell's ideas about the deaf variety of man, that could arise when we allowed deaf to go to separate schools where they learned, lived and found their future deaf marriage partner reflect clearly evolutionist views. This was actually the first time that a science interfered in the debate about deafness. The general idea was that deaf were not normal, thus abnormal. But the belief of evolutionism in change and progress was obvious: what deviates from the normal, can be repaired through an appropriate intervention of medical, pathological, psychological and educational professionals. This medical or infirmity model of intervention characterises the process of medicalisation within the modern state, in order to control deaf people and others as well. But it is just one element in this process of nation building, as we will see below. In his books *The Birth of the Clinic: an Archaeology of Medical Perception* (1973) and *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison* (1977), Foucault explains the foundations and the state's intervention in daily human life controlling human bodies.

Governing lives: the deaf body imprisoned

In modern states, in which the sovereignty of the king or emperor was replaced by the sovereignty of the nation and their people, paying tribute to organise the state and its organisations grew in importance. Out of this centralisation emerged the idea to separate

the weak, sick and criminals in order to control them in institutions like hospitals, mental institutions, and prisons. Even schools are an instrument of control instilling values and norms, necessary for organising the modern-state. Thus, medicine and education and other domains needed to be controlled by the state. The development of the modern sciences in this context is a logical one. As power creates and is based on knowledge, it is also a creation of knowledge.

This power-knowledge, as Foucault (1998) more often calls it, has many faces; one of them is bio-power as technology of power. According to Foucault, bio-power is a political technology to control entire populations and thus a prerequisite for the modern state or in his words “an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugations of bodies and the control of populations” (p.140). While in pre-modern states the traditional threat of death was the instrument of ultimate control, in the modern state power has to be legitimated as a protection of life and a regulation of the body.

Let us look, briefly, to the residential schools for the deaf between their arrival at the end of the 17th century in France and the decline in the second half of last century in Europe and the USA. Although residential schools for deaf are a positive marker of the deaf personal identity, some deaf don't like to be reminded about where they stayed an important part of their life; mentioning the school's name evokes a feeling of repulsion with painful memories about punishment and abuse (Padden & Humphries, 2006).

The long history of schools for the deaf, lasting nearly 180 years, has left an enduring legacy in the Deaf community. Though now two generations removed, it is a powerful and conflicted legacy, such that Deaf people find it hard to talk about the past and the future of deaf schools without a great deal of emotion. (p.13)

A powerful and conflicted legacy indeed; in addition to the glorious memories about being part of a deaf family in schools, the painful stories of deaf people linger on.

Padden and Humphries contextualise the building of residential schools. They point to the fact that since 1800, beginning in Philadelphia, civic leaders and philanthropists were worried about the growth of their city. To find an answer they founded societies to study the phenomenon. Due to the complaints of citizens that they were living alongside criminals, immigrants, ex-slaves, a response was closely at hand: "... separate the different classes of individuals – deaf, blind, insane, criminal, and sick – and organise them into separate institutions so that special forms of rehabilitation and education could be applied to them" (p.18). This institutionalisation created a "social distance between the confined and the outside world" (Ignatieff cited in Padden & Humphries), which was considered the best solution for problems of city growth.

The institution buildings with carefully designated spaces for learning, eating and sleeping and a strict separation of boys and girls located on a land estate, were all in some way similar. Some plans for school buildings were based on copies from architectural plans for prisons²⁰. As soon as the deaf students, who came from the surrounding areas of the city, were inside the gates of the schools, "they became 'inmates' and objects of study" (p. 29) and experiments in the hands of school physicians and others. Lane (1992) describes the experiments of Jean-Marc Itard, medical doctor at the L'Épée School during the regime of Abbé Sicard. His treatments ranged from electric shocks, dispensing brew into the ear, to clinging metal buttons and strings through the body endangering the deaf students²¹. Similar cases may be brought to the daylight, but also less harmful practices, like slapping hands of the deaf students when caught signing.

Nevertheless, these practices reflect the imbalance of power between the caretakers and the deaf students, who cannot speak

²⁰ Padden & Humphries mention Robert Vaux who was a member of the board for the residential school and also involved in the planning of a prison building.

²¹ The electricity experiment led in one case to the death of one student (Lane, 1992).

on their behalf; they are silenced bodies (Padden & Humphries, 2006). A silenced body that cannot speak is the objective, a controllable deaf individual. In this context, it is worth mentioning that bio-power is related to another of Foucault's concepts: 'governmentality'. Governmentality is developed through power which is not only imposed hierarchical, but also through the social control in disciplinary institutions (schools, hospitals, psychiatric institutions), and through the production of knowledge. This produced knowledge will be internalised by individuals exposed to it, steering their actions and behaviour. As such it empowers individuals to govern themselves as the ultimate form of social control (Foucault, 1997). The application of Foucault's governmentality to deaf people or other separated bodies like the insane and the disabled would, according to Shelley Tremain (2005), be the creation of the illusion of a natural impairment.

A Foucauldian approach to disability would hold that the governmental practices into which the subject is inducted and divided from others produce the *illusion* that they have a prediscursive, or natural antecedent (impairment), which in turn provides the justification for multiplication and expansion of the regulatory effects of these practices. (p.11)

In the case of the deaf people, these practices to which Tremain refers can be easily detected as discriminatory, structural audism. In the last section we will take up this discourse about audism, governmentality and bio-power. For now, I like to conclude that the residential or asylum schools for the deaf contain a history of a place, where the deaf were brought together in order to be controlled, to be researched and to be labelled, not as unique individuals but as imprisoned bodies. But, residential schools reflect also a history of the right to be different, of finding a family, self-esteem and pride. This paradox makes these schools 'compelling places' (Padden & Humphries, 2006).

The political renaissance: stressing linguistic and cultural differences

In this history of the deaf and deaf education, from 1750s till around 1970s, the deaf community was first welcomed like a ship to a safe harbour, given a berth of their own between other boats and ships, but soon after, it was chained to a wharf, declared a wreck alongside other seaworthy ships. Some said that the ship needed to be repaired completely, whereas the captains on the ship disagreed; it needed a lick of paint perhaps, but in its structure it was a rather seaworthy ship like all the others around it. In order to prove their point, they started to paint the ship, to visualise the ship's external and internal features.

This metaphor characterises the political renaissance of the deaf community. It is a history of deaf leaders who organised the deaf in political organisations since oralism became the dominant mode in education and the work of scientific advocates, some deaf, some not, showing and demonstrating in deaf studies publications the 'seaworthiness' of the community's language and culture. The long period in which the deaf were treated as inferior, and their sign languages regarded as outcasts of the human languages (Bauman, H-D.L.2008), cannot be made undone in a twinkle of an eye; it needed leaders, scientific proof, but foremost political persuasion and persistence. Although some call this political revival a revolution, its results cannot be overlooked in the emancipatory changes that took place in the two decennia after the Second World War.

Among the seismic shifts in culture brought about in the 1960's was a much quieter but nonetheless profound revolution in our understanding of human language and culture: the validation of the fully linguistic nature of sign languages and the subsequent rewriting of deaf identity from deaf to Deaf, that is, from a pathological state of hearing loss to the cultural identity of a linguistic minority. (Bauman, H-D.L. 2008, p.1)

Through this revolution all humans, whether deaf or hearing, benefited from the appreciation of the sign languages (Bauman,

H-D.L. 2008). In addition, it also meant the introduction of the linguistic-cultural model as opposed to the still dominant medical model, in which deafness is regarded as disability. Below I will give some highlights in the discourse of the right to sign, but also of the right to be different.

The right to sign: natural versus invented

For hearing people it is rather difficult to grasp the idea of a sign language. First of all, a lot of lay people still think that sign language refers to one language. Second, if they got convinced that in every country different sign languages are 'spoken', they consider these languages as direct translations of the oral language. Sign languages are no translations of oral languages or manually coded languages. Although manually code languages are used by those who are not able to sign, they remain a set of gestures, not a structural sign language. Manually coded languages²² are invented to facilitate communication between hearing and deaf. A sign language, however, is a visual, tactile and spatial language, a language grown out of shared experiences of deaf over a long period of encounters. It does not mean that no reference is made to the national oral language. If some situations have no visual spatial set of signs, finger spelling is used. However, as finger spelling refers to the national oral language, the deaf rather prefer to combine signs in order to explain the situation.

How to prove that sign language is no outcast within the human languages? Surely, the first text written by a deaf, Desloges, was very helpful, especially his explanation of the visual, tactile and spatial aspects of the gesture-language as it was called in these days. In the time of Desloges, it attracted the attention of philosophers and other elite interested in this highly interesting phenomenon. Nowadays, this is not enough. Due to the development of sciences and thus also linguistics, the terms, conditions and requirements of

²² For example, Manually Code English (MCE) and Signed Exact English (SEE).

what makes a language are set. In order to prove the nature of sign language, a body of Deaf Studies had to play the linguistic game. Stokoe (1960) had the scientific honour in proving that signs can be broken down into parts, i.e. the cheremes, the technical term for the smallest meaningful units of sign language analysis, analogous to phonemes in oral languages²³. His discovery was the turning point in the process of validating sign languages and steered the growth of literature in the right direction (Bauman, H-D.L. 2008).

But despite these scientific efforts of validating sign languages as natural sign language, political recognition was and is another stage towards a full right to sign. At the moment of this writing, some governments²⁴ have recognised national sign languages as an official language, other governments²⁵ have declared to give it a protected status for educational purposes and again others²⁶ have just mentioned the importance of the sign language of the deaf people. According to this source 7 countries within the European Union have officially recognised sign language as an official

²³ 'Cheremes' stem from the Greek word for 'hand'. They can be categorised into hand configurations, movements and places of articulation. Almost 40 years later, Stokoe (1997) states that gestural sentences were there first, before the gestural words could be made. In other words, it is possible that language as speech could "not come directly out of sound, and that natural sign languages (...) are the most natural of languages" (Stokoe, W. C., 1997, p. 117).

²⁴ Austria, Brazil, Czech Republic, Finland, New Zealand, Northern Ireland (both British Sign Language and Irish Sign Language were recognised as official languages by the Northern Ireland Office, but they don't have the same status as the province's two official minority languages, Irish and Ulster-Scots.), Portugal, Spain (Spanish and Catalan Sign Languages were recognised, but in a lot of autonomic regions separate declarations are still not made), Slovak Republic, Thailand, Uganda, Venezuela.

See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Legal_recognition_of_sign_languages, accessed on 14 March 2010. Interesting is also that some former colonies recognised sign language as an official national language. Sign language development in some of these countries was stimulated with the help of ASL experts, which led in some cases to a counter development as the help was interpreted as linguistic colonialism (Bauman, 2008).

²⁵ Australia, Iceland, Norway, Turkey, USA (many individual states have laws recognising American Sign Language as a "foreign language" for educational purposes; some recognise ASL as a language of instruction in schools).

²⁶ Belgium [the declaration of the state refers to two sign languages: French-Belgium Sign language (LSFB) and Flemish Sign Language (VGT)].

language. On the website of the European Union, however, Northern Ireland and Spain are not yet mentioned²⁷. Furthermore, I like to add that official recognition of a sign language as language does not automatically mean recognition as official national language. The case of British Sign Language falls into this category, as it was officially recognised in 2003 (Ladd, 2003b). That, in a lot of cases, sign languages haven't received the official status as national language probably reflects internal political struggles, whether deafness is a disability or impairment, for which other resources (financial and support) are available or the fear of going into a process of recognising the deaf community as a cultural minority as well.

According to Ladd (2003b), there is still a lot of work to do within the deaf community and Deaf Studies: to set up a deaf agenda and to convince the hearing world and politics of the nature of sign language as genuine indigenous and autochthonous languages. Many still consider sign language as a form of spoken language on the hands (Ladd, 2003b) or as foreign language with a foreign concept, because it is not based on sound and they cannot really see it. Therefore, the deaf community and Deaf Studies need to explain, over and over again, sign language in print, "rendering sign language lost in translation" (Bauman, H-D.L. 2008, p. 6). New developments such as the visualisation of sign language and sign language literacy will diminish this disadvantage giving the deaf not only a visual voice but also a digital library to store knowledge²⁸.

The right to be: in search of authenticity

In the aftermath of the Second World War and its continuation in the Cold War, global issues became local, domestic affairs. The exhibitions of war and oppression in every corner of the world could be

²⁷ In the case of Northern Ireland and Spain we have to take into account the internal political organisation in respectively the UK and the division into autonomous regions in Spain.

²⁸ A good example of what could be digital library is the website of the Deaf Studies Digital Journal <http://dsdj.gallaudet.edu>. For developments in sign language literacy, see M.Kuntze (2008).

watched on television and though it was something external, outside our borders, it soon turned into something internal, like the involvement of the USA in the Vietnam War. The national cohesion began to show some disruptions as national politics was critiqued. All this emerged, in the 60s and 70s, into social tensions, which led to a political struggle for equal human rights for black people. In Europe, however, other developments caused internal social tensions. The industry's call for labourers attracted young men from outside their borders. As the families joined them, internal discussions were fuelled about the degradation of national culture. In this context, the claim of cultural rights for indigenous and autochthonous minorities was not only seeded in the political arena of individual nations, but also in their representative organs, like the European Union. In the USA as well as in Europe, the majority was challenged by different minorities.

Also the deaf community started to polish their cultural legacy, but to organise their voices as heard while speaking sign languages the leaders had to fight against normalcy policies. It became clear that the deaf community was in need of a body of knowledge to have a chance in this unbalanced fight. The help had to come from Deaf Studies "to articulate, explore and promote the phenomenon of Deaf culture, both to the hearing world and to the deaf individuals themselves" (Bauman, H-D.L. 2008, p.3).

Since the 1990s a lot has been published about deaf culture (Humphries, 2008; Ladd, 2003a, 2008; Lane, 1992, 2005; Leigh, Marcus, Dobosh & Allen, 1998; Leigh, 2009; Nikolaraizi & Hadjikakou, 2006; Padden & Humphries, 2006; Obasi, 2008; Senghas & Monaghan, 2002; Wrigley, 1996). As in all minority studies, defining culture is a battleground, to be entered with great care. The change of deaf to Deaf was a first step in awareness building and stripping of the "medicalised identity and developing an empowered identity rooted in a community and culture of others who share similar experiences and outlooks on the world" (Bauman, H-D.L., p.9), the next one.

All literature on deafness as culture tries to discover the essence of what it is, whether labelled deaf nation, deaf culture and

identity, ethnicity, deaf subculture, bicultural identity, or the deaf world. The change of concepts as mentioned here reflects the ongoing discussion within Deaf Studies what cultural deafness really means. It reflects as well the political minefield on which Deaf Studies and the deaf community stand; compared to the agreements concerning the status of the sign languages, it can become a divide instead of common cause. The change of focus from deaf nation to deaf culture might have been due to the reasoning that establishing cultural rights in a country might be endangered by stressing a nation within a wider nation. The concepts of deaf culture and likewise ethnicity flawed also the discussion as traditional culture definitions contain a summing up of aspects such as territory, religion and material objects, which cannot be detected concretely; whereas deaf subculture, deaf world and bicultural identity, though reflecting a relation between deaf and hearing environments, might be considered politically too weak. Padden was aware of this when she wrote

To use a cultural definition is not only to assert a new frame of reference, but to consciously reject an older one... But the cultural definition continues to perplex many. If Deaf people are indeed a cultural group, why then don't they seem more like the Pennan of the island of Borneo, or the Huichol of Mexico? (Padden cited in Senghas & Monaghan, 2002)

As said above, identifying the deaf community culturally is a political process, in which deaf opponents encounter difficulties in finding agreements, especially when the essence of being deaf has to be described²⁹. In addition, the fact that the deaf community is just one generation thick makes this process even more difficult³⁰.

²⁹ Due to these differences around the cultural issue, the English BDA calls themselves the signing community (Bauman, 2008).

³⁰ More than 90% of deaf are born in hearing families; Hoffmeister calls this 'one generation thick'. See Davis (2007) in his critical comments on the Gallaudet uprisings for the election of deaf enough president. For more comments about the Gallaudet president elections, see also Allen (2007) and Bauman (2008).

In striving to reach recognition as a cultural community, this turmoil of finding agreement can be put to an end, when Padden & Humphries' (2006) reasoning is followed. Their focus on a common history as a story of shared experiences exchanged in the deaf community, in schools for the deaf, in deaf clubs, in deaf sports, through art, poetry, film and play, might become the backbone of what ties the deaf community together, not only as an imagined one across borders but also within borders (Anderson, 1991).

But without doubt, and despite the disputes about the concept of culture, the literature proved in some way deaf culture's existence. The question is how valuable the concept of deaf culture is for human diversity in order to politically safeguard its future, because that is the ultimate political aim.

Until now, around 21 regional or minority languages³¹ within the European Union have been selected as valuable for human diversity within Europe. Although, seen as valuable, no cultural minorities have been selected as a whole. Probably, interference with internal affairs withholds the European Union from official recognition. Moreover, recognition of cultural minorities would provoke a discussion about the political consequences, such as claims for autonomy, which in turn could hamper the Union's integration policy. However, contrary to the case of the European Union, the General Assembly of the United Nations, finally declared, on 13 September 2007 after a debate of 25 years, the collective cultural rights of indigenous peoples in a document³². In this document territory, cultural heritage, cultural property and language are described as vital elements of indigenous people to maintain their culture and way of living. Especially, territory rights were an obstacle for member states to agree with the first editions of the document, afraid of

³¹ Albanian, Asturian, Basque, Breton, Catalan, Cornish, Corsican, Franco-provinçal, Frisian, Friulian, Gaelic, Galician, Irish, Ladin, Luxembourgish, Occitan, Sami, Sardinian, Slovene, Sorbian, and Welsh. See <http://marroc.uoc.es/atlantid/eng/index.html>.

³² See the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, downloadable at http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/driips_en.pdf.

land claims and the lost of important natural resources. As such, the deaf people as an imagined community are not considered indigenous people.

Thus, culture reflects a political and provocative concept, especially when a well-defined territory can be detected. Culture not only unites or divides people in debates, but it can limit the borders in order to exclude people. This traditional battlefield, however, has been influenced, already quite some time, by globalisation forces through which it became an even more contested domain. In the next section, I will make a detour along the entanglement of societies and communities into a global web.

Detour: Globalisation and the contestation of culture³³

Padden's remark about the non-resemblance of deaf culture in comparison with an ordinary culture group like the Huichol in Mexico, reminds me of Hannerz' formula for 'meaning' in small communities. In order to grasp the idea of the essence of community he wrote that the knowledge for someone's behaviour is tightly connected to the knowledge of others in the same community and vice versa or as formula "I know, and I know that everybody else knows, and I know that everybody else knows that everybody else knows, that etc...." (Hannerz, 1992, p.42).

These previously untouched communities, which Hannerz had in mind when writing his formula, became inflicted by globalisation, rapidly integrating them in a huge web of international relations. In this respect, Clifford's observations of the twentieth century create an overwhelming picture:

This century has seen a drastic expansion of mobility, including tourism, migrant labor, immigration, urban sprawl. More and more people "dwell"

³³ This section is partly based on Swachten (2007).

with the help of mass transit, automobiles, airplanes. In cities on six continents foreign populations have to come stay – mixing in but often partial, specific fashions. The “exotic” is uncannily close. Conversely, there seem no distant places left on the planet where the presence of “modern” products, media and power cannot be felt. An older topography and experience of travel is exploded. One no longer leaves home confident of finding something radically new, another time or space. Difference is encountered in the adjoining neighborhood, the familiar turns up at the ends of the earth. (...) “Cultural” difference is no longer a stable, exotic otherness; self-other relations are matters of power and rhetoric rather than of essence. A whole structure of expectations about authenticity in culture and in art is thrown in doubt. (Clifford 1988, pp. 13-14)

This process of increasing interconnectedness of the world with its transnational flows (Eriksen, 2003) of (cultural) commodities, people and ideas, creates more and more non-places (Augé, 1995) providing meeting points for mobility like highway intersections, railway stations, city centres, shopping malls and airports; places which have the same outlook everywhere like if they have no history of their own. But globalisation is also multicultural cities with its display of all the colours, sounds, smells and tastes the world has to offer or the international conferences of indigenous people out of different regions discussing exploitation and human rights in their countries like the Samen in Norway, the Inuit in Canada, the Dogon in Mali (Swachten, 2007). War, even the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, terrorism and the devastating effects of pollution could easily be added to what globalisation provokes nowadays³⁴.

The above mentioned multicultural cities are created through diasporic refugees and migration of people (Kearney, 2004). Diaspora refers to the belief that the people are part of a nation outside their place of being (Olwig, 2003). Migrants and diasporic refugees

³⁴ Robertson (1990) points to developments contrary to globalisation, such as localisation. His term glocalisation refers to processes of appropriation and incorporation of global elements at the local level, transforming them into new cultural practices (Robertson, 1990).

see their home country, their family land and property as places of belonging. This is different from what their offspring born abroad will feel, however they may downplay their cultural background if necessary.

