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# The implementation of South African sign language (SASL) and sign bilingualism in a school for the deaf interpreted through the identity metaphors used by school leadership (SMT) and teachers

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# The implementation of South African Sign Language (SASL) and Sign Bilingualism in a school for the Deaf interpreted through the identity metaphors used by school leadership (SMT) and teachers

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8811008M

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Supervisor: Professor Claudine Störbeck

October 2017

## Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

_____

Guy William McILROY

___ day of _____ in the year of _____

## Dedication

To my parents, my children and to this generation of teachers of the Deaf and the next generation.

## Acknowledgements

To my supervisor, Professor Claudine Störbeck. I am deeply grateful for your guidance, and wisdom, in shaping this thesis and developing my identity as an academic writer and knowledge-producer.

My gratitude extends to the University of the Witwatersrand for the financial support of a bursary for the duration of this study. At the same time, this study also benefited from the generous funding from National Research Foundation (NRF) *Thuthuka* programme (Grant: TTK1207122782) that provided financial support for this study along with the funding of two honours research reports and a Masters student as part of this grant-funded project on Sign Language and sign bilingualism in several schools for the Deaf in South Africa. I am grateful to the Wits School of Education Graduate Studies team for funding a PhD Writing Retreat that contributed significantly a chapter. I want to add my appreciation to the PhD weekend reviewers for their valuable feedback and academic support during the articulation of various stages of this study.

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My thanks goes to the principal and teachers at De La Bat School for the Deaf who welcomed me to their school and classrooms and for their participation in the study. My thanks goes to the SASL Interpreter, Esme, and the team of transcribers at *Way With Words,* and Augustine Letlalo for translating the SASL texts. Thank you to Michael Crompton for diligently proofreading this manuscript.

## Abstract

The aim of this case study is to explore and understand how the school leadership of a school for the Deaf, through the principal and School Management Team (SMT) experiences and understands and assists the process of transformation to South African Sign Language required for the implementation of CAPS SASL curriculum and sign bilingualism. Secondly, how teachers of the Deaf change and re-imagine themselves as sign bilingual teachers of the Deaf within the new pedagogical space of CAPS SASL. Thirdly, how the researcher's autoethnography contributes towards the sign bilingual narrative of Deaf epistemology research.

A theoretical framework of narrativity of SMT and teachers identity is used to understand the post-colonial, transformation. Literature around the concepts of post-colonialism, audism, bilingual education, sign bilingualism (as second wave dynamic bilingualism), context of South African Deaf Education, ontological and conceptual metaphors, identity and space are reviewed. A model of cognitive transformation (i-PTSD) is proposed and used to interpret teacher's mental transformation (border crossing, Martin, 2010) to a new paradigm and discourse of sign language and sign bilingualism. In addition, the transformational leadership model of Fullan (2004) is used to interpret school leadership's narrative of transformation.

This case study collected narrative data from three focus groups, three key interviews and sixteen journals of teachers at a school for the Deaf in the Western Cape Province pioneering the transforming to SASL. A modified phenomenographic research method is used to interpret the narratives of teachers to understand the architecture of transformation within hearing and deaf teachers and within school leadership. The researcher's blogs provide a parallel reflective autoethnographic narrative.

The findings show that school leadership's (SMT) alignment with the five person-centred, practical and visionary transformational leadership principles: re-culturing through re-languaging of minds to and through SASL, developing people as signing, bilingual teachers of the Deaf as 'bridges' and supportive teams (SMT), the principal as critical thought leader on SASL language policy and pedagogy and implementation of sign bilingualism, the moral purpose of transformation to support teacher's growth of sign language for equality and educational access of learners through an epistemology of empathy and the leadership identity of the principal as a 'servant leader' (Greenleaf,

2003) through critical dialogue. This meso-level (Fullan, 2004) narrative of transformation was both instrumental and essential in supporting teacher's cognitive (micro-level) transformation and implementation of SASL and sign bilingualism.

Teachers' professional identity was changed and re-imagined around the epistemological metaphor as educational (learner-centred) 'partners' through their nearness and connection with sign language and sign bilingualism.

Through post-audism, sign bilingual is recognised as a valid post-colonial identity space. Post-audism is a powerful lens for interpreting post-colonial narratives of sign bilingual Deaf epistemology and ontology.

Similarly, the autoethnographic narrative provides a subaltern voice to an unexplored post-audist Deaf epistemology of a deaf sign bilingual researcher.