If you ask people about their identity you will always hear similar remarks based on a sort of essentialism, focusing on national, rather static cultural differences. People see culture too much as a thing they have than as a process they shape; they are playing the roles of Mr. Essentialist and Mrs. Just S. Essentialist (Baumann, G. 1999). Although, they know that cultural practices have changed and will change, they use essentialism to depict themselves as different in relation to others. With respect to this essentialism, Baumann points to an interesting phenomenon. At political meetings the avant-garde of minority organisations is eager to stress their 'culture' as different to get special positive treatments (affirmative action), while at other moments they will climb the barricades to fight for equal rights.

All these developments have dismantled culture as concept, because 'culture' was too tightly bound with nations and groups at a specific location. The whole discussion about essentialism refers to this use of culture. Instead, anthropology as the study of culture started to use the notion of (group) identity as leading concept (Swachten, 2008). However, a shift in the focus "from identity of groups to multiple identifications of individuals" (Zigmunt Bauman, cited in van Meijl & Driessen, 2003 p. 17) is momentarily taken place; not groups, but individuals are wandering through and in diverse contexts³⁵. This focus on self in relation to the other, reflects the growing individualisation within societies.

... it is important to emphasize that a dialogical notion of the self (...) is characterized by a relationship of relative dominance and subordination between multiple identifications of the self. This implies that hierarchy and power play

³⁵ This focus on individualisation led to what is called the 'anthropology of the self'. In my publication (2007) I explain in great detail the working of 'Self', including the fixed 'I' and the adjustable 'Me' towards the Other in this multiple identification process.

an influential role in the process of determination which identifications of self prevail in concrete situations. When the self is defined as a multiplicity of different identifications, it is obvious that in practice the self is also addressed in a variety of different identifications. (...) In other words, practice has the potential and the capacity to make some identifications more dominant than others. (...) In sum, then, the unequal distribution of power in practice is at the root of the dialogue between multiple identifications within the self. (van Meijl & Driessen, p. 24-25)

These new perceptions of self are very important in our era of globalisation, where people are displaced or trying to cope with changes. It gives also some food for thinking about the fluidity of culture, about the process of appropriating, ascribing and owning culture, about what authenticity is. Before I will elaborate some ideas around individualisation with respect to deafness, I like to quote the authors of *Inside Deaf Culture* who, while being aware of the dynamics of the concept culture, presented shared stories of a common deaf history as part of what they call the *cultural*. Their wide description of what the cultural might be clarifies, in my view, the limitation of culture as a concept.

The *cultural* is neither here or there, but is borne through history, made anew by circumstances of the present. *Cultures* suggest a fixedness of place and time. The *cultural* offers a fluid idea of how experience and expression come together. The *cultural* resides in things, in behaviors as well as in performance. (...) The *cultural* is never universal or without time, but exists in the moment of expression. (Padden & Humphries, 2006, pp. 142-143; italics in the original text).

This focus on the cultural will not end the search for authenticity of deaf culture and other cultures; the political stakes are too high. To claim their cultural, this search for authenticity emerges around tangible objects (flag, clothing, buildings), but also around practices (rituals) or cultural knowledge of which they consider themselves rightful owners (Kaneff & King, 2004). Even practices such as destroying

goods or burying people alive, not capable of uttering sounds, could point to the heart of the authentic cultural³⁶. Authenticity as cultural property is an ideal, a marker in the making of culture, to be used in the representation of it; it is also, due to culture's changeability, a "moving target" (Peterson cited in Vannini & Williams, 2009, p.3). Despite this uncertainty, we might discover, as van der Port (2004) describes it, registers of the incontestability of the authentic in the stories of those who share and express the cultural.

In our next section, we will turn to individualisation and localisation of the cultural as a result of the growing entanglement of societies and communities.

Self and other, God and nature

Deaf self in places and spaces: framing the cultural

Framing yourself in a story of who you are and how you became 'you' in the way you are now, would display the roles you played in life, as child, youngster, lover, husband or wife, parent, but also the professions you have had, the mistakes you have made and the moments of fear and joy you went through; the story would reveal also your cultural background, your sexual preference, your colour, and the small or big physical problems. The story would be placed in a context of relations to the other within the family, the community and the society. Framing yourself is giving meaning to your life whether you are white or black, heterosexual or gay, male or female, disabled or deaf. Probably, it would be a mixture. Framing yourself could be the story of a middle-aged black, gay, and deaf man,

³⁶ A well-known example is the 'Potlatch' in British Columbia, where the Kwakiutl and other indigenous people, destroy and give away goods at festivals. 'Burying living people' was practiced among the Iban at Papua New Guinea; to them the throat of a human is the place where the human spirit resides. Not capable of uttering sounds means that the person is literary dead (Faces of Culture DVD, 1975). Through the incorporation of the inlands, the nation-states enforced their law upon these people forbidding these practices; they were considered 'inhuman'.

working in factory, divorced and father of two hearing children. If he could tell his story, what would it reveal about the small cultural and what he has in common with others.

Autobiography and autoethnography (Bamberg, 2006; Hersford 1999; Roth, 2008; Spry, 2001) are rather new directions within anthropology, pedagogy and literature, grown out of the reflexive turn, through which the researcher became subject and object in his own research. It is given greater attention in the training of professionals where the individual's continuous development cannot be separated from the instigated practices, and it seems to have an added value for daily life, as it entails a holistic view on self, of being in the world with others.

In the first chapter of *Deaf subjects – between identities and places*, Brenda Jo Brueggemann (2009) propagates a search for what it means to be deaf in the contemporary cyberspace-driven world and if, and how to take a stance in the debate about culturally deafness. In posing this, she cements the foundations for what will come: small controversial practices in the academy where she works; witty, though enlightening postcards to Mabel, the deaf wife of Alexander Graham Bell; an anthology, full of admiration, of two deaf photographers and last but not least a horrifying story about the mercy killings in Nazi Germany. Although it is a book about deaf subjects, it is also a book about her as a deaf woman, as deaf professor of English and Disability Studies, as deaf admirer of other deaf subjects and as deaf German who visits her 'Vaterland' to be present at a seminar about Disability Studies and the legacy of eugenics. You might say that Brueggemann writes herself into the different story-lines or contexts, looking for answers, but always keeping a space or place of 'betweenity'³⁷.

I come always wanting to fit in. Yet I also come always wanting to ask questions and not fit in. I arrive doubly hyphenated (hard-of-hearing), with a lot

³⁷ Although Irene Leigh's *A Lens on Deaf Identities* (2009) is another example of writing oneself into contexts, Leigh keeps a more distant look on issues.

going on in those multiple hyphenated between spaces. I come, I suppose, thinking between – thinking in another kind of between space between think-deaf and think-hearing: think-eye. For the deaf space is a visual space, an ‘eye’ space. It is also, I submit, an I-space. We still have a lot to learn from each ‘I’ and from each ‘eye’. Perspective (the ‘eye’) really matters; the personal (the ‘I’) experience really matters, as well. This little between eye/I space can be, in fact, rather expansive. It is a space of potent possibilities, contained and yet kaleidoscopic in its perspectives. (p. 24)

Narrating deaf lives through novels, autobiography and films is for Brueggemann the way to ensure that more between-spaces can be opened to the public to grasp the meaning of being deaf within and outside the deaf community. Although she refers to some novels already written, she acknowledges the fact that these authors are postlingually³⁸ deaf and enjoyed a literary education. For a lot of deaf, writing about being deaf would be a bridge too far, especially when you take into account that the written language is not their first language (Breivik, 2005)³⁹.

Breivik, a Norwegian social anthropologist, narrated the lives of 10 deaf people in his *Deaf Identities in the Making: Local Lives and Transnational Connections*. In building trust through speaking the same language, the deaf told him their life stories. The research is also the story of Breivik himself, categorising the narratives under different headings. The narratives cover topics such as the liminal position between hearing and deaf, resulting in the feeling of exclusion within both worlds and to what it might lead; homelessness and neglect showing the importance of a place; the struggle of hard-of-hearing people in their transition to become culturally deaf; the use of a strong ethnic mode of identification in the making of

³⁸ Wrigley (1996) criticises the terms like prelingually and postlingually deaf, making hearing and oral language skills vital criteria.

³⁹ Brueggemann (2009) points to other methods like making a documentary to solve these problems. But this brings in other problems, such as money and reaching agreement with the director en producer.

active members within the debate on cultural deafness; and stories about those who want to keep a distance to the deaf community in order to leave all the opportunities open. The life of these deaf people are all different; different in the attached meanings to deafness and their future, but also different because of their backgrounds, their involvement in the hearing and deaf world and the physical history of their deafness, whether prelingually or postlingually deaf, early-deafened or late-deafened, hard-of-hearing or deaf-mute.

In some of the narratives, cyberspace is brought in as a meeting place, a place to write and to engage with the world. It is also a place where you can hide your deafness, create an identity and find a feeling of being home, having a family. These virtual transnational connections tend to blur the different worlds of deaf and hearing⁴⁰. However, transnational connections between the deaf are not only build virtually, real face-to-face gatherings instil this feeling of family as well, as Breivik, Haualand and Solvang (2002) demonstrate in their research report about the Deaflympics in Rome, in 2001. The feeling of togetherness during these Deaflympics is expressed in the report's title *Rome – a Temporary Deaf City!*

Narrating deaf lives through written, played or filmed ego-documents, whether self-made or presented by others, could be a means to shed some light on cases of encountered personal audism in the way described by Humphries. Hardship endured in encounters with hearing people in daily life could create awareness, not just amongst the deaf population, to which Gertz (2008) refers when she introduced the term dysconscious audism, but also among the hearing people. Personal hardship stories, but also the personal charming ones could dress up structural audist practices, rendering visible the cultural and the people within, those with a name, a history, emotions and blessings. As such it exhibits a critical pedagogical practice.

⁴⁰ Nowadays, with service provided by YouTube and other sites, also Deaf are just one click away (re)presenting them virtually.

The deaf self and the disabled other

Modelling practices is a common phenomenon in sciences. The dominance of the medical model on deafness called for a counter-action by the deaf, showing their unique features, their sign language and their culture. In science this counter-action became soon labelled as the cultural-linguistic or cultural model. The same happened in the case of disabled people, although their resistance against medicalisation was depicted as a social model, “reconceptualising disability as the resultant of social relations between people, their material conditions and environments” (Devlieger, 2005, p.8). In looking at the case of the deaf, Devlieger and others (Klotz, 2003; Ridell & Watson, 2003) identify, though for different reasons, the concept of culture as rather important for disability and disability studies. Two comments can be made: first, the debate about the cultural model used by the deaf brought about internal quarrels about naming and in/exclusion, which divided the deaf community. In addition, the inflation of the traditional concept of culture through globalisation, took away some fundamentals, not all I would say, needed to pursue the cultural agenda. Second, as modelling practices are meant to categorise reality, the lived stories of, in our case, the deaf reveal another, more diversified reality. Nevertheless, the cultural is an instigator for making a strong case as deprived social groups. It brings together the deaf self and disabled other not as equals, but as partners in the struggle for human rights⁴¹. This partnership idea is supported by Baynton (2008) in cases when, both deaf self and disabled other, experience oppression.

⁴¹ The deaf community has always despised the label of disability because of the attached meaning of impairment or deficiency; but due to political funding decisions they were forced to play the disability game in order to, for example, get resources for appointing sign language interpreters. In addition, Padden points out that the Bedouin deaf in Al-Sayyid are fully integrated into the hearing community where everybody speaks Al-Sayyid Bedouin Sign Language (ABSL) and where no need was felt to develop a deaf culture (see Padden mentioned in Baynton, 2008). See also Sandler, Meir, Padden, & Aronoff (2005).

Just as most hearing people simplistically translate 'deaf' into 'cannot hear', so do most people equate *disabled* with *unable*. By claiming disability as an identity, however, disabled people name the oppression under which they live, declare solidarity with others similarly oppressed, and set themselves in opposition to it. (p.296)

In this way, the oppression experienced by the deaf and revealed in ego-documents can be added to similar stories of disabled people. In fact, personal cases of audism could be joined with personal cases of ableism, audism's twin.

Come to your senses

According to Bamberg (2006) 'big stories' are made up, created for publication of an autobiographic book. These stories of life 'determining (or threatening) episodes' (p. 64) written in retrospect, rearranging the whole into a consistent storyline have to be distinguished from 'small stories'. Small stories are more everyday stories popping up at the counter of the bar as stories to tell and to be quickly forgotten. However, these stories can entail big questions about the nature of life, about supernatural experiences, about 'seeing but not seen, about hearing and not heard, about sensing things while not understood'. These sensory experiences are difficult to track down, difficult to describe, because language is cognitive. If we try to grasp this experience in words, language falls short.

The senses are located between the physical and the cognitive; hence, drawing conscious attention to the workings of our tacitly operating senses requires translation. More often than not, vocabulary to express just what it is a particular sense 'senses' is lacking or else vocabularies associated with one sense are metaphorically applied to another, demonstrating the necessarily intricate interplay underlying the full sensorium: a bitter voice, a sharp tongue, a soft gaze, a loud color. (Bendix, 2005, p.3)

To research the sensory experience of people and the way it

explains parts of their cultural is an object of study within anthropology for already 30 years. But aside for the link to the cultural, how sensory experience in daily life gives meaning to what will happen or how something can be explained, the physical and metaphysical is what interests me.

Although the notion of the deaf as ‘seeing people’ (Bahan, 1989), or ‘people of the eye’ (Veditz, 1912) points to the importance of sensory experiences, the research in this direction is just taken up recently. Thoutenhoofd (2000) cynically remarks that it “probably has been ‘a sign’ all along of being blind to the phenomenologically most salient characteristic of life in deaf communities: the prominent place of vision in language, knowledge, and social life” (p.276).

Research on sensory experiences of deaf can open up avenues of new insights and different views on humanity and mankind. In this respect, I like to point to an account of a blind man who never experienced the same feeling reading the bible in text in comparison to ‘reading’ it in Braille, after turning blind (Broesterhuizen, 2008a). Some accounts of deaf priests about believers who switched from talking English to using sign language in their prayers refer to similar experiences (Broesterhuizen, 2008b). If human senses transmit other or even opposite feelings and truths, what ethical implications this may have?

From ethics and religion as means to truth-searching, questioning metaphysics as the quest for general knowledge on the nature of being is then just a nearby alley or highway. Bauman (2004) points to metaphysical practices as man has been working with an incomplete definition of language, because the Latin word ‘language’ literally means ‘tongue’, which in turn had implications for mankind, where language is speech, and speech is language. Brueggemann summarises this in a syllogism: “language is human; speech is language; therefore deaf people are inhuman and deafness is a problem” (Brueggemann cited in Bauman, 2004, p.242). If to be human means speaking a language, which differentiates man from animal, humans who cannot speak, share only the body with speaking humans, but are still animal in mind. This metaphysical practice

was actually the most important reference for those who taught the deaf during oralism. Although nowadays signing and speaking are considered part of the human capacity to communicate, man is still relying on this 'incomplete definition of language and hence of human diversity' (p.243), and it is time to deconstruct speech as the only means of communication in our Western way of thinking. Following Derrida's exploration of the notion of phonocentrism, that speech and phonetic writing are dominant in the Western tradition, Bauman arrives at the point that audism actually has three, not two faces: personal and structural, and a metaphysical one⁴².

Seeing through and looking ahead

Audism and human rights

Now I come to a point where I would like to draw some conclusions. Knowing that audism can have three meanings, personal, structural and metaphysical, recognising that in addition to the validation of sign languages, culture and thus deaf culture is a contested political concept for obtaining equal human rights, and understanding that globalisation and individualisation create a diversified, fluid and changeable space, positioning self and thus deaf selves in the cultural and the global, the discourses on audism and human rights have reached a turning point. This doesn't mean the end of audism or violation of human rights; audist practices, like racist practices are, if we like it or not, active in our daily life. The quest of companies to improve cochlear implants in collaboration with medical doctors cannot be overlooked: the medical model and the medical science are still representing an immense power. Rabinow and Rose (2006) take in their article *Biopower Today*, Foucault's concept from the

⁴² In his conclusion, Bauman proposes three entries of Audism in the dictionary: 1. The notion that one is superior based on one's ability to hear or behave in the manner of one who hears (this description is based on Humphries definition of personal audism); 2. A system of advantage based on hearing ability (this description is partly based on Lane's definition of structural audism) and; 3. A metaphysical orientation that links human identity with speech.

18th and 19th century into the present time, showing that the bioethical complex is, although not detectable as unity, interfering in our daily lives continuously. The set up of a complete database with all DNA patterns instigated by the Human Genome Organization⁴³ and the search for cures for viruses are two examples of the immense power of this complex to control life and death in our contemporary societies. Also the research for finding a genetic cure for deafness belongs to the activities within this complex, more than often subsidised by states or organisations of states for the sake of the well-being of mankind. According to the authors, the role of states in this complex and especially Foucault's governmentality need still to be researched.

Rabinow and Rose also point to the other side of the medal, organisations where individuals come together in search of a 'cure'. In this respect, it is interesting to notice that consumers in search of a cure for a disease are respected as citizens, while those, like the deaf lesbian couple in Australia, who wanted to find a deaf sperm donor, were despised in the public media for 'abusively and selfishly disabling their child' (Bauman, 2005, p. 311).

Fortunately, the power of the bioethical complex and governmentality in modern states also affect the lives of hearing people. As such, violation of human rights concerns them as well. Gertz' concept of dysconscious audism (2008) through which she wants to raise the awareness of deaf people should be widened to hearing people. In doing so, we could learn from critical pedagogues on multiculturalism, who proposed to make whiteness as ethnicity visible. McLaren, for instance, asserts that "rather than stressing the importance of diversity and inclusion, as most multiculturalists do, ... more emphasis should be placed on the social and political construction of white supremacy and the dispensation of white hegemony"(McLaren, 2007: 268). If whiteness and in our case,

⁴³ To get a good idea about the impact of this DNA search, see 'The Gene Hunters' video in which one can see how DNA samples are taken from indigenous people without their consent or if so, deceiving them.

hearingness stays invisible, it turns into a privilege, a status, a property. This brings me to the last section on educating deaf selves.

Educating deaf selves: a call for radical democracy

In the first section I promised to come back on the issue of mainstreaming the deaf in public schools. Although the deaf organisations opposed to mainstreaming of the deaf as another token of oralism, the way it is organised can be different. Since the first critics on mainstreaming the deaf, bilingual programs were promoted, in which deaf could learn sign language and the written national language. After the first implementations of these programs they also received wide critique from inside and outside the deaf community, as the deaf as linguistic and cultural minority were not properly addressed in these programs. Actually this means that the taught sign language was not seen as the first language of the deaf, but more instrumental in learning the national spoken language. In addition, the aspect of what I call the cultural was not taken into account; there were no classes where the deaf could be seated together learning from each other and communicating in sign language. In a lot of schools in Europe this is still the case. Although it is labelled bilingual education, sign language is not the priority language. In some countries and in some private schools, the situation is changing however. Schools have bilingual programs where deaf and hearing are mixed but also have separate classes, where sign language is indeed the first language and the written national language the second and where hearing students can learn sign language as well. But is this enough?

As written above, audism as personal, structural and metaphysical oppression needs to be addressed in schools, where deaf students, but also hearing students are present. This goes as well for the twins of audism: ableism, racism, sexism. As such they are symptoms of what we need to get aware of. When contextualised within a historical setting including the involvement of organisations and professionals representing what Foucault calls governmentality, bilingual

education and education can be a driving force behind what I call radical democracy. Discussing the essence of citizenship, whether it is national, European or worldwide, means also understanding oppressive personal and structural practices instilled on deaf and hearing people. Actually, you might say that democracy is always under negotiation. We cannot be solely satisfied with the establishment of written human individual and collective rights, as practice shows everyday. A radical democracy means preparing our students to analyse, discuss and to criticise anti-democratic practices. Educating deaf selves and other selves, arming them to negotiate democracy is a rather political and pedagogical act. Teachers need to be trained as well; as creators of adequate learning environments they need to become cultural agents, minimising their roles as cultural gatekeepers.

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Chapter 3

DEAFNESS AS DISABILITY: The Spanish Road to Bilingual Education

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Introduction

Deafness is a rather heterogeneous concept, because being deaf can be the result of various and diverse factors. Classifications can be made based on the etiological causes or the level of hearing loss including the possibility to acquire the oral language through audition and/or vision. Furthermore, we have to take into account if the deaf was born deaf or turned deaf at a later stage and if he or she has oral or sign language skills. Identification with the deaf community as a family or as a 'place' of belonging is also an important aspect. In addition, the combination of hearing loss and other impairments like deaf-blindness, the socio-cultural characteristics of the deaf person's proximal environment (the presence of other deaf persons in the family and school) and the early detection and intervention and the type of education received/offered shows that the

concept of deafness is a heterogeneous one (Alvira, Cruz, & Blanco, 1999).

As the purpose of our contribution is to give a short overview of important issues regarding deafness in Spain, we will define deafness as a hearing impairment in the way it is described in the survey of the National Institute of Statistics (Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE)¹, 2000, 2008).

In order to understand the significance of deafness we will start presenting some statistical figures about deafness and disability in Spain and we will analyse briefly the opposing views to the use of technology, such as cochlear implants and other devices, as a solution. In this way deaf culture and identity, represented by deaf organisations will be addressed as another perspective on deafness and disability. After a short exposé about deaf education in history, we will continue our overview focussing on deaf children in schools, assessment and intervention methods, the development of bilingual and bicultural education in schools and the role of parents.

Disability and deafness: some figures

In Spain, the percentage of registered disabled people from the age of 6 has decreased 0,5% during the last decennium. According to the provisional results of the Survey of Disabilities, Personal Autonomy and situations of Dependency (EDAD) of 2008 (INE, 2008), the percentage decreased from 9% to 8,5%. However, this decrease is misleading. If we include the growth of the total population, we will get another picture; from 1999 till 2008 the total population in Spain increased from 40.202.160 to 45.828.172 and respectively the number of registered disabled people increased as well, from 3.528.220 to 3.847.900 (INE, 2000; 2008). In other words, the growth of the population is a parameter for the decrease of

¹The National Statistics Institute is an independent administrative and legal body, initiated by the Ministry of Economy and Finance. It has a prominent role conducting large-scale statistical operations.

the percentage from 9 to 8,5 % but this doesn't explain the increase in numbers. To understand the growth of the number of registered people we have to take into account the retirement of a big part of the population (14,4%) older than 65 years, which led to more aid requests for disabilities and other limitations during the last decennium. In addition, the promotion of a better life quality through the improvement of the social and health policy had an impact as well, not only as prevention but also in the provision of aid to those who suffer from diverse disabilities (INE, 2008).

Within these, 3.847.900 registered cases of disability above the age of 6, over 900.000 concern hearing impairments. What has been said about the improvements of the social and health policy goes as well for hearing impairments; the important role played by the prevention of auditory disabilities, especially in the period of maternal gestation and infancy, together with progress in health care have considerably reduced the number of deaf in Spain.

Cochlear implants and other technological devices: opposing views

This increase of health care for the hearing-impaired can be underlined by the growing number of surgeries, particularly cochlear implants, in the last 10 years. If a person suffers a profound bilateral deafness of neural-sensorial origin and his or hers auditory nerve is still intact, a cochlear device can be surgically implanted. The growing demand for this medical intervention comes especially from hearing parents with deaf children who turned deaf at a young age due to an infection, accident or other cause and thus had already some oral linguistic experiences. The deaf community however, has doubts about its effectiveness since the operation doesn't solve completely the auditory problem; it requires additional auditory and speech training with no guarantee of full success. Moreover, the deaf community is against any medical and surgical intervention aimed at modifying what they consider 'a natural distinctive characteristic' of the deaf (Harris, 1995).

On the other side, the great technological advances in the last years have made the hearing aids (devices used to amplify the sound) smaller and of better quality such as the digital audiphones, used to select the sound frequencies of the human voice to make it more intelligible to persons with hearing impairments. Nevertheless, there are also cases in which this is not recommended. Infections or malformations of the ear, or a profound hearing loss, will make these hearing aids useless. The deaf community is also opposed to these hearing aids as the deaf have their own language and cultural identity. We will turn now to this issue of cultural identity and the role of the deaf community, particularly the deaf organisations.

Deaf identity as a natural distinctive characteristic

Keeping in mind what has been mentioned in the introduction about the multiple factors that condition the situation of each deaf person, it doesn't seem adequate to use the dichotomy deaf versus hearing people. If we consider that deaf persons constitute a homogeneous group as opposed to hearing people we simplify reality. However, to shed some light on the cultural identity issue, it is common to speak about deaf vs. hearing people and deaf culture versus hearing culture. We will follow Alvira, Cruz and Blanco (1999) who distinguish three types of identity.

First, they mention deaf people with a strong deaf identity, who define themselves as belonging to the deaf community, using only or preferably the sign language. Frequently they are deaf-born in deaf families or hearing families and they have established connections with deaf associations or other deaf movements. They consider themselves to be a linguistic minority. While putting great emphasis on the idea of a deaf culture, they refuse to be labelled hearing-impaired with regard to their auditory limitations. Nevertheless, they claim the same rights and support provided for those registered disabled persons with a certificate by the public administration.

Second, some deaf people don't see themselves as culturally different from hearing people. They consider themselves 'normal' people with a hearing impairment. Most of them turned deaf due to an infection or accident; or their hearing loss is not very significant. Also some deaf who were born deaf in hearing families and subject to the oral language education, thus having some oral language competences and lip-reading proficiency through which they are able to communicate with hearing people, consider themselves not culturally different. They prefer to be considered as equals to hearing people and believe that their limitations can be overcome through developing personal strategies (strong motivation and increased effort) and/or through the use of technological aids, such as audiphones, voice amplifiers in the telephone and visual indicators of sound. Some even refuse any support from the public administration and don't like to be registered as disabled with a certificate.

Third, some deaf will find themselves in between these two types of identity. They share elements from both groups; they recognise that their hearing impairment limits their performance of daily tasks and they communicate both in oral language as in sign language. Although their friendships and their leisure activities take place in the context of hearing people, they may participate in deaf associations and the larger deaf community from time to time.

Looking back you could say that the first group of deaf people with a strong cultural self-image and deaf identity is the one out of which initiatives are born to set up associations for the deaf representing the deaf community.

Deaf associations in the Spanish deaf community

In Spain the associations of persons with disabilities have a long tradition, although the part of social and political activism had not the strength as in other countries (Lane, 1995). Through the initiative of people with disabilities and their respective families organisations have been set up aiming at the improvement of life conditions for their members. Some of them are national organisations, such

as the organisation for blind people ONCE². It was founded in 1939, and is regarded as a powerful and successful institution.

However, organisations for deaf people are not set up on the national level, although the different autonomous local, provincial and regional deaf organisations have the possibility to join forces in federations and confederations. But in any case, the identity issue and thus the self-image of deaf persons brands most of the deaf organisations in two different ways: as representatives of the deaf as a linguistic and cultural minority and as an organisation of disabled persons. This bipolarity not only characterises federations and confederations organisations but also provincial ones. In the province of Cordoba, for example, you can find the association around the deaf women “Magdalena” (Asociación de mujeres sordas de Córdoba “Magdalena”) and the association of parents and friends of deaf persons (Asociación Provincial de Amigos y Familiares de Personas Sordas).

Being a member of one of these associations depends mainly on the deaf predominant identity, his/her personal aspirations and the services provided. The associations are positively valued by the deaf persons, since they give them a place where to meet and share experiences and where to get answers to their needs (López, 2006). The associations facilitate an information service and help the deaf members in many different ways such as representing them at public offices for disabled persons to get study grants, economical support for hearing aids, adjustments at home, a job, and sign language interpreters.

Older persons with a profound deafness, that communicate in sign language and that consider other deaf persons as their mutual friends and partners, are the ones that usually stay in closer contact with some of the associations. Also parents of deaf young children, who are looking for help and answer, are also very active participants in associations.

² Organización Nacional de Ciegos Españoles, National Organization of Spanish Blinds. ONCE is a non-profit organisation with a mission to improve the quality of life for the blind and visually disabled in Spain; it offers support to people with other disabilities as well.

Government and other stakeholders, like deaf organisations, consider deaf education very important in the development of deaf children. The discourse on deaf education reflects also the different views that were held during the last centuries. Below, we will give a brief history of deaf education in Spain.

Deaf education: a brief history

It's important to underline that Spain has its own pioneer in the education of deaf people. In the 16th century Pedro Ponce de León (1509-1584), a Benedictine friar, took charge of the education of the deaf-born sons of the Condestable of Castilla. In the documents³, his method for teaching the oral language to deaf pupils kept being used in the Monastery of Oña (Burgos). However, the education of the deaf, as the education of the hearing, was the privilege of a few, especially the aristocracy. In due time, the teaching method of Ponce de León, was for different reasons no longer used (Puigdollívol, 1986).

The foundation of the first public special schools for the deaf began at the end of the 18th century. Thereafter more schools were established; all followed the educational models used in other European countries, in particular France. However, after the congress of Milan in 1880, 'oralism', i.e. teaching the oral Spanish language to the deaf, became practice during the rest the 19th and the major part of the 20th century. At the moment Spain introduced a compulsory basic education system, the education of the deaf, although implemented in specific centres for the hearing-impaired until the 80's of the 20th century, became compulsory and free of charge.

During the 70s of the 20th century when social, political, economical changes took place in Europe and beyond, traditional intervention models for pupils with disabilities were discussed and

³ The original documents were lost in a fire at the Ponce de León's monastery in the 17th century.

revised. Based on ideas of normalisation and integration, new intervention policies were proposed. Although sufficient educational material and professionals were available, the results of segregated special education were not evaluated as positive. The oral linguistic competence of the deaf student was, in general, low. Together with the poor academic results (the majority of the deaf students didn't reach the elementary levels) and the difficulties to integrate into ordinary life when finishing school, doubts rose to continue with segregated special education. A reorganisation of the school system, the programs and educational intervention were proposed. Simultaneously, an important reform of the regular education system was discussed in the 1980's, which culminated in a General Education Act in 1990, the LOGSE⁴. The Education Act supports the school integration of students with disabilities, who will be taught at regular centres, receiving the support of specialist professionals. It's a political organisational decision, aimed at concentrating the technical resources, the material means and the necessary professionals to support the educational needs. The former schools for the deaf were closed or reconverted in resource centres to support the integration, or in regular school centres.

Before we finish the developments leading to the institutionalisation of bilingual education in Spain, we will turn now to the implemented policy regarding the assessing deafness at the earliest stage and the range of intervention possibilities offered.

Prevention and early intervention

For years, the prevention and treatment of deafness has been addressed in the policies of different government sectors. In the health sector, prevention, detection and early intervention of all disabilities were considered a priority. In the 70's the different national

⁴ LOGSE (1990): La Ley Orgánica General del Sistema Educativo, 3rd of October in 1990, published in the Official Bulletin of the State in the 4th of October of that year. This new act describes in detail the structure of the education system.

plans about the prevention and intervention of impairments was implemented, and resulted in an important decrease in the number of persons affected by hearing impairment and a improved intervention in every case (Aguado, 1995).

With the detection of any anomaly in hearing, newly born will be screened (neonatal screening) and the child will immediately be attended by doctors and other specialised professionals such as audiologists, speech therapists and otorhinolaryngologists. In this exploration the level of hearing loss and the type of deafness (transmission or perception) is determined to guide further interventions that fit the situation. This early intervention (from 0 to 3 years old) is also offered in the case that someone within the family had similar developmental problems during infancy. When older than 3 years old, intervention will be continued, when necessary, under the responsibility of the education sector.

In addition to the medical exploration, diagnosis and the determination of any required technological aids, some psycho-pedagogical and linguistic tests will be part of the procedure. The result of this psycho-pedagogical and linguistic assessment constitutes the basis for a personal development program and educational intervention.

In addition to the health and education sector, also private organisations offer intervention services. It's normal practice that parents and deaf people organisations also conduct an early intervention and give educational support complementing the treatment of deaf children during childhood. In Spain, these services offered by the associations are recognised by the public administration and therefore supported. Educational and family counselling, vocational guidance and labour integration, training and support for youngsters, and leisure activities are financially supported whenever they are planned and developed as projects and are submitted by private organisations in accordance with the yearly official government calls.

Early intervention includes an orientation of the family towards the treatment of their child, and the involvement of professionals. The frequency of the intervention will be determined in a specific

way according to the needs of the child and taking into account the particular circumstances of the situation. It can be offered daily, several times a week, or several times a month.

When the child is integrated in an educational centre, which provides education for 3 to 6 year old children, the child will be attended by, either specialists from the school centre such as, amongst others, the special education teacher, the language teacher and sign language interpreter or by specialists from the school district such as a psychologist, a pedagogue, a speech therapist, a social worker or a medical doctor.

Bilingual deaf education and educational support

In the Education Act of 2006 rules are formulated for the education of deaf students in the Spanish mainstream or regular education system. Unless deaf students have other impairments that require the intervention in centres or education in specific classes, every deaf student needs to follow the common educational trajectory. According to INE (2008) 7305 students with hearing impairments attended regular school centres while 799 attended classes at the Specific centres for Special Education in 2008.

Concerning the teaching orientation, the predominant 'oralism' has given way to the bilingualism, which means parallel teaching of the sign language and oral language. Through bilingualism the development of, especially, the written language was stimulated. With some adaptations and support from specialists such as language teachers, sign language interpreters and other support teachers, the deaf student follows the mainstream curriculum.

According to the legal guidelines, each educational centre needs to set up an organisation for the support of individual identified needs with the available resources present. In every school great efforts are made to conjugate schedules, types of curricular materials and the envisaged support needed by each student in order to organise the intervention policy as beneficial as possible for each case. The provision of language support and adjusted curricular materials

mainly take place during normal school hours. However, in some cases, the support is given after regular school hours at the school or outside the school during activities organised by the different associations. Although these activities may be of great value to the educational development of the child, its regulation and control are not part of the educational administration's policy.

The coordination of the support given by each professional or specialist is very important with respect to the intervention in the development of deaf students and children with special educational needs. Not only it is necessary to plan carefully decisions about the procedures, curricular adaptations, handed out educational materials and other support, but also to document these decisions and to assess periodically the implementation and its effectiveness. The way these tasks have to be organised and implemented within the school centres are clearly described in legal guidelines. In addition, the complete procedure has to be justified in the plans that each educational centre in Spain has to submit to the public administration every year⁵. At the end of each year an evaluation report is required as well.

On the level of each individual student, regulations prescribe to document the student's Individualised Curricular Adaptation (ICA). It includes the results of the initial psycho-educational assessment, the modification of goals, contents, methods, activities, and materials in each curricular area, the organisational aspects of the support provided and an assessment of the teachers who worked with the individual student. The ICA contains also an evaluation about the specialised support, revisions made in comparison to the original plan and previsions for the near future.

Reviewing intervention measures and writing plans is a joint responsibility of all professionals who take part in the support given to each student. Based on these reviews and plans parents have to be informed of the educational interventions that their children

⁵ In particular, the Annual Plan of the Centre and the Guidance and Support Plan.

receive. The director of the school must ensure that this process is adequately conducted and that the parents are informed. Finally, the inspector of the district as legal representative of the public administration controls the implementation of the prescribed regulations and will approve or disapprove accordingly.

Role of parents

The parents are the legal representatives of the students; as such, they have rights and also obligations in the educational intervention. The school is obliged to inform them about any problem detected and any kind of extraordinary intervention. The parents have to be informed if a diagnostic exploration is planned or if the child will receive special attention or is going to attend support classes in a special classroom. Also, when the child will receive an adapted educational program or support from a specialist the school has to contact them immediately. The school is not allowed to act if the parents are not previously informed and no consent has been given. If the parents don't agree with the intervention proposed in the school centre, they can present their complaint to the district educational inspector. The inspector should mediate the dispute and if it is not possible should look for a solution in another centre.

In addition to these parental rights, parents also have some obligations. First of all, they have to be collaborative and maintain the communication with the teachers. It is also expected that they are present in meetings, interviews and tutorial sessions and when they receive educational guidelines for support at home, they will put them into practice. As mentioned above, the content of the Individualised Curricular Adaptation (ICA) has to be brought to the attention of parents in order to guarantee the best possible implementation not only at school but also at home.

It is important to state that the lack of agreement between school and parents is something rather exceptional. Generally the parents agree with the educational intervention and actively collaborate with the teachers in the education of their children. Nevertheless, it's

important to acknowledge that, frequently, the professional support provided is rather insufficient due to the lack of resources in the school centres.

Final remarks

Although the amount of bilingual and bicultural experiences in education is increasing, you might say that the Spanish road to bilingual education is still a rather new one. In Cordoba, for example, the Colon School started to provide bilingual and bicultural facilities in order to enable the learning of deaf culture. It's very important to have an adequate school context that improves the learning options of the deaf as well as hearing pupils. Active participation is a requirement for each culture, thus also for deaf culture (Melgar and Moztezuma (2010). Deaf culture cannot be solely reducible to language; it's a notion that points to the comprehension of deaf people's practices. The pupils at the Colon School have the opportunity to experience the connection between language and culture.

Although exclusion practices are still visible in the hearing as well as the deaf community, the focus on inclusion is becoming more accepted within society. Cultural diversity in society resulting from religion, language, race, nationality offers the possibility to create a multicultural melting pot in which the identity and expression of each group should be promoted and reinforced. But this is a complex assignment, which demands our flexibility. Only, if education is able to change human beings' cultural malleability, an adequate shaping of the present and future society is possible (Llorent, 2009).

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Chapter 4

MAINSTREAMING THE DEAF: The Question of Effective Education in Turkey

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Introduction

Despite the efforts of Turkish oralists, deaf people still prefer to communicate and mingle with their own kind. Deaf people in Turkey have resisted the attempts of oralists to eradicate the use of sign language and assimilate them into the hearing mainstream (Sari, 2005 and 2007). The simple fact is that deaf people who attend the common residential schools for the deaf no matter what mode of communication is forced on them in the classroom tend to seek out other deaf people and communicate in sign language. This focus on community and culture is not typically Turkish, but a rather international issue. But how is deafness defined? According to Çeliker, Pınar-Celep & Aydan (2003) it is a hearing impairment which is so severe that a child is impaired in processing linguistic information through hearing, with or without amplification, which adversely affects his/her, educational performance. In this definition the hard-of-hearing are excluded, although it

is considered a hearing impairment as well (Easterbrookes & Baker-Hawkins, 1994).

Deaf culture is a positive term, reflecting pride and a communal identity, whereas terms like “hearing-impaired” and “deafness” do not connote any particular pride or sense of community. Some oralists (deaf as well as hearing) deny that there is such a thing as deaf culture; they prefer to see it as an artificial political construct formulated in recent times, more of a self-conscious, posturing attitude than a reality (Kelly, Forney, Fisher & Jones, 1993; Bahadır, 2010). Deaf people who claim a culturally ‘deaf’ identity compare themselves to members of other ethnic communities. ‘We have a language; we have a culture,’ they sometimes say. Opponents of this view do not see deaf people as members of an ethnic minority but simply as handicapped people, people with a hearing loss, people with a hearing disability, and also audiological patients (Sari, 2007).

In this chapter, the question of mainstreaming the deaf and its effectiveness will be addressed. Mainstreaming the Deaf reflects a rather complicated case. A growing number of mainstreamed deaf joined the deaf community at a later stage in their life. However, due to their mainstreamed background they are not considered ‘strong-deaf’ or culturally deaf. From the other side, some respected deaf culture advocates are promoting mainstreaming of the deaf children in order to learn the oral-auditory language. Before looking at this subject more closely, a short and brief historical overview of deaf education will be given. It is followed by the role of legislation, i.e. the Constitution of 1982 and the Special Needs Legislation of 2009 for the contemporary education of the deaf and disabled. After an overview of schools at which the deaf are taught, the meaning of deaf culture and the role of the deaf community, the question of mainstreaming will be discussed.

The history of deaf education

Although, the first public school for children with special needs opened its doors in 1891 (Gök, 1958), the studies in educating chil-

dren with special educational needs were initiated in 1889 by Grati Efendi. He was also the founder of this first school for the deaf¹. Around thirty deaf students between the ages of 6-20 started to follow a 4-year program, in which the total communication method including sign language was used (Enç, Çağlar & Özsoy, 1987)². In the following years more schools were founded.

After the visit of foreign experts on the education of the deaf to Turkey in 1952, during which they instructed special needs teachers, a department at Gazi Educational Institute was founded. Although, it was closed after two years of education this attempt can be considered as a significant step in the Turkish history of special education (Enç, Çağlar & Özsoy, 1987). In addition to the opening of some schools for the Blind and the Deaf, the foundation of the first Psychological Counselling and Guidance Office³ in 1955, was another important step in the history of deaf and special needs education. The main aims of this office were to establish special classes for the hearing-impaired/deaf students, to identify the students to be educated, and to analyse and guide other children who needed special education⁴.

Deaf and special needs education in contemporary Turkey

In the new Turkish constitution of 1982 educational rights for all citizens are described as follows: “nobody shall be deprived from the right to have education and training. Government should take

¹ This first school was part of the Ministry of Health and Social Services but, in 1951 the Ministry of National Education took over this responsibility..

² The school was a day school and the lay-out of the school program was very much similar to the one used at the Enderun School which was founded by Sultan Fatih (The King Fatih) in 1450's in Istanbul. However, the Enderun School was a special school for gifted and talented children (Livatyalı, 2004; Ataman, 2005)..

³ It is now known as the Guidance and Research Centre Rehberlik Araştırma Merkezleri (RAM).

⁴ As a result of this development a special education department at the Ministry of Turkish National Education was set up (Danişoğlu, 1981).

necessary precautions for children with special educational needs to make them produceable human beings for their society” (Turkish Constitution, item 42, 1982) In the same text it is stated that “the government should take necessary precautions for the protection of the handicapped and their adaptation to the social life” (Turkish Constitution, item 61, 1982). Together with the general statement in the constitution that each citizen has a right to receive basic education, it laid the fundamentals for the Special Education Legislation (2009) which is still in practice and regulates the social and educational rights for the deaf, the hearing-impaired and others with special educational needs. This legislation aims to implement regulations to provide the necessary education for children in the age of 4-8 with special needs in order to find a profession and to become respected citizens.

However, this legislation does not cover the hearing-impaired children between the ages of 0-4, which is a very critical period in proper acquisition of language. Although the legislation envisages that families, individuals and associations should report the children with SEN to the institutions in charge, it was not implemented. However, the Regulation for Guidance and Research Centre, which came into practice in accordance with the SEN Legislation, entitles institutions to conduct assessment among children with physical handicaps, children with emotionally and behavioural difficulties and place them into special educational institutions, vocational training services and to provide for them support services (The Special Education Legislation, 2009).

According to the Special Education Legislation special educational materials in the education and training of SEN students should be used and funded. This does not include the provision of individual hearing aids for the deaf or hard-of hearing students. Families can obtain these hearing aids through their social security agencies (MEB, 2009).

According to the Special Education Legislation (2009), supplemental funding is eligible when the following requirements are met: a medical diagnosis of a significant hearing impairment, a recent

Individualised Education Plan (IEP) with measurable objectives, the proposed appropriate adaptations and/or modifications, outlined strategies and a plan for monitoring the objectives.

School districts are responsible for assessing the most enabling language(s) and/or technology support(s) to allow a student who is deaf or hard-of-hearing to fully access the curriculum, and for the provision of qualified staff for specific communication with students with SEN (Enç, Çağlar & Özsoy, 1987, Girgin, 1999, 2003; Paul, 1998). The educational programs for deaf students in primary education should include specific instructions in the following areas: language development, auditory management, speech development, speech reading, sign language if required, deaf culture and communication methods, and academic courses.

In addition to addressing the direct effects of hearing loss and language development, each student should have an Individualised Education Program (IEP). It needs to contain the social and vocational needs of the student as a result of the hearing loss (Kluwin, Moores, & Gaustad, 1992; Özyürek 2004). Furthermore, it is important to notice that most students have the right to be educated in their local school district in Turkey.

However, the provision of a full range of services within a single school district is not always appropriate. In such cases, school districts are encouraged to provide regional programs that serve the needs of students in several districts. In particular, social and emotional needs of deaf adolescent students may require more than support services. Where there are a sufficient number of students, local or regional school programs should be developed with qualified staff and the appropriate services to support these individuals.⁵

⁵ For the hearing-impaired students, schools should be responsible for developing clearly defined policies and procedures to ensure continued appropriateness of programs. This includes a mechanism for monitoring the educational program of a student placed in a regional or provincial setting and assessing the effectiveness of programs for deaf / hard-of-hearing students (Tüfekçioğlu, 1992). The schools should also be responsible for evaluating student progress specific to the additional service provided by a teacher of the deaf / hard-of-hearing. Such evaluation may result in an adjustment of communication methodology, recommendations for either additional or reduced service, recommendation for alternate placement (Özyürek, 2006).

It is expected that students who are deaf or hard-of-hearing should follow the regular evaluation and reporting procedures of the Local Education Authority (LEA) as described in the Special Education Legislation of 2009. Specific comments should be made about the progress in the areas of language development and communication skills, as well as other areas identified in the IEP.

Teachers with responsibilities for supporting students should be qualified, i.e. having a Bachelor Degree or post-academic certificate. Where a LEA is unable to employ a qualified teacher of the deaf and hard-of-hearing, this requirement may be met by providing services through sharing arrangements with adjacent districts or through a fee-for-service arrangement with qualified specialist teachers of the deaf and hard-of-hearing (Sari, 2000).

Although a growing number of deaf individuals have attended schools for the deaf, some of them graduated from mainstreamed public-schools. The quality of mainstreamed schools for educating the hearing-impaired is rather diverse: some are excellent; others don't provide an effective education for the deaf. Below, an overview of these public schools is presented.

Schools for the deaf in contemporary Turkey

The Turkish education system includes public state-owned schools and private schools. Some of these public and private schools are organised as residential schools. About 95% of the students attend public schools but the number enrolling in private education is increasing over the last years.

Special schools and schools for the deaf are mostly residential; more than 5280 deaf students follow education programs in these schools. These Turkish schools for the deaf have served as the hub of the deaf community. However, due to the decline of enrolment in favour of mainstreamed placements, some schools had to be closed.

Pre-school education and the deaf/hearing-Impaired

Pre-school is not compulsory in Turkey. Nevertheless, the 17th National Education Council (2007) considered pre-schooling important for all infants as the first five years are crucial for their language acquisition. According to the statistics of the Ministry of National Education covering the period up to 2009-2010, 651 hearing-impaired children are educated in 43 pre-school classes⁶. Not all the hearing-impaired students can enrol in pre-schools due to the lack of facilities (Sarı, Çeliköz & Seçer, 2009).

This does not mean that no initiatives are developed to support the infants with a hearing impairment. The centre İÇEM, founded in 1979 at the Anadolu University developed a progressive auditory/oral educational program for hearing-impaired children with the aim of being a model for other special schools in Turkey. In due time the program turned into a fully comprehensive service, encompassing early diagnosis of deafness, hearing aid fitting and maintenance, pre- and post-assessment and programming of cochlear implants, parent guidance, integration facilities and a special school with nursery, primary, secondary schools and general high school departments leading to university entrance.

Primary education and the hearing-impaired/deaf

Public primary schools educate hearing-impaired children through the compulsory 8-year education between the ages of 6/7-14/15⁷. According to the curriculum, total communication approach is mostly used in these schools. In 2009-2010, around 1113 teachers were involved in the education of 4950 hearing-impaired students in 51 primary schools for the deaf (Komisyon, 2010).

⁶ Figures retrieved from the governmental website www.meb.gov.tr.

⁷ Primary education became 8 years compulsory education after 18th August, 1997 in which the Turkish Ministry of National Education decided to unite the then 5 years primary education and the first 3 years of secondary education.

Secondary education and the deaf

Secondary education covers general, vocational and technical high schools that provide four years of education⁸. Only general high schools prepare students for higher education. Hearing-impaired students can continue education for another four years at Vocational High Schools for the Hearing Impaired/Deaf. There are currently 17 high schools for the hearing-impaired and deaf with 1722 students and 255 teachers. They can also attend mainstream high schools but these schools are not expected to deliver support services.

Higher education and the deaf

Turkish universities are mostly state institutions. Universities, which include faculties, institutions, vocational higher education schools, conservatories, police and military academies and colleges, and research centres, are considered as Higher Education Institutions.

Teacher training programs for the hearing-impaired are offered at three universities: Anadolu University, Karadeniz Teknik University and 19 Mayıs University. Anadolu University is actually the pioneer university for the education of hearing-impaired children and teacher training programs for the hearing-impaired. Their first undergraduate program for teaching hearing-impaired students at Anadolu University was opened in 1993. There are approximately 150 deaf students enrolled at this school. Sign language is not mandatory; however, students are free to communicate in sign language. This two-year degree program was modified to three or four years to accommodate deaf students. The aim of this school is to educate the handicapped for vocational programs and thus enabling them to become productive members of the community. Currently, the school offers four career choices: Information Technology, Computer-aided Design (CAD), Ceramic Arts and Graphic Arts.

⁸ This used to be 3 years until 2005.

Continuing education for the hearing-impaired

Continuing education as non-formal education in Turkey is offered by a network of training centres. They are supervised by the Ministry of National Education (MEB). Non-formal education services aim to help people to finish their incomplete education (Özsoy, 1985; Bilir, 2007). The hearing-impaired students can also enrol in the provided programs in accordance with their qualifications or the professions they fulfil.

After this short overview of different types of schooling for the deaf, deaf culture as an essential marker of and for the deaf will be addressed.

Deaf culture in Turkey

The concept of culture is defined in so many ways, but in general it encompasses special training, socially transmitted legislations and patterns of conduct, intellectual development, enlightenment, knowledge, beliefs, and sophistication (Byrne, Barnard, Davidson, Janik, McGrew, Miklo'si, & Wiessner, 2006). For deaf culture as for any other culture the specific attitudes and behaviours of a group or organisation and the beliefs and social patterns which underpin these attitudes and behaviours are important. In addition, a definition of 'deaf culture' is a social, communal, and creative force of, by, and for deaf people based on sign language (Byrne *et al.*, 2006). It encompasses communication, social protocol, art, worship and recreation in sports, travel, and deaf clubs. It is also an attitude, which can be used as a weapon against non-group members, excluding them (Görkaş, 2005).

Each culture determines which behaviours are acceptable and unacceptable (Hallahan and Kauffman, 1997). For example, in Muslim culture, it is not appropriate for a man to touch an unrelated woman in public; men and women will even avoid direct eye-contact with each other. It is considered 'forward' to maintain a steady, locked gaze into each other's eyes or even touch them. Deaf people however would use certain rules of protocol that differ from what is

considered socially acceptable. In deaf culture, it is acceptable when the waiter touches a diner's shoulder to get its attention. Similarly, it is acceptable when deaf people have an intensive eye-contact while they are signing. A deaf person will notify other deaf people when going to the bathroom, because they cannot hear each other yelling through the bathroom door. Hearing people might consider this tacky. This social protocol is based on deaf people's need to maintain good eye-contact and visibility, and to make signing easier and more comfortable.

Parents teach their children the ways, norms, and values of their culture. In deaf culture, this may hold true for only a small minority of deaf children, those with deaf parents. Every other culture is transmitted from parents to children (Byrne *et al.*, 2006). If deaf children have hearing parents, the time spend during their formative years at schools for the deaf, will likely imbibe more influence. Deaf culture seems to be unique in the way it has traditionally been transmitted from child to child at the schools for the deaf. Since the overwhelming majority of deaf children have hearing parents, they may not learn the language, values, and social customs of Deaf culture from their parents, but from their deaf peers.

Sign language is an important element of deaf culture, maybe the most important; it reflects its values (Hughes, McGillivray & Schmidek, 1997). Like in any other culture Turkish Sign Language is not only used in day-to-day communication but also in storytelling, signplay, poetry, anecdotes, legends, and myths (Sarı, 2005). In addition, team sports like volleyball and football play an important role in deaf culture too.

Sports are a way of expressing belonging and kinship in a kinetic way, free from communication barriers. Deaf people enjoy participating in competitive sports with other deaf people, and this predilection begins at schools for the deaf, where all the children participate and everyone takes turns. Although Olympic sports are an important part of Turkish culture, many deaf athletes prefer to participate in deaf competitions, for example, the special deaf Olympics. Despite the modest perks involved, the higher expenses, and the

relative lack of prestige, most deaf athletes opt for deaf sports, because easy communication is of paramount importance⁹.

In conclusion, deaf culture not only has well defined values and norms, but also a different language used in day-to-day communication at home and in schools, in social clubs and on the sport pitch. However we have to take in mind that deaf people in Turkey will be recognised as members of Turkish culture at the moment we first meet them, until they start signing to each other.

Taking into account how important culture is for the deaf, the question is whether mainstreaming of the deaf is an appropriate policy in providing an effective education.

Mainstreaming the Deaf?

Most of the researchers (Akçamete, 2005; Akçamete & Gürgür, 2009; Ataman, 2005) believe that deaf children receive a wide experience in the mainstream schools as well as in all special schools for the deaf'. Since the Special Education Legislation of 1982, placement options for deaf students have significantly increased, particularly opportunities to be mainstreamed in classes with hearing peers. New placement options, coupled with the historically low academic achievement of deaf students, have fuelled concern among parents and educators over where and how deaf students can get the best education. Parents need to know more about both mainstream and self-contained classes so they can make informed placement decisions (Bernstein & Martin, 1992). When deaf teenagers from residential schools were asked to reflect upon their educational experience, they expressed an appreciation for both

⁹ Deaf students in some mainstreamed settings may find themselves excluded from participation in sports due to the communication problems involved (Sucuoğlu, 2006; Sucuoğlu and Kargin, 2006). This kind of exclusion does not exist in the schools for the deaf. Every child, no matter how clumsy, gets a chance to participate. In other words, it depends on the parents' commitment to a particular culture (and other factors such as the academic quality of the schools), whether students will be sent to a mainstream school or to a public or private school for the Deaf.

mainstream and deaf school placements (Görkaş, 2005). As the students described their current and past experiences, they supported a mixed-placement pattern because it gave them a well-rounded education including knowledge of both deaf and hearing environments.

In general, it is believed that by combining mainstream and residential education, deaf will better understand the hearing world and deaf culture, and eventually will develop skills enabling them to communicate in both environments (Sarı, 2007). Learning 'hearing ways' and 'deaf ways' will not only empower them to live together with the hearing, but they will also develop a deaf pride reflecting their membership of the deaf community and culture. Although some students have a very difficult time communicating and feeling at home in the mainstream schools, they, in general, do not regret it.

Deaf students may be equally critical of peers who went through an exclusively deaf school education or mainstream education. Under the assumption that the mainstreamed peers do not have deaf parents, they are regarded not only as advanced and having better Turkish language skills, but also as less fluid in signing, poor social communicators, reserved and more focused on the hearing world. Students from residential deaf schools are looked upon as less well-educated, but fluent in Turkish Sign Language, good in communication, socially adept and strong members of the deaf community. The students feel that each peer lacks some important life skills that can be attained through exposure in a complementary setting. In a way, the students with mixed educational backgrounds are bicultural and they value their bicultural outlook. They have knowledge and skills of both cultures to adapt themselves to both (Sarı, 2005).

Young children may feel more secure when they remain close to their parents; and young deaf children, busily learning through play, may be less affected by how they are different (Goodman, 1995; Sahin, 2006). At a young age, it is good to be around family, and it may not hurt to be different than peers. During adolescence when students prefer to stay with friends more often, this can be changed as peers can be insulting. At this stage, it could be wise to send the students to a residential school.

In recognising a full educational experience at mainstream and at schools for the deaf, students understand the importance of getting three kinds of education: academic, social, and cultural. Parents and educators should get aware of its importance too. Currently, the Special Education Legislation of 2009 demands that parents should be informed about school placement options and what different schools have to offer. Detailed concrete plans can be made to ensure the student's needs. However, when the choice is made for either a mainstream or a school for the deaf, students should have the possibility to visit the other school. Other possibilities are sending them to deaf summer camp or involving them in deaf club activities after school (Easterbrookes & Baker-Hawkins, 1994). As they go through adolescence, students can and should take part in decisions about which school to go. Parents and professionals should be sensitive to the fact that as children approach adolescence, their needs for peer socialisation intensifies. By being with deaf peers and through getting involved in deaf culture during adolescence, deaf students will develop a positive self-concept and a healthy identity.

Conclusion

When a deaf child is mainstreamed, it means that the deaf student attends classes with hearing students with (usually) the aid of an interpreter, note taker, and whatever other support services may be needed. The deaf child usually attends classes that are self-contained; that is, they are all-deaf classes. In Turkey, the professionals are wishing to integrate all students with or without special educational needs including the deaf rather than educating them in special schools in segregation, against mainstreaming or inclusion. However, when they are integrated many problems arise in the schools due to the lack of adequate educational support, knowledge and received resources educating deaf students (Sari, 2004). In addition, in some cases compulsory Individualised Education Programs are not developed and conflicts about the use of adequate

communication methods to teach deaf students might arise as well. This affects the mainstreaming of the students in negative way and feeds the debate whether the deaf students should be educated in mainstream settings or whether they should be educated in the special schools.

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Chapter 5

SIGNING DEAFNESS INTO EDUCATION: Inclusion of the Deaf in Portuguese Schools

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Introduction

Nowadays, words like Deaf culture or Deaf world are frequently used by those that work, study or live with and within the Deaf community. Not only in the Deaf community, but also in the Deaf studies literature and within the rather recently set up national and international organisations the use of Deaf culture is common sense. Hearing people, however, have many difficulties admitting that the Deaf have a specific culture, and continue to treat them as a group mainly characterised by their hearing impairment. These representations generally promote common perspectives in which the Deaf are described negatively, being less 'normal' (Sacks, 1998; Skliar, 1998).

Deafness in our view cannot be restricted to a sensory impairment solely; it is far more complex as it also includes the role that sign language can play in the construction of a Deaf person's identity. The acquisition of a language, in this case, sign language, is of

extreme importance to the development of a Deaf identity. However, a common language is not enough; as social beings, the Deaf need cultural identification models as well, which are offered by the Deaf cultural community (Lane, 1992; Perlin, 1998).

Deaf education in this context needs to take these insights seriously, maintaining a good communication with the representatives of Deaf organisations in order to provide a proper schooling. The debate about what good education should be is an ongoing debate in which more and more the Deaf and disability organisations are getting involved. This goes for Portugal as well as for other European countries. Inclusion and bilingual education result from this debate. In this chapter, we will describe this process towards inclusion and bilingual education of the Deaf, paying attention and tribute to the strong involvement of the Deaf through their representative organisations. In addition to a historical account of Deaf education in Portugal, we will therefore enlarge the picture with perceptions of the Deaf about their language and culture and their will to be treated as respected citizens, signing their way into education in the last decades.

History of deaf education in Portugal

During the kingdom of D. João VI and Infant D. Isabel Maria, the Swedish professor Per Aron Borg was invited to be director of the first school for the deaf in the Casa Pia of Lisbon, in 1823. At that time, Borg was already famous for founding the Stockholm Institute for the Deaf, where he proposed the teaching of writing together with the sign alphabet. He was, therefore, the first person in Portugal to suggest the simultaneous teaching of both skills. This method was used until 1860, when the school was closed. According to the writings of Aron Borg, the Institute adopted sign language in the education of the deaf without mentioning the method implemented. Later, around 1870, a new school was founded in Lisbon directed by Father Pedro de Aguiar, whose work was based on the method of writing associated with mimics. In 1872, Aguiar founded an

Institute in Guimarães and another in Porto where exceptional results were attained, using sign language and writing (Pinho e Melo, Moreno, Amaral, Duarte Silva, & Delgado Martins, 1984; DGIDC, 2009).

In 1880, after the Congress of Milan, the use of sign languages in schools was forbidden as a result of the primacy of 'oralism' in the education of the deaf. From then on, the oral method had to be used. In 1893, the School for the Deaf-Mute of Porto was established, replacing the mimic's method by the oralistic. In 1900 two of the school's teachers were sent to the Institute of Deaf-Mute of Paris to learn new approaches within the oral method. After 1905, the school in Porto was reorganised under the responsibility of the Casa Pia of Lisbon, introducing the 'oral intuitive method'. In 1913, the director of Casa Pia, Aurélio da Costa Ferreira, organised a two-year training program for teachers of the hearing-impaired. This training program marked the official and institutional recognition of the oral method in Portugal (Pinho e Melo *et al.*, 1984; DGIDC, 2009).

In 1950, the director of the Casa Pia de Lisboa, Campos Tavares, got acquainted with the new oralistic methods at an International Congress in Groningen, in the Netherlands. Among others, the maternal-reflexive method developed by Van Uden stimulated the belief that deaf pre-linguistic children could learn to speak the oral language like their mother tongue (DGIDC, 2009).

More than ten years later, in 1963, Carlos Pinto Ascensão, director of the Institute Jacob Rodrigues Pereira for the deaf¹, suggested using the natural methods of Delgrano, Hill and Bell. This oral method is closely linked to the maternal-reflexive method and is based on the normal development of the hearing child and its spontaneity. All these methods were based on speech and auditory training

¹ This institute was founded in 1915. Almost thirty years later, some schools for the deaf were incorporated by the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisterhood, like the Institute of Deaf-Mute Imaculada Conceição in Lisbon in 1942 and the Institute of Deaf-Mute Araújo Porto of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia do Porto in 1947. As the first institute organised education for deaf males, the second organised education for deaf females.

without support of technological aids. However, in the meantime, Guberina's verbo-tonal method was developed. It envisaged a good articulation and memorisation of major parts of sentences, using, for that effect, Suvag devices (DGIDC, 2009). Auditory re-education training with Suvag devices allows the broadening of the optimal range of the understanding of speech. This re-education demands the selection and filtering of sound waves to find the optimal frequency field, i.e. the one where each child "listens" to speech eliminating unnecessary frequencies. With this method the comprehension of speech was enhanced (Pinho e Melo *et al.*, 1984).

In the year 1974, another pedagogical renewal in the field of deafness was introduced with the implementation of maternal-reflexive methods. On invitation of the Ministry of Education, specialists from the Sint-Michelsgestel Institute in the Netherlands provided an intensive training for the teachers in deaf education. This method became, officially, the most used in Portugal.

The above-mentioned training, together with the cooperation agreement between Portugal and Sweden, the development of technological resources, and the appearance of research about the school integration of the deaf students, through support rooms, special classes in regular schools and itinerant support have led to the creation of the Support Services for Children with Auditory Impairments (NACDA) for the lower school levels and the Support Services for the Auditory Impaired (NADA) for the high school students (Pinho e Melo *et al.*, 1984).

These developments and the just started debate about the value of sign language was a stimulus for some schools to adopt the total communication method. This first experience of bilingual teaching with deaf monitors started in A-da-Beja, a small village near Lisbon. The year 1981 can be marked as the beginning of the professional teaching of sign language as two deaf adults were sent to the Gallaudet University, in the USA. After returning to Portugal, these two deaf, José Bettencourt and João Alberto Ferreira began to teach Portuguese Sign Language to teachers, technicians and future interpreters of sign language, as well as to their deaf peers (DGIDC, 2009).

For a complete understanding of these developments leading to the inclusion of the deaf in regular education, light needs to be shed on the coming-of-age of deafness as a cultural community. Below, we will follow this route, starting with a short exposé on the concepts of community and culture.

The rise of the Deaf cultural community

The word 'rise' in the title of this section suggests that communities are built or constructed. According to Tönnies (1887) a community or 'Gemeinschaft' is opposed to what he called 'Gesellschaft', which is an equivalent for society or state. In this dichotomy, community refers to an entity that is smaller than the state uniting people in villages. In other words, people are not only born within a family but also within a community. Nowadays the word 'community' has been used in so many different ways that the original meaning has been lost. Furthermore, the tightly knit overall structure which traditionally marked a community has been replaced by what people think unites them. Due to mobility within and over borders, people are no longer only part of one traditional community but they identify themselves with different kinds of communities, for example a religious community, a scientific community or an ethnic community. In this way, a community is not opposed anymore to society, as it does not stop at its border. The same goes for the concept of culture. The word became practice in scientific works around the mid of the 19th century. From then onwards, a multitude of constructed definitions made this concept the subject of scientific debates about formulations and contents. Cuche's conclusions about this debate are very clear: "Whatever the precise meaning we give to the concept, there are always disagreements about the applicability to this or that reality" (Cuche, 1999, p.23). In other words, the social origin of the concept shows that behind the semantic quarrels about the most accurate definition we find social disagreements. Although the concepts of community and culture are highly contested, we will use them to clarify the rise and the importance of the Deaf cultural community.

Belonging to a cultural and linguistic community

One might say that people construct their reality and develop their activities according to their ideas of the real, of what they consider to be good or bad, normal and abnormal (Skliar, 1999; Quadros, 2000). In this sense, Deaf people began to build their own Deaf cultural community with their own rules and informal goals (Skliar, 1999; Jokinen, 1999). Traditionally, the cultural community concept involves the notion of social area and a network of individuals who share a feeling of belonging to a collective and well-differentiated unit (Tönnies, 1887). Nowadays, the Deaf are part of a number of cultural communities spread around the world that, especially in our contemporary Internet age, conjoin spontaneously (Lane, 1992; Skliar, 1999).

To be a part of the Deaf cultural community it is necessary that the individual identifies himself with the deaf world, sharing experiences, participating in the activities of his community, exposing a clear notion of belonging to the group. But, as in any other group, there are rules to access it, fundamental to promote and to maintain cohesion. It is necessary to share goals, through the development of a set of shared norms and values, structuring their collective action and acquiring conscience of themselves as individual members of the group. Identification with Deaf cultural community makes their members relate more easily with deaf people than with hearing people, whatever their condition is and wherever they live (Lane, 1992).

Arrived at this point, we like to address very briefly deafness as construct. Mottez and Woodward, both cited in Tété Gonçalves (2005) characterise deafness as a historically constructed difference and a potential linguistic minority. Their social-anthropological approach converts deafness into a phenomenon of social difference that in turn leads to different socialisation processes. This cultural view is the source for the rejection of the diagnosis of hearing impairment and the label of auditory disability (Pereira & Melo, 2000); the concept of hearing impairment is obviously under scrutiny (Nunes, 1998). In addition, Halliday (1987) and Wrigley (1996)

argue that the rejection of being labelled hearing-impaired, does not mean denying being deaf; their inability to learn through auditory processes is replaced by their ability to understand the world visually.

The Deaf have a clearly different communication system in comparison to hearing people. They use sign language, a communication based on visual-spatial elements, very different from the oral communication, based on audition. But communication is not only language; it is everything we do when we interact with others. Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson (1993) stated that it is impossible not to communicate; even when we are quiet and avoiding eye contact, we are communicating our need to be left alone.

Cultural strategies

Deaf culture can be located in adaptive, non-integrative strategies in dealing with the hearing world and in convivial norms, much more rigid and less tolerant. Probably, these strategies and norms result from the survival instinct of any cultural community that feels threatened. Take, for instance, Deaf housing; they are characterised by the existence of good lighting to allow people to constantly see each other. Another example is the placement of the tables in the classrooms; they are organised in circles so that everybody sees each other's face. As Virole (2003) says, deaf culture is a culture of adaptation to the difference and the promoter of social relations. Only those that try to interpret the dynamics of a Deaf cultural community by the comprehension of all the variables that involve their culture, can access the deeper meaning of this fascinating phenomenon of the Deaf adaptation to a perceived 'hostile' environment.

We have no doubts, today, that the greatest difference between Deaf and hearing people exists, precisely, in the auditory system. However, no difference has been found between deaf and hearing people regarding their cognitive abilities. Nevertheless, we can find many examples demonstrating that individuals deprived of contact with their peers and fellows develop serious cognitive disabilities,

hindering their adaptation, and not reaching a harmonious development that allows them to acquire the necessary skills to live autonomously as persons (Lane, 1992; Góes, 1999). You can also say, that through the construction of deafness as solely a hearing impairment, the valorisation of the hearing model was reflected. During 'oralism' in Deaf education, this hearing model was imposed on Deaf people and their culture to disguise the difference between Deaf and hearing. In this way deafness was made invisible.

Oralism and mainstreaming

Nowadays, the Deaf cultural community is more often referred to as a cultural minority (Skliar, 1999). Like every cultural minority they have to adapt to the dominant cultural codes of the majority in a society. However, some cultural minorities have been given special rights in order to maintain their heritage, language and culture.

In the past, during the 'oralistic' discourse, mainstreaming Deaf students was the goal. Some say that this discourse is still alive (Lane, 1992; Skliar, 1999). 'Oralism and Mainstreaming' can be understood as imposing the cultural code of the hearing majority on the Deaf minority, downgrading the values and norms of the Deaf. In the discourse about the benefits of 'oralism' this becomes apparent, as 'equalising' is used as a pro-mainstreaming argument. Truthfully, the Deaf will never become normal or equal, because they are different. This so-called clash between hearing and deaf is often recreated day by day, to ignore and silence an essential cultural difference. As the problem of the deaf is located in an individual body, medical taxonomy is applied perpetuating interpretations of deafness as a loss, a disability or impairment. Despite the fact that deafness is perceived as something common, deaf culture is seen as "the final flowering of an exotic species whose identity is destined to wither and fade into extinction" (Wrigley, 1996, p. 95). Although deafness and other impairments are not considered diseases threatening mankind, medicine is still triggered to find a final solution for these adverse physical conditions. In this, the situation of the Deaf

is different from other cultural minorities based on race and gender (Lane, 1992).

Within this fighting for the right to be different, i. e. an affirmative policy in favour of Deaf culture, we can still detect in schools, although at a smaller scale, the power of 'oralism', either in the minds of those who still believe, or worse, in everyday practices. If politics still pursues integration of the Deaf in mainstream education without respecting the difference in words and actions, the Deaf would feel excluded while formally included. According to Skliar (1998) such an educational policy is discriminatory, discontinuous, an anachronism, and leads to a permanent practice of exclusion. Such a school is a space where we find strategies to transform the Deaf into hearing, a place where Deafness is disguised. From that perspective, the Deaf will always be inferior, always disadvantaged, always trying to adapt to the conditions of the hearing.

In this above-mentioned political fight for the rights to be different and treated as such, the Deaf organisations played an important role. Below, we will first list some of these main associations. Thereafter, we will discuss some of their views on Deafness in Portugal, which will be connected to what is written above.

Deaf organisations: reflections about deafness in Portugal

In Portugal we can find two types of Deaf organisations. First, various local Deaf associations represented by the Portuguese Federation of Deaf Associations (FPAS)² that convenes the various associations in their common interest of speaking with one single voice. Among these various associations, we must underline the Deaf Association on Porto (ASP), the Portuguese Deaf Association (APS), the Deaf Association of Guimarães and of the Ave Valley (ASGVA) and the Deaf Cultural Association of Amadora (ACSA).

² The FPAS was officially registered in 20/12/1993. See also <http://www.fpas.org.pt>.

Portugal is also one of the countries represented at the European Union of the Deaf (EUD)³ founded in 1985 and situated in Brussels. Through this joint venture, they hoped to get a more powerful position in the political fight to be different.

Apart from these organisations, also parent organisations were set up to have a greater impact on the lives of the deaf population. One of them is the APECDA (Association of Parents for the Education of Children with Hearing Impairments). The APECDA departments in Lisbon⁴, founded in 1973, Porto⁵, founded in 1979 and Braga⁶ are private non-profit institutions of welfare and solidarity (IPSS) founded by a group of parents with the aim of promoting the rehabilitation and education of children and youngsters with hearing impairments. They depend, essentially, on the fees paid by the members, donations and governmental support. Both organisations are members of the FEPEDA (European Federation of Parents for the Education of the Hearing Impaired), of which the APECDA was founding member. The parents of children with cochlear implants have also formed the Portuguese Association for the Support of Cochlear Implants (APAIC) in July 1997, with the goal of representing and defending the legitimate interest of people with hearing impairments and cochlear implants⁷.

The concepts of culture and of belonging to the Deaf cultural community are closely tied to the idea of their own language, of their own meeting spaces and cultural and recreational events. With the constitutional recognition of Portuguese Sign Language⁸

³ The EUD represents the interest of the European deaf in the European Union (EU) and cooperates in more global affairs with the World Federation of the Deaf (WFD). The EUD has fought among other issues, for the recognition of the sign language (bilingualism in education), the power through information (Technologies and telecommunications) and equality in employment. See for more information <http://eud.eu>.

⁴ See <http://www.apecda-lisboa.org>.

⁵ See <http://www.apecda-porto.rcts.pt>.

⁶ See apecda.braga@mail.telepac.pt – Divisão Distrital.

⁷ See <http://apaic.pt>.

⁸ See Article 74 h of the constitution of the Portuguese republic: “Protect and promote the Portuguese sign language as a cultural expression and access instrument to education”.

the research and reflection about themes as culture, community and identity increased incredibly. In some research, the Deaf cultural community reacts against the qualification of hearing-impaired, stating that the Deaf are 'different', using a different kind of speech, namely sign. Therefore, the Deaf possess their own language, i.e. sign language, which empowers them to participate in conversations.

The Deaf cultural community likes to be regarded as a group of persons who live in a particular area, share common goals and work to attain those goals. This community may include persons that are not deaf but who actively support the goals of the community. To be a part of the Deaf cultural community means: i) to have some identification with the Deaf world, namely with the language; ii) to develop a set of shared norms and values; iii) to participate in the activities and events of the community, and iv) to share common experiences.

Deaf associations in Portugal show a great effort to keep alive the concepts of culture and community. Other than promoting a set of significant events to stress these ideas, they make an effort to organise activities for and with the general population to share their identity and specific ways of thinking and being. We are talking about hundreds of seminars, conferences, publication, and so many other initiatives to disseminate the sign language. In this way, the associations like to show that coming from a situation where the Deaf were marginalised, being excluded from the political decision making process for centuries, they are now heading towards the recognition of a juridical status of 'being different'. The Deaf are not only different, but they are going through a different socialisation process, in which sign language plays a significant role. As such, they form a linguistic and cultural minority where deafness is normal and not pathological (Lane, 1992). Furthermore, it is stressed that the Deaf cultural community shares a 'Deaf Awareness' ideology that is the collective conscience of Deaf people, inscribing meaning to Deafness as being proud of their language and culture. In particular, the rise of the 'Deaf Awareness' ideology represents the cultural

and political defence against the pathological labelling of Deaf people.

As stated above, this cultural vision of deafness in Portugal made the deaf community reject the diagnosis of diminished hearing and the immediate label of hearing-impaired. The expressions deaf and deafness are clearly preferred because they don't suggest, in linguistic terms, a disability. These only label a group and are their common denominator. The Deaf community reacts against the qualification of impaired, stating that the Deaf are different with their own language (Portuguese Sign Language), as the natural linguistic system of its community (Amaral & Coutinho, 2002). Sign Language is a language of the movement and of the space, of the hands and the eyes. It's neither a new language nor an invented system.

Looking back, one might say that Deaf organisations struggled to resist marginalisation of the Deaf in favour of a new perspective that seeks to empower the Deaf community⁹ also in their effort to guarantee a place of their own in education.

The Deaf in contemporary bilingual education

The study 'Towards a grammar of Portuguese Sign Language' of Amaral, Coutinho and Delgado Martins¹⁰ published in 1994 is regarded as one of the main scientific contributions to the recognition of Portuguese Sign Language in the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic. It marks the beginning of the introduction of the bilingual model in Portugal¹¹. The start of the legalisation of bilingual education

⁹ Some consider that this new conception of deafness, represented by the Deaf community, reflects a naive and romantic point of view (Tété Gonçalves, 2001).

¹⁰ Amaral & Coutinho point to other important developments preceding the publication of *Towards a Grammar of Portuguese Sign Language*. "In Portugal a few steps had already been taken with the work of Delgado Martins (1985), Prata (1985) and the publication of the *Gestuário* (1991), without, though, any deep and systematic approach of the communication used by the deaf" (Amaral & Coutinho 2002, pp. 374).

¹¹ In this respect, it is important to point to the European Parliament resolution of June 17, 1988 in which sign language was recognised as a language used by the deaf and in addition members states were asked to implement some strategies to promote its use.

can be found in governmental report 7520/98 of May 6th, 1998, in which it was declared that units for the support of deaf students (UAAS) would be established as an answer to their social, cultural and linguistic heterogeneity. These units were organised vertically as a place for Deaf students from pre-school, primary and middle schools, where the Portuguese Sign Language and the written and, eventually, spoken Portuguese language would be taught. Actually, this was the first time public schools were obliged to provide equal learning facilities for studying two languages. Concentration of deaf students in some schools was needed to employ deaf teachers of Portuguese Sign Language (PSL), interpreters and speech therapists.

These bilingual principles were reinforced in the Education Act 3/2008 of January 7th, 2008, in which very concrete conditions for implementation were laid down. Moreover, the institutionalisation of so-called Reference Schools was arranged, which renders powerfully the importance of bilingual education through the introduction of Portuguese Sign language as first and the oral as second language¹². According to this Education Act, education to deaf children has to be provided in bilingual environments with professionals proficient in PSL. The main objective is to give the child the opportunity to immerse in a linguistic environment where the acquisition of sign language as first language and the communication with deaf peers have the highest priority from the time he or she enters pre-school, at the age of three.

Taking into account the role of family during the child's initial formative stage, the implementation of early intervention services is of the utmost importance in the development of deaf children. Intervention has to start at the earliest moment possible after the diagnosis of deafness. Deaf adults proficient in PSL could fulfil an important job as role models for the parents of the deaf child. They can help them understand their role as parents, making their expectations more realistic and promoting their participation in the deaf community.

¹² For more information about reference schools in Portugal, see <http://dgidc.min-edu.pt>.

Pre-school education has to give the deaf child and the hearing child equal opportunities for their personal development. Although they have identical needs, it is extremely important for the deaf child to learn their first and natural language, and in addition the Portuguese written language as a second language. The organisation of the classroom should privilege the learning and development of PSL as first language, parallel with informal reading and writing activities that allow the child to acquire knowledge about the function, utility and graphical organisation of the writing that will constitute the basis for the emerging writing behaviours (Sim-Sim, 2009). They should benefit from specific methodologies facilitating the acquisition of the nuclear skills demanded in the curricular programs such as PSL and the Portuguese language as a second language.

Final remarks

The bilingual approach to deaf education implies the existence of two languages – the sign language of the deaf community and the language of the hearing community, both written and oral – and that both are used and taught diglossically, which means using different goals for the acquisition of each of the two languages or using them differently according to the context of learning. The bilingual approach focuses on the proficiency of two languages, its linguistic structures and in addition on cultural knowledge related to both languages. Making sign language available to all the deaf should be the linguistic basis on which any educational project should be built; this availability is an essential right of the deaf. Sign language is not a way of teaching and even less a way of accepting particular non-communicative events (Skliar, 1998; Amaral & Coutinho, 2002; Dorziat, 2004); it is a living language, complete, natural, supported by a community and identified within a culture. It is also an invaluable asset in the lives of deaf children, what cannot be replaced by technology or whatever system of communication (Bouvet, 1982). Moreover, sign language can't be considered solely as a tool to learn other languages, a consolation prize for the deaf. As a language it

has a status, but it also deserves a privileged place in the construction of identities and the expression of a culture¹³.

Nevertheless, bilingual education for the deaf is more than just obtaining proficiency in two languages. According to Dubuisson and Daigle (1999), we have to take in mind that the deaf are not a homogeneous group, but individuals with different needs who will fulfil different roles in society and whose cultural background with its specificity, logic and history needs to be addressed as well. This means also that we have to be aware of the 'everyday invention of deafness' (Wrigley, 1996, p.28).

The bilingual initiative, being more than a new instructional method, is for sure a better access route to education (Perlin, 1998; Skliar, 1998; Góes, 1999). Our most significant concern is the permanent alphabetisation process; our most significant challenge is to implement an authentic educational model that probably differs from any bilingual model used so far. For deaf children it's not an advantage but rather a need.

In a united Europe new trends and theories reflect windows of opportunities for deaf education. Although the debate about an all-inclusive school is swirling around, persuasive in action, other routes could provide other -new and promising- ways of thinking in order to sign deafness into education. Utopia, some might say; but together with Delors (1996) we think that without utopia cynicism and resignation would prevail.

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¹³ Oliver Sacks (1998) refers to sign language as biologically inseparable from personal and cultural identity.

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Part II

QUALITY STANDARDS FOR STUDENT RESEARCHERS

Chapter 6

LIFELONG LEARNING IN EUROPE: Students as Researchers

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Introduction

In his autobiography, Gabriel Garcia Márquez, the Colombian novelist, cryptically remarks “very early in life I had to interrupt my education to go to school”¹. This sentence which refers to his school days in the first half of the 20th century, still maintains its pertinence in the current European panorama of education; education is more than just schooling. Moreover, if school’s main function is to transmit a very well-defined body of knowledge, principles and values to younger generation, a body of knowledge that characterise our society, it will fall short. Of course, it is not plausible that any society would survive without such a body of knowledge, but when we consider the kind of society or world we live in and the effects of globalisation causing changes, transformations, uncertainty, we need to complement and alternate this body of knowledge of our ancestors for education and schooling in the 21st century.

Below we will identify different ways for transforming education, particularly higher education, in order to transcend this traditional stage of a preparation for life into life itself. We will

¹ Translated from the Portuguese version of Marquez’ “Living to Tell the Tale”, (Viver para Contá-la, 2003).

dwell on the meaning of “life” in 21st century Europe and the discussion about Europe that has been marked by a complexity of concepts; especially, we will address the construction of European citizenship, the knowledge-society and the concept of lifelong learning. All of them have been put forward in legal documents underpinning the transformation of European Higher Education. We will analyse some of these documents comparing them with theories about teaching and learning, and about students as researchers in higher education. In the context of the SMILE project our focus is on teacher training. Training students to research education has in this way a double layer; they will not only better grasp the meaning of education during their training but they also will develop the competence of becoming future teacher-researchers, who might enable their students in primary and secondary education to be critically engaged with the world around them. Finally, we will draw some conclusions about lifelong learning in teacher training and the importance of qualitative research.

The construction of the concept of European citizenship

It is difficult to define clearly the concept of European citizenship for many reasons but mainly because it doesn't exist yet, being somewhere between a “*tangible reality and distant ideal*” (López, Karsten, Merry, Ohana, & Staker, 2003, p.34). It's not just a matter of being able to move from country to country, of being able to work study or live, in any part of Europe, of being able to exert our civil rights of representation at a European level; all of that has already been achieved. However, we still think more in terms of national than European citizenship. It seems that a lot of work still has to be done. Maistrelli (2003) stresses the importance of this work ahead as follows:

... identifying and defining a kind of citizenship which can be defined as European, would support the process of the construction of Europe, of strengthening a European Identity. (p. 16)

The underlying idea, in this sense, is that we are facing a never-ending-work-in-progress. It is a process being developed in a circle: the construction of Europe depends on the development of the European citizenship which depends of the construction of Europe. As each citizen has to understand his or her own place and role within the European community, the work that has to be done is located at a personal level and not so much at a legal or societal level.

López *et al.* (2003) present a four dimensional model of citizenship, considering a political, social, cultural and, finally, an economic dimension. The political dimension refers to political rights and responsibilities; the social concerns the behaviour, the loyalty and solidarity among members of the same society and results in the combat of social isolation and exclusion, in the safeguarding of human rights, in the bringing together of different groups (minorities and ethnic groups, for instance), the equality of sexes and compensating differences in social security, welfare, literacy and health. The cultural dimension points to the awareness of a common cultural heritage and what can be promoted through knowledge of our national, European and global cultural heritage and history, intercultural experiences, and the preservation of the environment we live in. Finally, the economic dimension refers to the relationship between individual and the labour- and consumer-market, implying the right to work and a minimum subsistence level. This last dimension can be achieved by improving the vocational qualifications of the citizens, integrating minorities into the economic process, and taking up the challenges of globalisation, using innovative methods and strategies, and many others. The authors conclude that these four dimensions, which must be developed equally to assure balance, are attained by socialisation processes which take place in schools, families, civic organisations and political parties.

Therefore, schools play a very significant role in the construction of Europe and in the development of a European Citizenship, a process that should start very early in life and must be assumed

at all school levels, including universities and other higher education institutions².

Europe as a knowledge-society

The concept of the knowledge-society has been an issue which is not restricted to Europe solely (*cf.* Kamogawa, 2003; O'Brien, 2002). A knowledge-society or knowledge-based economy, as it is called more often, prioritises the instrumental use of scientific knowledge for competitive economic advantage and sees it as the key factor of new knowledge production, a tradable commodity in itself (Expert Group in Science and Governance, 2007), underlining intelligence, innovation and creativity.

This concept is most prominent in the Lisbon Declaration, also known as the Lisbon Agenda. This declaration, signed by the heads of states during the European Council in Lisbon, in March 2000, aimed at making the European Union the most competitive economy in the world and achieving full employment by 2010, is mostly based on three pillars: (a) an economic pillar preparing the ground for the transition to a competitive, dynamic, knowledge-based economy, emphasising the need to adapt constantly to changes in the information society and to boost research and development; (b) a social pillar designed to modernise the European social model by investing in human resources and combating social exclusion, investing in education and training and conducting an active policy for employment, making it easier to move to a knowledge economy; and (c) an environmental pillar, drawing attention to the fact that economic growth must be decoupled from the use of natural resources³.

² Much work has already been done in the last couple of decades. As example, we can point to the Erasmus network CiCe which was set up in 1998 to discuss concepts around Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe. This network has been evolved into an association just recently. See <http://cice.londonmet.ac.uk/index.cfm>.

³ Mostly taken from http://europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/lisbon_strategy_en.htm.

These pillars put a great stress on educational settings, especially in higher education institutions, where new ways have to be found to create knowledge and to educate knowledgeable people (O'Brien, 2002). Of course, the widespread recognition of the role of higher education as a major driver of economic competitiveness in an increasingly knowledge-driven global economy has made high-quality education more important than ever before.

This recognition was one of the fundamentals for the Bologna Process, an intergovernmental initiative aimed to create a European Higher Education Area by 2010. By mid 2007, the 46 states that ratified the declaration started a series of reforms to make higher education in Europe more compatible and comparable, more competitive and more attractive for Europeans and for students and academics worldwide (Santiago, Tremblay, Basri & Arnal, 2008).

Lifelong learning: before and after Bologna

Although the Bologna process began officially with the signature of the declaration on the 19th of June 1999, its roots are a lot older than that. Robertson (2009) describes the historical process preceding the Bologna declaration, showing that the common goal in all the initiatives has always been the education of citizens with a European vision, willingly to engage themselves in an expanding community with its concept of a “European culture and values”. In the Bologna Declaration⁴ this goal of the shared values for Europe and their citizens is described as follows.

A Europe of Knowledge is now widely recognised as an irreplaceable factor for social and human growth and as an indispensable component to consolidate and enrich the European citizenship, capable of giving its citizens the necessary competencies to face the challenges of the new millennium,

⁴ See ec.europa.eu/education/policies/educ/bologna/bologna.pdf .

together with an awareness of shared values and belonging to a common social and cultural space. (p. 7)

The Bologna declaration entails also the way how to implement this goal, stressing six action areas or lines, such as:

- Adoption of a system of easily readable and comparable degrees;
- Adoption of a system essentially based on two cycles (with doctoral level qualifications now considered as the third cycle);
- Establishment of a system of credits – the European Credit Transfer System;
- Promotion of mobility by overcoming obstacles to the effective exercise of free movement;
- Promotion of European co-operation in quality assurance with a view to developing comparable criteria and methodologies;
- Promotion of the European dimension in higher education with regards to curricular development, inter-institutional co-operation, mobility schemes and integrated programs of study, training and research.

Although all of these action lines have already been implemented, focus has shifted from the first four to the last couple of objectives, as we can read in more recent declarations of the European Ministers responsible for higher education. For instance, the communiqué of the conference of European Ministers of Higher Education, that took place in Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve in April 2009⁵, underlines the achievements already made and establishes the new priorities for the next decade, namely:

- Social dimension: equitable access and completion, aiming to provide equal opportunities to quality education to underrepresented groups, by improving the learning environment, removing all barriers to study and creating appropriate economic conditions for students at all levels.

⁵ See www.ond.vlaanderen.be/.../leuven_louvain-la-neuve_communique_april_2009.pdf.

- Lifelong Learning: this involves obtaining qualifications, extending knowledge and understanding, gaining new skills and competences or enriching personal growth, eventually obtained through flexible learning paths, including part-time studies, as well as work-based routes.
- Employability: taking into consideration that labour markets increasingly rely on higher skill levels and transversal competences, higher education should equip students with the advanced knowledge, skills and competences they need throughout their professional lives.
- Student-centred learning and the teaching mission of higher education: the ministers reassert the importance of the teaching mission of higher education institutions and the necessity for ongoing curricular reform geared toward the development of learning outcomes. They underline the importance of student-centred learning that require empowering individual learners, new approaches to teaching and learning, effective support and guidance structures and a curriculum focused more clearly on the learner in all three cycles.
- Education, research and innovation: recognising the higher education should be based at all levels on the state of the art research and development fostering innovation and creativity in society. As a consequence, they state that the number of people with research competences should increase.
- International openness: saying that the attractiveness and openness of European higher education will be highlighted by joint European actions, complementing competition with dialogue and cooperation, including with partnerships with other regions of the world.
- Mobility: mobility, they consider, shall be the hallmark of the European Higher Education Area, because of its importance for personal development and employability, fostering respect for diversity and the capacity to deal with other cultures, encouraging linguistic pluralism, thus underpinning the multilingual tradition in Europe. It is important to note that they mention

specifically the need to guarantee the conditions to increase mobility of teachers and not only of the students.

- Data collection: with improved and enhanced data collection, it will be possible to monitor the progress made in the attainment of the objectives set out in the social dimension, employability and mobility agendas.
- Multidimensional transparency tools: the mechanisms that are now starting to be designed to provide more detailed information about higher education institutions across Europe will help higher education systems and institutions to identify and compare their respective strengths. This will allow quality assurance and recognition, which will remain the priority.
- Funding: although the public funding remain the main priority to guarantee equitable access greater attention should be paid to seeking new and diversified funding sources and methods.

As we see, it's no longer a matter of bringing the national systems together in formal terms – like duration of cycles, the European Credit Transfer System – but assuring that all over Europe, Higher Education Institutions assure the quality of their training, based on the development of lifelong learning and of a European perspective. It's also relevant that the new role drawn for universities changes from the transmission of knowledge to the education of knowledgeable citizens, i.e., citizens that are able to understand the changes in society and, through research and training, create new answers to new problems.

More recently, in the Budapest-Vienna declaration⁶ (12 March 2010), the ministers responsible for higher education in Europe, after a brief evaluation of the results attained with the Bologna Process, state:

We call upon all actors involved to facilitate an inspiring working and learning environment and to foster student-centred learning as a way

⁶ See <http://globalhighered.wordpress.com/2010/03/12/budapest-vienna-declaration/>.

of empowering the learner in all forms of education, providing the best solution for sustainable and flexible learning paths. This also requires the cooperation of teachers and researchers in international networks. (n.p.)

The focus is laid, as we see, in the promotion of student-centred learning as the best solution for sustainable and flexible learning paths. European citizenship and a of knowledge-based Europe, as we saw, are two dimensions that require these types of flexible learning paths because each new achievement we make in either of them, will certainly cause an increased need for development and adaptation.

Lifelong learning and student-centred learning

After this examination of the concepts 'construction of European citizenship', 'knowledge-based society' and 'lifelong learning', a deeper understanding of the characteristics of student-centred learning becomes necessary. In addressing some theories we will not only get a clearer picture of student-centred learning, but we will also discuss briefly the concept of knowledge as it more often taken for granted and its implications for the training of students as researchers doing qualitative research in education.

According to the *Framework of Qualification for the European Higher Education Area*⁷ a first cycle qualification should be awarded to a student who:

- demonstrated knowledge and understanding in a field of study that builds upon their general secondary education, and is typically at a level that, whilst supported by advanced textbooks, includes some aspects that will be informed by knowledge of the forefront of their field of study;
- can apply their knowledge and understanding in a manner that indicates a professional approach to their work or voca-

⁷ Adopted at the Bergen Conference of European Ministers Responsible for Higher Education, 19-20th May 2005 (www.ond.vlaanderen.be/.../bologna/.../QF-EHEA-May2005.pdf) .

tion, and have competences typically demonstrated through devising and sustaining arguments and solving problems within their field of study;

- have the ability to gather and interpret relevant data (usually within their field of study) to inform judgements that include reflection on relevant social, scientific and ethical issues;
- can communicate information, ideas, problems and solutions to both specialist and non-specialist audiences;
- have developed those learning skills that are necessary for them to continue to undertake further study with a high degree of autonomy.

These qualifications imply that teaching in higher education shifts from the traditional teaching-as-telling – i.e. lecturing and instructing – to a new perspective based on learning to learn. Hargreaves (2004) reminds us that learning still is looked at as the acquisition, mainly through processes of memorisation, of stuff called knowledge or facts, overlooking a fundamental aspect of any educational system, the enhancement of our capacity to learn. To be successful learners in a knowledge-society, where knowledge changes rapidly, students also have to become more adept at learning generating a universal lifelong skill.

If lifelong learning is a process that is supposed to begin after graduation at compulsory, secondary or tertiary education and that is closely linked to what happened there, Hargreaves (2004) suggests four dimensions in which school learning affects lifelong learning:

- Learning how to learn, i.e., not merely learning a specific content but also learning how the process of learning itself works and can be improved;
- Generic skills, meaning skills that are not specific to a particular content or context but are transferable and applicable to many different types of content and context;
- Project, i.e., a way of organising learning and teaching in a way that differs from the ubiquitous concept of the lesson we associate with life at school;

- Mentors, people assisting and supporting learning other than teachers;
- Personalisation or the process of ensuring that educational provision meets the needs and aspirations of every individual.

Teachers within these distinguished dimensions towards student-centred learning as prerequisite for lifelong learning are key players. In the following sections we turn our focus to the training of teachers.

Teachers' knowledge base

Although we use the word knowledge frequently, its meaning is not a clear one. Knowledge can be described in terms of historical traditions, of context, and of schools of thought and philosophy to name just a few. If we place ourselves as knowledge producers in the conservative, liberal or critical tradition, its outcome will be different. The same goes if we follow the footsteps of those who stress the context of knowing in which activity and thus experience is regarded as valuable. In addition, the schools of thoughts and their philosophies, whether positivism, behaviourism, constructivism, social constructivism or cognitive psychology, focus on different angles to determine knowledge. And there are still more different perspectives on what knowledge is and can be. According to Munby, Russel, & Martin (2001) it is "quite clearly (...) impossible to account for all these viewpoints" (p. 878).

Any definition is, therefore, the result of a previous theoretical position and will always be both contested and justified. There are, nevertheless, two problems with most definitions of knowledge. First, they frequently produce a description of different knowledge categories that may prove to be useful in the heuristic analysis and description of a given reality but it may also hinder the comprehension of knowledge as global and interconnected, therefore limiting the discussion to abstract, discrete categories. The second problem concerns the tendency to reject alternative categorisations in a

process what Phillips (1996) and Munby et al. (2001) call 'Balkanisation of Knowledge'.

These problems of categorisation are particularly relevant when we think about teaching and teacher training. In a review of different categorisations of teachers' knowledge (Santos, 2007), I stressed that any significant analysis of teaching and learning must not only take into account what teachers do, their skills, but also what they know, their knowledge. If we look at a teacher's performance in a classroom, it is either grounded in his/her knowledge and beliefs or is not grounded at all. This grounding of knowledge is highly important in teaching and teacher training.

The way teachers perceive their role has to be based on a higher order conceptualisation of schooling and teaching. Cabanas (2002) calls this a cosmivision, while Kincheloe (2004) labels it a meta-epistemological perspective. This meta-epistemological perspective involves, according to Kincheloe the recognition of different types of knowledges including, but not limited to, empirical, experiential, normative, critical, ontological and reflective-synthetic domains. What the author contends is that in most of these areas the teachers and student teachers are not confronted with a transferable knowledge, quite the opposite; they must take into their own hands the production of these knowledges, to build an individual knowledge base. Normative knowledge, for instance, with its focus on what education should be in relation to moral and ethical issues will not be produced by the student arbitrarily but in relation to particular social visions, power relations and cultural and historical contexts. The construction of all other knowledges has to be individualised as well; it involves developing a way of thinking about the professional role with regard to a body of knowledges, principles, purposes and experiences. Kincheloe expects that if teachers and student teachers devise an individual knowledge base, they will perform their jobs in more informed, practical, ethical, democratic, politically just, self-aware and purposeful ways (Kincheloe, 2004).

Students as researchers

Kincheloe's meta-epistemological perspective on teaching, promotes research as knowledge production; without research student teachers and teachers are not able to construct their individual knowledge base. If Márquez' teachers were engaged in life, knowledgeable in the way described above, he would probably be inspired by school. The image of a school where students go to be fed with information would not have been sprouted from his memory. But how can we train student teachers to research and to get engaged in life? How to prepare them for the analysis of their future professional realities, the collection and organisation of data, the production of new perspectives and the responsibility to communicate and explain their findings? How can they be trained to analyse the quality of their knowledge as initiator of new research through which they achieve higher levels of understanding? How can they develop the ability to question their knowledge and to consider learning as a process, a lifetime performance? In teacher training we are just started to address these questions.

Research in teacher training, especially at undergraduate level is until now not considered important. At graduate level this is different, although we have to take into account that changes has been taken place in the knowledge production at universities. Santiago *et al.* (2008) quote Gibbons who remarks that,

The main change, as far as universities are concerned, is that knowledge production and dissemination – research and teaching – are no longer self-contained, quasi monopolistic activities, carried out in relative institutional isolation. Today universities are only one amongst many other actors involved in the production of knowledge, and this is bound to govern, to some extent, the future relationships that universities will seek to establish. (p. 41)

Based on these perspectives, Santiago *et al.* (2008) state that although universities have been adept at producing knowledge,

they must become competent at reconfiguring knowledge⁸ produced elsewhere, re-using it in some other combination, with other forms of knowledge in order to solve a problem or to meet a need.

Taking this into account, the notion of Students as Researchers gives us two alternatives: either making them a part of the research team, with their professors and other researchers, although within a subordinate role; or making use of their research as a teaching/learning strategy. If the first one is relatively common, especially in post-graduation level, the latter is the one that should draw our attention here. In clarifying the notion of Students as Researchers we will follow the perspective of Bloome and Egan-Robertson (1998). The kind of research we consider here is not the one with clear previous boundaries that takes students to libraries to seek for the recommended books, or to perform experimental procedures to see what their professors want them to see. We consider here the kind of research that generates new knowledge and the production of new texts through which the new knowledge is shared.

Research involves a search and an understanding that is systematic, based on a history of thought about principles of inquiry and how they are related to various types of knowledge. And, in the sense of looking for alternative explanations and counter-evidence, inquiry is only research when it is rigorous and self-skeptical. (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1998, p. xii)

This takes us, then, to the realms of qualitative research as a format for doing research as students in training.

⁸ This requires, according to Santiago *et al.* (2008) a change in the key characteristics of knowledge production. First and contrary to the emphasis on the individual researcher, teams will become more important. Second, the control and authority of the research will switch from the academy to the interaction between researchers and researched or users. Third, the research itself will be less discipline-based and more problem- and issue-based and therefore highly multidisciplinary. Fourth, the creation of the knowledge base will be organised in networks instead of local settings. Fifth, quality assurance is not only a matter of peer review but includes more and more the judgements of the researched and the users.

Qualitative research for teacher training

Qualitative research is generally considered an approach to research that uses methodologies designed to provide a rich, contextualised picture of an educational or social phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) assuming multiple formats: ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory and case studies being the most frequent.

Independently of the differences among approaches, they all share a certain number of features: (a) the goal is to elicit understanding and meaning; (b) the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection and analysis; (c) data collection includes field work; (d) the analysis is typically done using an inductive orientation; (e) the findings are richly descriptive, providing a full contextual picture of the phenomenon under study (Mertens & McLaughlin, 2004). Other important aspects are mentioned by Hancock (1998), for instance: data are used to develop concepts and theories that help us to understand the social world and, qualitative data are collected through direct encounters with individuals.

This means that the researcher will develop a theory about the context he participated in, therefore becoming also a subject of the research.

The researcher is a learner, continually and consciously making decisions that affect the questions pursued and the direction of the study; the research is a process of conceptualising, designing, conducting, and writing up what is learned; and research is recursive, iterative, messy, tedious, challenging, full of ambiguity, and exciting. (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p. 3)

In education, let it be in teacher training as a pedagogical method, or in actual teaching practice (within the perspective of lifelong learning) we are talking about small-scale inquiries that put the teacher at the centre of the knowledge production in the professional contexts of the classroom, school, college or university department and where reflexivity plays a central part (Burke & Kirton, 2006). With this increased ability they will be able to question the

assumptions they bring to work; critically interrogate their taken-for-granted assumptions; examine the ways they are socially situated and embedded in complex social relation and discourses; develop a deeper understanding of pedagogical practices and relations in the local contexts in which they are located. This kind of research involves, frequently, participatory or collaborative approaches to research, including key participants in the process of meaning-making.

The knowledge produced will be, of course, individual, contextualised and not able to be generalised as in the traditional positivistic tradition. It captures the involved people's perspectives and gives the researcher an understanding of discourses that shape social life in schools and society. Therefore, it is not purposed for generalisation but rather to produce evidence based on the exploration of specific contexts and particular individuals (Brantlinger, Jimenez, Klingner, Pugach, & Richardson, 2005). Qualitative research is, clearly, a process of personal growth, based on the ability of the individual to gather data and to reflectively organise them into personal knowledge, the kind of knowledge that can constitute the basis for action.

Conclusion

The challenge we are facing, in Europe and in many other parts of the world, is a very daring one. We are being asked to leave our comfort area and to promote a new society, far from the industrial civilisation we have been living in the last centuries to a new globalised one, based on knowledge. This movement has not to be undertaken only in schools, although they will certainly play a central role in this process, but it must be a generalised movement in society.

The basis for a lifelong learning – that should begin in school – is the ability to look for information, to collect data about the new situations and organisations in which people are involved, to interpret these data and to produce new answers. They should also be able to present them to others, discuss them and justify them based on their research process.

Qualitative research is a very important tool because it is clearly destined to help the researcher acquire more information about a specific situation. Nowhere is it more important than in schools and classrooms, where this situated knowledge is more than necessary. Therefore, higher education institutions and particularly teacher training institutions should start educating their students in these methods; it is the best way, in our opinion, to create the conditions for implementing qualitative research in schools and classrooms and to give them the opportunity to take more control of their life-long learning process.

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Chapter 7

RESEARCHING DEAFNESS IN SCHOOLS The SMILE Project

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Introduction

The project SMILE – *Sign, Meaning & Identification: (deaf) Learners in Europe* – was a Comenius Multilateral Project that intended to improve the initial and in-service training of teachers and other personnel working in the school education sector through the exchange of experiences regarding the quality of teaching and learning in the classroom. The project was centred in the education of deaf students and the construction of a cultural identity as a part of European citizenship, building on the idea that to understand our role as European citizens we must discuss the relationships between hearing and deaf cultures and the role of national sign languages. We assume that empowering learners and teachers to understand the visible signs, attached meanings and personal identification processes of the deaf towards what Europe is or should be, is very

important in the training of sign language teachers, interpreters and special needs educators.

The project's partnership involved three teacher-training institutions from Portugal, Spain and Turkey and also three schools from the same countries. The participating students from each university participated in a research implemented in the schools – both at home and abroad. The teacher trainers assisted the students with their expertise, preparing and guiding them through the research project while the school teachers guided them during their field work. The goal was to identify the main features of deaf culture in relation to hearing culture (both national and European), based on the perceptions of deaf and hearing pupils and students, paying a special attention to the role of sign language within these cultural identification processes.

This chapter will describe the project, including the rationale, goals and objectives and its implementation during the project's lifetime of two years. The work produced by the students will be used to illustrate the achievements of the project.

The SMILE proposal

The SMILE project intended to address two emerging needs. The first one reflected the challenges within a Europe of equal opportunities for all, in which inclusion of all people, how different they might be, is a matter of human rights. The second need stresses new educational challenges for Europe conceived as a knowledge-based society.

The debate of Europe continues to determine, especially after the formulated “Lisbon Strategy”, the agenda's of governments, parliaments and political parties, but also of teacher training institutes and schools. Europe has become a condition of life, in which we all have to play a role as European citizens. This goes also for the deaf Europeans who, according to the different representative organisations (European Union for the Deaf, World Federation of the Deaf and the national associations) have the same equal

rights. Europe in this respect is also the discussion about the relationship between hearing and deaf culture, bicultural identity and the role of national sign languages. Bringing deaf and hearing pupils in schools together with student teachers and sign language trainee interpreters stimulates and empowers all to understand the visible signs, attached meanings and personal identification processes which constitute their perception of what Europe is or should be. This helps them to cope with the growing diversity and to communicate across diversity in Europe.

In this multicultural or diverse Europe, the discussion about Lifelong Learning and teacher's competences show that good teaching needs good teachers who are able to research the educational contexts in which they work and in which increasingly pupils become involved as independent and critical learners. The project worked on solutions for the inclusion of research methodologies and intercultural practices at home and abroad within the curricula of teacher training with the goal of knowing what it means to research educational contexts and especially schools in which deaf pupils are included.

Aims and objectives of the project

The project was based on a training program aimed to identify the main features of deaf culture in relation to hearing culture (national and European) based on perceptions of deaf and hearing pupils and students, and also the role of sign language within cultural identification processes.

To implement this training, we developed a framework for a study program for students researching deaf culture in schools at home including an intercultural dialogue about the research abroad in schools and universities. In addition, a manual for researching deaf culture inside schools and digital workspaces for the communities of research students, i.e. communities of learning and practice (CLP's) were developed as well.

Partnership and Participants

The partnership includes six partners from Portugal, Spain and Turkey: three higher education institutions in the area of education, such as teacher training in special needs education and training in the field of sign languages; and three schools with diverse characteristics but having in common the education of deaf students.

Portugal

The School of Education at the Porto Polytechnic¹ and the Nasoni Middle School are the two Portuguese institutions involved in the SMILE project. The School of Education develops training activities for teachers and education technicians in the areas of education through initial, continuous, in- service, specialised and post-graduate courses, research and projects. The school is divided in several departments, among them Arts and Human Kinetics, Education Sciences, Human and Social Sciences, Natural Sciences and Mathematics, Special Education, Supervision, Educative Technologies. In total 1400 students are following training within these departments, mentored and tutored by around 100 teachers and other staff. The special education department offers a three-year sign language interpreter program for approximately 150 students.

The Nasoni Middle School provides education in the 2nd and 3rd cycle of basic education, also called lower secondary education for children in the age of 9/10 till 15. Approximately 500 children are enrolled in this school, mentored by 73 teachers and 18 sign language interpreters and counsellors.

¹ The original names of all the participating institutions are listed at the copyright page.

Spain

The two Spanish institutions are the School of Education at the University of Cordoba and the Colón School. The University of Cordoba is a mid-sized university with 21,000 students, more than 1200 teaching faculty and 700 employees. The fields of study offered at the University of Cordoba range from the Humanities, Legal and Social Sciences to the Health Sciences and Science and Technology. The department of education entails specialists in the field of special needs education and the education of the hearing impaired. They train students to become counsellors and SEN teachers in primary and secondary schools.

In the Colón school 416 students are educated of which 122 in the pre-primary department and 294 in the primary department. The number of teachers and staff working at the Colón School is 31. The school has been a reference point in Córdoba (in the South of Spain) for many years in terms of educating deaf children. Over the last years, up to 23 deaf students have attended the school. Furthermore, the school is an open community school, which not only means that activities are organised such as extra courses of English, ICT and sport, but it also offers facilities which enable parents to leave their children at school throughout the whole working day.

Turkey

The Selçuk University and the Konevi School have been taken part in the project as well. The Selçuk University has many faculties and colleges with approximately 85,000 students. From these, 12,000 students are studying in the Faculty of Education and 225 at the department of special educational needs. These students receive a training which includes how to support children with SEN (and thus also deaf and hearing impaired children) to get the best education possible.

The Konevi School is both a residential and a daily school for the hearing impaired students. It consists of 161 students and 26

teaching staff and 10 clerical staff; 4 deaf sign language interpreters are working at the school. The total communication method is used which includes both oral and sign language. The school has preschool, primary and secondary classrooms for the students between the age of 5 and 18, some of them with mild hearing impairments and others profoundly deaf.

Participating Students

In total 45 students (see table 1.) took part in the SMILE project. The Portuguese students were studying in the 2nd year of Bachelor of Portuguese Sign Language Translation and Interpretation, except one student from the second year group that studied in the 3rd year of the Bachelor of Basic Education. The Spanish students were studying in the 2nd and 3rd year of the Special Education Bachelor and the Psychopedagogy Bachelor program. Most of them had some knowledge of Spanish Sign Language. The Turkish students were a rather mixed group; not only did they study in different year groups (2-5) but their subjects of study were different as well, including, Special Education, English Language, Mathematics and Sciences.

Participating students per year/country						
Year	Portugal		Spain		Turkey	
	Individual	CLP	Individual	CLP	Individual	CLP
1 st	8	2	8	2	8	2
2 nd	7	2	6	2	8	2

Table 1: Participating Students per year/ country

The geographical and cultural origin of the partners was a very important factor in this project because one of its aims was to help the students widen their perspectives about Europe and about deafness, deaf culture and the role of national sign languages. Therefore, the students had the opportunity to visit schools, other than the official partners.

The training program

The training program was implemented according to a sandwich model (see table 2.). The participating students were assigned to set up, implement and evaluate a small qualitative research in the schools participating in the project. Through this they would get a deeper understanding of the basis of doing qualitative research with all its pitfalls and opportunities. The students also had to communicate and to discuss, in writing as well as orally, their findings in (international) communities of learning and practice and with other interested parties. In this way, they would be challenged to grasp the meaning of being a researcher and being researched.

The program was developed in three moments: (1) preparation of research at home; (2) an intercultural dialogue about research planning at home and abroad; and (3) implementation and evaluation of research at home within a European perspective.

Sandwich Model for Doing Student Research in Europe

(1) Preparation at home	(2) Intercultural dialogue at home and abroad	(3) Implementation and evaluation at home within a European perspective
Preparing research on deaf vs. hearing culture at local schools and preparing research question for stay abroad.	Comparing research plans with foreign and local students and visits to foreign research fields.	Sharing experiences with fellow home students, reviewing research plan, finding answers to adapted questions and finalising reports and papers.

Table 2: Sandwich Model for Doing Student Research in Europe

The first stage of the program intended to assist the student in the preparation of a research plan about the subject of the project. This would be the basis for the work to be developed abroad. In the second stage, students went for two weeks either to Portugal, Spain or Turkey, where they exchanged the ideas and views with the foreign fellow students. This means that each student was both host for

the incoming students and guest when going abroad. Finally, in the last stage, they had to finalise their research at home taking into account new perspectives gained during their stay abroad.

Methods and instruments

The study program included a diversity of teaching and learning methods and instruments.

- Introduction meetings headed by the tutor of each education department explaining the background and objectives of the study program within the SMILE project.
- Workshop about doing research in which students had the opportunity to brainstorm about qualitative research and deaf culture.
- Working in groups, i.e. the Communities of Learning and Practice (CLP's).
- Web-based learning on the website of the project. The students had access to a closed area, containing workspaces for every group, a library and message boards. The library content included the manual, compulsory reading and additional literature, country-specific information and formats for to be written documents like reflective journals, reports etc. The workspace was divided in two main folders, one for each group and one for each student; individual and group work could be uploaded to these folders. One message board was meant for discussing issues with the other national group of students and another for discussing issues with foreign students working in the SMILE project. The tutors had access to the folders of the national groups and to the message boards.
- Self-study for reading the provided information at the website, making notes, and writing individual reflective journals.
- Visits to the field (i.e. schools) for doing research.
- Research in groups using different methods like observations, individual or group interviews, or handing out questionnaires. It included as well an analysis of documents to research the

perceptions of deaf and hearing students on deaf culture and Europe.

- Tutorials in the field (school) and at the faculty discussing the progress of the research and the individual learning process.

Student products

Students had to produce a set of outcomes, individual and group products.

Individual products

As mentioned before, it was expected that students reflect on their own learning process, including what they have learned from the readings and the tutorials, but also from their experiences at home and abroad. These reflections including expectations, new ideas, problems encountered, learning outcomes, conclusions and evaluative remarks were part of the three *Reflective Journals* they had to write at the end of stages.

Group products

Each Community of Learning and Practice (CLP) had to present five outcomes during the duration of the program: a research plan, an interim report, a final report, a paper or article presenting the research findings and a presentation at their own education department.

These were the products that allowed us to understand the impact this project had on the participants; what they have learned, which problems they had and how they solved them, in what way they communicated their research findings, and what they consider important for being an educator in settings where deaf students are present. In the next section, an overview of this outcome will be presented.

Impact of the project

As debated before (*cf.* also Chapter 6), higher education in Europe is facing multiple challenges to turn Europe into a knowledge-society

where European citizenship is becoming a reality for all its citizens. One of these challenges, addressed in the multiple declarations produced during the meetings of the ministers responsible for higher education, is the promotion of lifelong learning in Europe. With regard to lifelong learning, we consider the following elements fundamental: the ability of the students to understand the impact of research on learning; their comprehension of the importance of intercultural dialogue; and their willingness to use and legitimate research for the construction of European citizenship for all. These three aspects will guide our analysis of the students' products with the goal, as presented before, of illustrating the achievements of the students.

Research as learning

The materials produced by the students reflect a clear instrumental perspective on the SMILE project, as a way of improving their future professional role. Plenty of remarks are made by students in the three different countries with respect to what they hope to learn and to get from this project in order to be better equipped as future teacher and professional in dealing with deaf children.

I will be a pre-school teacher. In the future, if I have deaf students, I will teach them a lot of things. That is why I joined this project (TS1, RJ)².

I decided to take part on this programme because it's an important opportunity to my professional future and I think I'll get experiences that otherwise I wouldn't be able to (PS2, RJ).

I wanted to know how to work with deaf pupils, which will be of great importance for my future (SS2, RJ).

In the future I want to work with the deaf students, so that I can provide them an education with better quality, and that will enrich me as a professional in that area (PS1, RJ).

² For a clarification of used abbreviations see the end of this chapter.

In addition, it is important to note that many students are not only able to identify their lack of knowledge, but also know how to complement it through self-conducted study and research in this area. For instance:

If I take information from (...) books and (...) Internet and at the same time I practice, I can improve myself. So this programme is very important to me... (TS1, RJ).

When I decided to participate in the project I established as a goal to increase my knowledge in the area of deafness, and to understand how it “works” in other countries (PS1, RJ).

Students’ knowledge about the different ways of perceiving the world and thus the different types of knowledge the researched may have is reflected in some statements in the research plans about the importance of having direct contact.

We would like to know if deaf people feel discriminated by other people. We think it’s extremely important to observe them in their natural environment and interacting with other students (PS1, RP).

We think the best way to get answers to our questions is the direct observation in schools, because this will give us first hand information and allow us a more objective opinion about the reality of these children (SS2, RP).

Learning through research is also discovering the power of raising questions, although they may not lead to an answer. Raising questions reflects a deeper learning which will steer follow-up activities in due time. The following remarks made by students in their final papers are rather enlightening.

If, at first, our look rests on the increase in the number of enrolments and places today, handicapped students are already inside the schools and other questions arise: How do students learn? How to teach them? How to prepare the different school professionals? What are the special education resources needed, and how to articulate the relationship? What are the special education

resources needed, and how to articulate the relationship between regular class teachers and those of specialized educational services? (TS2, PA).

While doing this research, we had as a goal to reach a deeper meaning of the fundamental concepts: deaf culture and identity, asking whether there is a deaf culture and the reasons to use this concept (PS2, PA).

As a brief conclusion we might say that the students, in general, understood that doing research is a very important part of their future professions and that in doing so, it very important that they are aware of their limitations and of what it takes to find applicable knowledge to improve education. In this sense, they recognise that comparing different research contexts provides a fine opportunity to value its merits.

Intercultural dialogue

The SMILE project demanded that the students were able to work with others: colleagues from the same university, partners from other universities, tutors and teachers from different countries, deaf and hearing pupils in schools at home and abroad. This project also demanded them to present to the others their own questions and conclusions.

This project thus requires from them proficiency in foreign languages (English was the working language of the project and, therefore, a requirement for participation) and, if possible, sign languages. This was a problem for some, although they all seemed to overcome it somehow.

Another obstacle to reach my goals was the language, because many people, including the pupils, don't understand and don't speak English, what makes it difficult to communicate. (PS1, RJ).

I learned sign language enough to communicate with deaf students. But it isn't enough; I must learn sign language entirely to communicate with deaf pupils well. (TS1, RJ).

Another dimension important to account is working together in a group and what it requires from the students: coordination, division of tasks, ability to solve problems and to overcome the lack of time or the distance.

Working in a group has some disadvantages, especially because it's difficult to gather all the members, but it also has great benefits: sharing ideas and perceptions improves our knowledge and the result of that contribution/discussion will enrich any kind of work or plan (PS1, RJ).

As a conclusion, we may say that we worked in a cooperative way, specially putting in common our ideas, because each of us had an opinion and was able to complete it with the ideas of the others, even if they didn't match in all the aspects (SS2, IR).

Working in a team is difficult and requires some responsibilities. Team teaching can be unpredictable to tell who can work together comfortably. On the other hand, it has some advantages. By working in a team we had the advantage of using problem-solving and program implementation. So, to collaborate with others is a great way to develop learning and teaching (TS2, RJ).

As we see, educational research is not an independent activity, but it is always done within a certain context in which cooperation with the researched (pupils) and fellow researchers (colleagues) is an important factor. Furthermore, how to implement the outcome in schools and classrooms is an important aspect of doing research in a multicultural context, as we will see next.

The European dimension

The third aspect that demands our attention is the ability to work within a multicultural context, which is a fundamental asset when conducting research from a European perspective.

I got aware of the similarities and differences (...) about deaf culture, education and educating styles. I thought about the advantages and disadvantages about

the difference and I shared my opinions with my teachers and my friends from the university (TS2, RJ).

This exchange produced very gratifying experiences that now allow me to look differently to education. We only grow by looking at the difference (PS2, RJ).

It has been an enriching experience in every way, has made me improve as a person and as a teacher. It has allowed me to meet many people from a different culture (...) assessing different ways of being ... (SS2, RJ).

One aspect that appears frequently in the products presented by the students is the necessity to compare everything to their own reality. It is important to notice that researching others within a certain context forces the researcher to think about his or her responsibility not only with respect to the researcher but also towards the society (parents and other stakeholders). Below you will find statements which show how the students interpret this responsibility.

I would like to improve the educational system for deaf children in Turkey. I wish everybody could be aware of the deaf culture (TS1, RJ).

In the end of this project I hope to have an enhanced vision about deaf culture, and to transmit that way of thinking to all the people that are interested in the subject, to learn and identify the main features (PS1, RJ).

The greatest beneficiary from this study will be the deaf child because we will try to verify which the best method is to educate them and which means and resources should be available to their learning (PS1, RP).

I learnt that with an adequate organization and coordination of the professionals working in the school, we can make a great work with the deaf pupils that are able to participate in all classes like the rest of their colleagues (SS1, RJ).

This aspect of social responsibility towards society and Europe, together with an open attitude towards differences inside and outside their own country are important for becoming part of the community of educators in Europe; in addition to this, collaborative

competences developed in an intercultural dialogue as well as the willingness to contextualise and to question knowledge, or in other words to see it as learning, constitute a road towards lifelong learning.

Final remarks

Through these research experiences described in journals, plans, reports and papers, students not only got a deeper understanding of the concept of deaf culture and the position of deaf people in the European community, but also they learned some competences researching multicultural contexts, discussing and negotiating opinions and beliefs through cooperation in national and international communities of learning and practice and envisaging future educational, but also personal challenges for bringing education in whatever country within Europe to a higher platform.

Abbreviations:

PS1 or PS2= Portuguese student(s) in the 1st or 2nd year of the project.

SS1 or SS2= Spanish student(s) in the 1st or 2nd year of the project.

TS1 or TS2= Turkish student(s) in the 1st or 2nd year of the project.

RJ = Reflective Journal.

RP= Research Plan.

IR= Interim Report.

FR= Final Report.

PA= Paper.

Chapter 8

TOWARDS STANDARDS FOR STUDENT RESEARCH: A Framework for Critical Pedagogical Dialogue

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Introduction

The SMILE project was implemented to find answers to two emerging needs in Europe. The first need reflects the challenges within a Europe of equal opportunities for all, in which inclusion of all people how different they might be is a matter of equal human rights. This debate will, especially after the formulated 'Lisbon Strategy', not only determine the agenda's of governments, parliaments and political parties, but also of teacher training institutes and schools. As Europe has become a condition of life, in which we all have to play a role as European citizens, also the deaf Europeans have according to the different representative organisations the same equal rights. Europe in this respect is also the discussion about the relationship between hearing and deaf, audist practices, and the status of national sign languages, education rights, inclusion and cultural diversity. In part one of this book this need was addressed at length. Educators, whether sign language interpreters, special needs

counsellors or others have to understand this other side of Europe to democratise education. The second need in Europe stresses new educational challenges for a Europe as a knowledge-based society. In our multicultural and diverse Europe, the discussion about Lifelong Learning and teachers' competences show that good teaching needs good teachers who are able to research the educational contexts in which they work and in which increasingly pupils become involved as independent and critical learners. In part two this issue is addressed showing the importance of students as researchers and how within the SMILE project students organised and implemented research on deafness, language and culture.

In this final chapter, we will focus on the development of standards for doing students research. Standards, also called competences are filling the agenda of teacher training programs and even primary and secondary schools. In the SMILE project the partners discussed teacher quality and the necessary competences for doing research on deafness, language and deaf culture in education. They were convinced that endless discussions about different national standards and competences and what has to be included, could only harm the project. To avoid such ample discussions, we agreed to take the key competences mentioned in the European Commission's study (2005) as a starting point for the development of educational research competences for teachers. This development towards competency based education is according to some a blessing giving the schools a greater influence, while others have doubts interpreting these developments as an indirect way of instilling power and control through a self-management system for which accountability procedures have to be followed.

In what follows, we will firstly give a short overview of some players in the debate about quality of education, where after we will discuss the above-mentioned study of the European Commission regarding the common principles and key competences for teacher quality. Based on this document and with reference to the former chapters about student teachers as researchers we will sketch a framework for three competences or standards and their respective requirements.

Improving the quality of education

In the last decade, quality in education has become a priority on the political agenda in the European countries; social cohesion, inclusion, citizenship, and loss of economic potential are the key words of the political agenda reflecting disruptions in the social fabric of contemporary societies. Not only states, but also international organisations like the OECD, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, commissioned research in order to stimulate a debate on quality in education and how to meet the challenges in and outside Europe due to globalisation and the growing cultural diversity. The OECD initiated in 2000 the Programme for International Students Assessment (PISA), which will run till 2015. Every three years 15 year old students in more than 60 countries will be surveyed. The main questions are if 15-year old students are prepared for the future challenges, are able to analyse, reason and communicate effectively and have the capacity to continue learning through life and if they acquired enough knowledge for full participation in their countries. The survey research focuses on reading, mathematics and science knowledge and skills¹. In addition to this OECD research, the report published in 2007 by the European Commission mentions 8 competences of what every European citizen should be able to do: communication in the mother tongue, communication in foreign languages, mathematical competence and basic competence in science and technology, digital competence, learning to learn, social and civic competences, sense of initiative and entrepreneurship, and cultural awareness and expression².

¹ See www.oecd.org for more information. The number of countries participating changed over the years; in 2000 43 states participated, in 2003 41 and the number raised in 2006 and 2009 to respectively 57 and 65. The growing number reflects the importance of taking part in this outcome-based assessment.

² It is interesting to notice, that in the description of the competence 'communication in the mother tongue' no reference is made to sign languages. "*Communication in the mother tongue is the ability to express and interpret concepts, thoughts, feelings, facts and opinions in both oral and written form (listening, speaking, reading and writing), and to interact linguistically in an appropriate and creative way in a full range of societal and cultural contexts; in education and training, work, home and leisure*" (European Commission, Key Competences for Lifelong Learning, Brussels, 2007, p.4.).

The OECD as well as the European Commission not only focused on assessment of students and required competences, but also in other reports on the training and education of teachers. In 2005, the OECD published the report 'Teacher Matter' on attracting, developing and retaining effective teachers in which they mention that it is an overarching priority that states develop a profile of what teachers should know for the purpose of continuous professional development and the assessment of teachers. In the same year, the European Commission published the *Common European Principles for Teacher Competences and Qualification*. We will explicitly address this document in the next section, because it was used in the SMILE project as source for the development of the standards for student research, the subject of this chapter.

A common European framework of teacher quality

Around the end of the 20th century a new debate on quality in education was initiated in several countries focusing on the question whether the teachers are capable of dealing with the contemporary changes in society. In several countries this debate led to a formulation of competences for the training of teachers. The European Commission also took part in this debate by publishing a short study on common principles for teacher competences (European Commission, 2005), in which they described the crucial role of teachers with respect to the challenges of the 21st century as follows:

Teachers play a crucial role in supporting the learning experience of young people and adult learners. They are key players in how education systems evolve and in the implementation of the reforms which can make the European Union the highest performing knowledge-driven economy in the world by 2010. They recognise that high quality education provides learners with personal fulfilment, better social skills and more diverse employment opportunities. Their profession, which is inspired by values of inclusiveness and the need to nurture the potential of all learners, has a strong influence on society and plays a vital

role in advancing human potential and shaping future generations. Therefore, to achieve its ambitious objective, the European Union needs to view the role of teachers and their lifelong learning and career development as key priorities. (p. 1-2)

Three aspects in this justification of the teacher's crucial role are important to stress, such as the objective to be the 'highest performing knowledge-driven economy', 'personal fulfilment, social skills and diverse employment opportunities for learners', and the focus on 'values of inclusiveness through nurturing the potential of all learners'. The first aspect is the general objective for which, in the second aspect, learners have to be educated who not only will get personal benefits and a social attitude, but also will find employment in a society with a wide and diverse array of available jobs. This second aspect contains elements of a liberal and a vocational education; in the last section we will come back on this issue. The third aspect reflects the tool to achieve all this: the role of the teacher. What is it what teachers should do to accomplish that students become autonomous lifelong learners and European Citizens. For this they need to have high-level knowledge, to be engaged with subject knowledge, curriculum content, pedagogy, innovation, research, and the social and cultural dimensions of education and recognising cultural diversity through first-hand experience, preferably abroad. Teacher education needs to be supported by school partnerships and national and regional policies have to support the teachers in receiving the highest education possible and in addition to stimulate the continuous development. Therefore the European Commission proposes the following principles: i) the teacher profession has to be graduate training, ii) with partnerships of schools, industry, and work-based training providers, iii) with learning facilities abroad and iv) placed within the context of lifelong learning. Following these principles, the commission propagates that teachers are able to work in three different overlapping areas, which are described as key competences with more concrete requirements. Below these three key competences and respective requirements are listed.

1) Work with knowledge, technology and information

- They need to be able to work with a variety of types of knowledge.
- Their education should equip them to access, analyse, validate, reflect on and transmit knowledge, making effective use of technology where this is appropriate.
- Their pedagogic skills should allow them to build and manage learning environments and retain the intellectual freedom to make choices over the delivery of education. These skills also allow for innovation and creativity.
- Their confidence in the use of ICT should allow them to integrate it effectively into learning and teaching.
- They should be able to guide and support learners in the networks in which information can be found and built.
- They should have a high level of knowledge and understanding of their subject matter and view learning as a lifelong journey.
- Their practical and theoretical skills should also allow them to learn from their own experiences and match a wide range of teaching and learning strategies to the needs of learners.

2) Work with fellow human beings

- They work in a profession which should be based on the values of social inclusion and nurturing the potential of every learner.
- They need to have knowledge of human growth and development and demonstrate self-confidence when engaging with others.
- They need to be able to work with learners as individuals and support them to develop into fully participating and active members of society.
- They should also prepare and develop collaborative activities which increase the collective intelligence of learners and co-operate and collaborate with colleagues to enhance their own learning and teaching.

3) Work with and in society

- They contribute to preparing learners for their role as EU citizens

and help to ensure that learners understand the importance of lifelong learning.

- They should be able to promote mobility and co-operation in Europe, and encourage intercultural respect and understanding.
- They also need to know the contribution that education makes to developing cohesive societies.
- They should have an understanding of the balance between respecting and being aware of the diversity of learners' cultures and identifying common values.
- They also need to understand the factors that create social cohesion and exclusion in society and be aware of the ethical dimensions of the knowledge society.
- They should be able to work effectively with the local community, partners and stakeholders in education – parents, teacher education institutions, and representative groups.
- They should be aware that good education provides learners with more and diverse employment opportunities.
- Their experience and expertise should also enable them to contribute to systems of quality assurance.

Although the European Commission withholds itself to describe concrete indicators for assessing each individual teacher and pointing to continuous development of each teacher they stress the importance of a high-level of facilitating within the teacher training institutions.

The development of professional competences should be viewed over the continuum of professional life. Not all teachers leaving their initial teacher education should be expected to possess all of the necessary competences. However, the challenge for education leaders is to ensure that such competences are present at a collective, institutional level. (2005: p.4)

In what follows, we will describe the key competences or standards for doing student research; we will reformulate the three competences in terms of what educators i.e. teachers, special needs teachers and sign language interpreters should be able to do.

Educators as researchers: competences and requirements

Based on the outcome of the research done within the SMILE project, it was decided to formulate, with reference to the Common Principles document, three key competences as well. However, we choose to use the word 'educator' instead of teacher as some of the trained students within the SMILE project will become special needs teachers, counsellors or sign language interpreters. The identified three competences are:

- Educators as producers of knowledge.
- Educators as communicators of knowledge.
- Educators as knowledge contributors for an active European citizenship.

The first competence reflects the importance of knowing your own limitations and the ability to find applicable knowledge in order to improve education. Comparative research is highly valued to accomplish this competence. The second competence points to the context of research of which pupils (and their parents) and colleagues are part with whom collaboration have to be set up in order to implement the research outcome. But being social responsible educators means not only cooperation within the school with students, colleagues and other professionals, but also taking a stance towards parents, other stakeholders and society in general explaining the choices made and how it will contribute to developments highly valued in Europe. This legitimacy of the three competences together with the outcome of the student research within the SMILE project is translated into the following requirements necessary for students and educators to improve their quality in doing research.

1) Educators as producers of knowledge

- They should have high levels of knowledge and understanding of the subject matter.
- They should have high levels of knowledge and understanding

about pedagogical aspects of the education of children (including assessment of children, curriculum differentiation, classroom organisation and management).

- They should be able to use all these types of knowledge in the production of a research plan and to be able to use, collect, analyse, and qualitatively interpret data.
- They should be able to use ICT and to integrate them effectively in the research process (audiovisual resources, informatics).
- They should be able to produce scientifically evidence-based knowledge.

2) Educators as communicators of knowledge

- They should be able to work together in a multicultural school context.
- They should be able to participate in the life of the school community.
- They should be able to interact and to share information with pupils (and their parents) and colleagues.
- They should be proficient in language skills (involving speaking, listening, reading, writing both in their native language and in other languages).

3) Educators as knowledge contributors for an active European citizenship

- They should recognise the importance of the knowledge produced for schools, parents, stakeholders and society and values and norms reflecting knowledge.
- They should integrate the principles and values of social inclusion, European citizenship, recognising the specificity of each culture.
- They should be able to effectively communicate their evidence-based knowledge to the school community, parents, stakeholders and society in general in order to promote active European citizenship.

Conclusion

These 12, rather general requirements, divided over three key competences suffice to provide a preliminary framework for discussing students' progress through which more (specific) requirements and additional behavioural indicators can be added. The question if and how this and other framework of standards have to be developed into a specific concrete ones falls outside the scope of the SMILE project.

However, after the European Commission's Common Principles publication in 2005, another important policy paper was published two years later, *'Improving the Quality of Teacher Education'*. In this second publication the Commission proposes a detailed framework for improving the quality of education and hammered on the development of indicators for assessment. Both documents led to responses from stakeholders such as the Association for Teacher Education in Europe (ATEE, 2006; Snoek & Dietze, 2007) insisting that within the development of indicators, teachers should be heard and actively be involved as key players in education. Other stakeholders and consortia of teacher training colleges in Europe who worked together in projects³ about the quality of teachers and education raised their voices as well.

Being aware of the critiques on imposing rigid standards as forms of self-assessment and control on education and teacher quality, we like to break ground for standards as a learning tool through which student teachers but also teachers can be involved in a critical political and pedagogical dialogue about the purpose of education in a society where democracy and justice are challenged day by day.

³ Within EU-subsidised Comenius and Erasmus projects like 'Argonauts of Europe' (2002-2005), 'Race and Ethnicity Based Education: Local Solutions' (REBELS, 2004-2007), 'Identifying Teacher Quality' (ITQ, 2006-2009) and 'Comparison and Assessment: Quality in Primary Education in Europe' (COMPASS, 2009-2011) quality standards for teachers in Europe have been an important subject. See also Swachten (2007, 2008).

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AFTERWORD

EDUCATIONAL POLITICS AS THEATRE: Whose Quality? Whose Standards?

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... if everything is already performative, staged, commodified, and dramaturgical, then the dividing lines between person and character, between performer and actor, between stage and setting, between script and text, and between performance and performativity disappear.

Norman Denzin, 2003, p. 25-26.

Reading this quote of Denzin means that this afterword and the whole book is a performance as well; it is a text but at the same time a script. Especially in our media age, elections of the best teacher and the ranking of schools turn out to be a media event and thus a performance; good and bad teachers as well as schools play, to use dramaturgical terms, the roles of heroes and villains.

In this media-driven world with its audiences and performers even a school reform can be turned into a play, a political spectacle. It's a performance to transmit to the audience a message that cannot be misunderstood: 'it is of the highest priority to change the school system otherwise we will not be able to educate citizens for an economy at risk, to keep up with other nations and to safeguard the quality of life so far'¹. Through such public performances market

principles in the public sphere and thus in schools have been introduced re-labelling students into consumers and teachers into providers of education (Anderson, 2005). It was soon followed by a coherent system of standards or competences in order to keep track of the quality of teachers at school level, complementary administrative accountability procedures and national tests. It not only intrudes the autonomy of teachers but also provokes ranking of schools and thus the creation of competitive schools².

Of course, we can cast some serious doubts if this development, visible in America and in Europe, is not harming the freedom of education, meaning the right to a liberal education, whether liberatory or not. We might question if the focus on vocational training in order to help the economies at risk not only transforms students and teachers into consumers and providers but also, at the same time, turns them into disposable objects for the greater sake of national or international economies. It is understandable with regard to these developments, that Anderson proposes a political awareness of the making of a political spectacle amongst teachers.

Therefore, it is imperative that educators become literate about how political spectacles are constructed and sustained. In the case of school reform, this involves an understanding of how the current accountability spectacle leads

¹ In quoting Cochran-Smith, Snoek & Dietze (2007) stress, those metaphoric titles of policy reports, for example 'It is 5 minutes to 12', serve a clear purpose: "These metaphors are intended to conjure hopeless situations that can be remedied only by pursuing radically different directions" (p. 24). In this respect we can also refer to the language used in research to convince policy makers. Donmoyer (2005) speaks off plotlines of research; one of the plotlines of the 20th century refers to standardisation of education and the process-product paradigm which provoked a focus on competency-based education with a heavy reliance on teacher's behaviour to produce the expected outcome i.e. student's behaviour. Contrary to these types of plotlines, Donmoyer mentions constructivist theories and research in which the idiosyncrasies of learners, teachers and schools are considered more important.

² Snoek & Dietze (2007) points to the fact that education is about participation in the classroom. Ranking schools doesn't say anything about the education process, A student who failed can have been educated by teachers who are considered quality teachers. In addition, a successful student can be educated by an uninspired teacher.

to performance cultures that deskill, depoliticize, and distract both educational professionals and the citizens they serve. (2005, p.201)

The main question is if this accountability spectacle leading to performance cultures that deskill and depoliticise, is as rigid as Anderson thinks or that it contains democratic elements to use the standards as a dialogue, leaving space to fill in specific requirements for each school and thus behavioural indicators for assessment. The question is whose standards we are talking about: the standards prescribed by national or local authorities for assessing quality or a framework of key standards with some requirements as a base for dialogue between teachers and those responsible for control and assessment.

Although I agree with Anderson that standards can lead to deskilling and depoliticising teachers when assessment is based upon the output i.e. the outcome of tests made by pupils instead of teachers' efforts to cope daily with the challenges in the classrooms and schools, I detect also opportunities in the developments leading towards self-management of schools.

The whole discussion about quality of teachers can be brought back to one important issue: who decides which indicators will be used and what are the consequences when teachers fail the assessment? *The Common Principles* document of the European Commission in 2005 includes no indicators to assess the proposed requirements for achieving the three key competences. Snoek and Dietze (2007) point to the fact, that although the European Commission has no mandate in educational matters of the EU member states, the documents *Common Principles* as well as *Improving the Quality of Teacher Education* contain clear advices to develop indicators. In the last report under the heading of the Commission's contribution, it is proposed to 'develop indicators that better reflect the issues involved in improving education and training for teachers and their recruitment...' (p.15). Snoek & Dietze warn us that when these indicators will be developed and used as a benchmark, they will influence national policies as member states doesn't want to be ranked having a minor quality of education.

Before the publication of both documents and the described advices some individual member states started already to develop standards and requirements; the above-mentioned publications stimulated others to follow the example. The competences and requirements per member state are different³ but in general they have all in common that no concrete indicators are described so far. However, this could change if we have to believe the warning of Snoek and Dietze. This scenario stimulated the Association of Teacher Education in Europe (ATEE) to publish a policy paper (2006) with recommendations on the development of indicators. Although this paper states clearly, that a frame of reference for international cooperation is needed it recommends involving the teachers as the owners of quality. In addition, it mentions that *'quality indicators are not goals in themselves, but should be part of a system to stimulate teacher quality that is consistent with the indicators and that stimulates ownership by teachers'* (p.3).⁴

The future will show us if these recommendations will be taken into account. For the time being Snoek & Dietze point to the importance of establishing self-regulated national professional legal bodies with a common knowledge base as representatives of professional teachers in the national and European debates about teacher quality⁵. For them it is a precondition, because an absence of such bodies would leave the battlefield to government officials, regional and local authorities and other stakeholders.

³ In the Comenius project 'Identifying Teacher Quality' (ITQ) in which 21 teacher training institutes from 12 EU countries participated, the standards of the different countries were translated into texts for reflective use in teacher training. See for more information www.teacherqualitytoolbox.eu

⁴ For a complete list of criteria and legitimacy see ATEE, *The Quality of Teachers*, Brussels, 2006 and in addition Snoek & Dietze (2007).

⁵ To give two examples: in the Netherlands, teacher educators are organised through the 'Velon' association, for which registration is free (see: www.velon.nl). It is thus not an official body. A legal body for teachers in primary and secondary education is missing too. In the UK, however, the 'General Teaching Council' is such a legal body for qualified teachers for which registration is compulsory (see: www.gtc.org.uk).

But what should teacher educators do in initial and in-service teacher training in the meantime? Should we wait and leave everything to associations and legal bodies representing the educational professionals?

Anderson's call above for engaging educators in understanding the accountability spectacle gives a clear political objective with an assignment for teacher education. A critical examination of the construction and sustainability of accountability spectacles would reveal other related issues as well, such as the growing unbalanced relationship between the individual and society, the hidden purpose of education and especially the extreme focus on vocational instead of liberal education. It would question the contemporary choreography of education and teacher education in our community theatre, the economy-driven society.

Nobody doubts that citizenship and democratic education through identifying values and norms for living together is an important purpose of schooling as also nobody doubts that a vocational training is equally important contributing to one's own and the community's well-being. The question is whether the first purpose is implemented as an instrument to support the second purpose. You might ask yourself why we more than often refer to teacher education as training, as it is only a skill what has to be learned. In this respect it is sometimes very beneficial to take notice of indigenous knowledge still held in indigenous populations all over the world. In his *'Non-Western Educational Traditions'*, Timothy Reagan collected a lot of examples from indigenous populations in Africa, Mesoamerica, and North America and from Hindu, Buddha, Islamic, Chinese educational thought and practice. Here the parents and the elderly are the educators as well as the teacher educators. In his evaluation of these practices, he states,

... although all of the traditions examined ... pay attention to the vocational needs of the individual, this focus is different from that found in contemporary (...) society in a significant way. In modern capitalist societies (...)

educational institutions are often expected to serve the needs of the economy (or, more accurately, of employers), rather than the needs of individual workers. To be sure, one could suggest that these two sets of needs ought to be, at least in the ideal, very similar, but they are by no means the same. In the cases examined in this book, the emphasis placed on vocational preparation is largely an empowering one, with the greater emphasis normally placed on the needs and aptitudes of the individual rather than on the needs of the employer. (p. 249-250)

Thus, vocational education is more than training; it relates to what is considered empowering with respect to the needs of the individual. Reagan remarks that in all the indigenous populations the primary goal of education is to become a good person (p.250). If the goal of education should be becoming a good person, than teachers engaged in this education process have to be good persons as well. Reagan mentions just one characteristic, 'honesty', but it could easily be expanded with humility, lovingness, courage, tolerance, decisiveness, confidence, patience and a joy of living, the indispensable qualities for a progressive teacher according to Freire (1998) en Darder (2003). These qualities should be focused on values improving the relationship with students.

Unlike the traditional pedagogical emphasis on specific teaching methodologies, particular classroom curricula, and the use of standardized texts and materials, Freire's indispensable qualities focus on those human values that expand a teacher's critical and emotional capacity to enter into effective learning-teaching relationships with students. (Darder, p. 507)

If these qualities are indispensable (and I like to add a few others such as caring, passion, inspirational) why then they are not listed as such in the teacher requirements? When asked students, parents and lay people which teacher qualities they consider important, they point to a few of these qualities mentioned above. Could it be that the formal competences or standards with their requirements are made by government officials and other stakeholders and not

by teachers? Does this not reflect the importance of reclaiming the ownership of quality?⁶ And more important, do we have to reclaim ownership through representative legal bodies or do we need to start in our teacher education to train and educate our students to become good teachers and good persons.

Honestly, I do think that this will be one of the main challenges for the 21st century; claiming ownership means not only engaging yourself as teacher educators, student teachers and teachers in the debate on quality but also discussing in the classrooms⁷ the purpose of education, the power issues behind it and the ways to reclaim our professional birth right. Rigid frameworks with detailed assessment indicators, what Anderson had in mind when writing his call, could provoke *blind activism* (Darder, p.509). We need to discover the space for negotiation and propose alternatives; we need general frameworks without indicators leaving room for schools and teachers to provide other descriptions of requirements and additional indicators, which reflect the educational context. We could start in teacher education arming students to tackle the reified legal documents on what they think quality is and what can be done to convince policymakers. In such a critical, pedagogical dialogue teachers will not only be challenged to explain what good education is and what has to be changed based on own research but they have to get into the political arena promoting a quality policy.

Doing research is one of the requirements according to Kincheloe (2003, 2004, 2005) in order to develop a critical complex epistemology in which all the important knowledges (empirical, experiential, ontological, normative, critical/political knowledge and reflective-synthetic knowledge) are holistically entangled. Through doing research student teachers and teachers will become empowered to

⁶ In the ERASMUS project Comparison and Assessment: Quality in Primary Education in Europe (COMPASS), 80 students met in 2009 and 2010 in Porto to discuss quality, to interview fellow students, teachers and lay people.

⁷ In the COMPASS project, students developed frameworks of quality with respective requirements and indicators, which can be downloaded from www.respect-network.org/compass.

discuss practices and policies taken for granted, like the national or European competences, requirements and indicators. They will also understand the reasoning behind it and the leading process-product paradigm (Donmoyer, 2005), in which schools and teachers are responsible not only for the process, but also the product, if failing is directly related to the behaviour of teachers. As noted before, good classroom practices don't guarantee success. The focus on outcome and product might even be criticised based on the proposed lifelong learning principles of policymakers; maybe they are just the old-fashioned extended-learning principles. If the process is so important why not propose a process-process paradigm. Through these discussions student teachers and teachers will become policy-makers as well.

In our media-driven society, teachers and student teachers can not be satisfied acting as audience, they have to engaged themselves as performers, as the real heroes. In doing so, they have to reconquer what is theirs, ownership of quality and standards.

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EUROPE has become a condition of life, in which we all have a role to play as citizens. This goes also for the deaf learners and teachers. Europe, in this respect, is also the ground for discussion, concerning the relationship between hearing and deaf culture and the role of national sign languages. Empowering learners and teachers to understand visible signs, attached meanings and personal identification processes of the deaf towards what Europe is or should be, is of crucial importance in the training of sign language teachers, interpreters and special needs educators. The book aims to identify the main features of deafness, language and culture and the quality standards for student research in schools in Europe.

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