*Key words*
Transformation, identity, narratives, metaphors, CAPS SASL, sign bilingualism, audism, post-colonial, bricolage, phenomenography, deaf epistemology, re-imagining, autoethnography

## Conferences directly related to this study

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Mcilroy, G. (2014). *Teachers talking about their transformation: a case study of translanguaging in a school for the Deaf,* International Symposium on Language Literacy Education in Multilingual Classrooms (WLLS) Wits Language and Literacy Symposium, 11 August 2014, Wits School of Education, Johannesburg.

Mcilroy, G. (2015). *Teachers talking about their transformation: a case study of translanguaging in a South African school for the Deaf*. International Congress on the Education of the Deaf (ICED 2015), 7 July 2015. Athens, Greece.

Mcilroy, G. & Magongwa, L. (2017), *Deaf Mentors, Oral, Signing and everything in between.* Family Centred Early Intervention (FCEI) Conference, 29 June 2017, Rosebank Union Church, Johannesburg, South Africa.

## Publications

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**CONTENTS** **Page**


**CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND AND FOCUS**

**1.1 Introduction 1**

**1.2 Background and Context 4**

**1.3 Rationale 7**

**1.4 Research Questions 8**

**1.5 Overview and Summary of Chapters 8**

**CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

**2.1 Introduction 13**

**2.2 Theoretical Framework 13**

**2.2.1 Narratives 14**

**2.2.2 Identity 19**

**2.3 Literature Review 21**

**2.3.1 Ontology 21**

***2.3.2 Audism and Post-audism 23***

***2.3.3 Bilingual Deaf Education 25***

***2.3.3.1 Background and Concepts 25***

***2.3.3.2 Trends 27***

***2.3.3.3 Studies of Benefits of Sign bilingual 31***

***2.3.3.4 Assumptions 34***

***2.3.3.5 Challenges 35***

***2.3.3.6 South African context 36***

**2.3.3.7 Second Wave of Sign Bilingualism: Dynamic Bilingualism 37**

**2.3.3.8 Identifying 39**

**2.3.3.9 Transglossia 41**

**2.3.3.10 Translanguaging 42**

**2.3.3.11 Sign Bilingual: language separation or concurrent language use? 43**

**2.3.4 South African Deaf Education context 34**

**2.3.5 Dialogism 49**

**2.3.6 CAPS SASL and Teacher's Identity 50**

**2.3.7 Metaphors 57**

**2.3.8 Transformation and Nearness 61**

**2.3.9 Places and Spaces** **62**
**2.3.10 Transformational School Leadership** **63**
**2.3. 11 i-PTSD model of Cognitive Transformation** **66**
**2.3.12 Autoethnography** **69**
**2.4 Conclusion** **72**

**CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY**
**3.1 Introduction and Positioning** **73**
**3.2 Interpretivism** **74**
**3.3 Bricolage** **74**
**3.4 Phenomenography** **78**
**3.5 Phenomenographic Analysis** **81**
***3.5.1 Steps of Phenomenographic analysis*** **82**
**3.6 Case Study** **83**
**3.7 Case Stories** **88**
**3.8 Narrative Inquiry** **88**
**3.9 Research Site and Research Participants** **89**
**3.10 Data Collection Instruments** **96**
***3.10.1 Survey*** ***96***
***3.10.2 Focus groups*** ***96***
***3.10.3 Interviews*** ***98***
***3.10.4 Journals*** ***100***
**3.11 Research Procedure** **101**
***3.11.1 Introduction*** ***101***
***3.11.2 Pilot Survey*** ***101***
***3.11.3 Cluster Analysis of Survey questions 1-16*** ***102***
***3.11.4 Summary of Survey into trends*** ***102***
***3.11.5 Focus Groups*** ***103***
*3.11.5.1 SMT* *103*
*3.11.5.2 'Older Teachers'* *104*
*3.11.5.3 'Younger Teachers'* *105*
*3.11.5.4 Wrap-up session* ***106***
***3.11.6 Interviews*** ***107***
***3.11.7 Journals*** ***108***
***3.11.8 Auto-ethnographic Bilingual Research Blogs*** ***109***
*3.11.8.1 Methodology* ***110***

**3.12 Ethics 111**
***3.12.1 Insider? 112***
***3.12.2 Languages 113***
***3.12.3 Inclusion/exclusion 114***
***3.12.4 Anonymity 115***
***3.12.5 Confidentiality 118***
*3.12.5.1 Video recording 118*
*3.12.5.2 SASL Interpreter 119*
**3.13 Conclusion 119**

**CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: FOCUS GROUPS**
**4.1 Structure of Analysis: Steps 1-3 121**
**4.2 Focus Group 1: School Management Team (SMT) 121**
**4.3 Categories of Description: Focus Group 1: SMT) 131**
**4.4 Focus Group 2: 'Older Teachers' 133**
**4.5 Categories of Description: Focus Group 2: 'Older Teachers' 140**
**4.6 Focus Group 3: 'Younger Teachers' 141**
**4.7 Categories of Description: Focus Group 3: 'Younger Teachers 151**
**4.8 Wrap-up Session 152**
**4.9 Variations (Step 3) 155**
***4.9.1 Similarities 155***
***4.9.2 Differences 156***
**4.10 Conclusion 156**

**CHAPTER 5: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: INTERVIEWS**
**5.1 Introduction 158**
**5.2 Interview 1: Principal 158**
**5.3 Categories of Description: (Interview 1: Principal) 158**
**5.4 Interview 2: Deaf Male Teacher 171**
**5.5 Categories of Description: (Interview 2: Deaf Male Teacher 180**
**5.6 Interview 3 Deaf Female Teacher 181**
**5.7 Categories of Description: (Interview 3: Deaf Female Teacher) 187**
**5.8 Variations 187**
***5.8.1 Similarities 188***
***5.8.2 Differences 189***
**5.9 Conclusion 190**

**CHAPTER 6: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: JOURNALS (Steps 1-3)**

**6.1 Introduction and Structure 191**

**6.2 Category 1: Teacher of the Deaf and Teaching (Step 2) 194**

***6.2.1 Topic 1: 'What attracted me' 194***

***6.2.2 Variations 194***

***6.2.3 Topic 2: 'My most significant moment' 194***

***6.2.4 Variations 195***

***6.2.5 Topic 5: 'Three Joys' 195***

***6.2.6 Variations 195***

***6.2.7 Topic 8: 'How I have changed as a teacher' 196***

***6.2.8 Variations 196***

***6.2.9 Topic 11: 'Hearing teachers and d/Deaf teachers' 196***

***6.2.10 Variations 197***

**6.3 Category 2: Sign Language and Sign Bilingualism (Step 2) 198**

***6.3.1 Topic 4: 'Sign Language' 198***

***6.3.2 Variations 198***

***6.3.3 Topic 6: 'Challenges' 199***

***6.3.4 Variations 199***

***6.3.5 Topic 12: 'Being Bilingual' 201***

***6.3.6 Variations 201***

**6.4 Category 3: Deaf Learners (Step 2) 202**

***6.4.1 Topic 3: 'Deaf Learners' 202***

***6.4.2 Variations 202***

***6.4.3 Topic 7: 'As a parent of a deaf child' 204***

***6.4.4 Variations 204***

***6.4.5 Topic: 'What deaf learners have taught me' 204***

***6.4.6 Variations 205***

***6.4.7 Topic: 'Deaf learners need' 205***

***6.4.8 Variations 206***

**6.5 Category 4: Change (Step 2) 207**

***6.5.1 Topic 9: 'Change' 207***

***6.5.2 Variations 207***

**6.6 Analysis of topics 1-12: Categories of Description (Step 3) 209**

***6.6.1 Teacher of the Deaf and teaching 209***

***6.6.2 South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism 212***

***6.6.3 Deaf Learners*** ***214***
***6.6.4 Change*** ***215***
**6.7 Conclusion** **216**

**CHAPTER 7: ANALYSIS OF POOLED CATAGORIES OF VARIATION (OUTCOME SPACES Step 4)**
**7.1 Introduction** **217**
**7.2 Focus Groups** **217**
***7.2.1 Theme 1: Establishing Sign Language and Revolution of the Mind*** ***217***
***7.2.2 Theme 2: Balance*** ***217***
***7.2.3 Theme 3: Unity*** ***218***
**7.3 Interviews** **218**
***7.3.1 Theme 1: Purpose*** ***219***
***7.3.2 Theme 2: Comfort Zone and Deaf Space*** ***220***
***7.3.3 Theme 3: Balance*** ***222***
***7.3.4 Theme 4: Ambivalence and Connection*** **222**
**7.4 Journals** **224**
***7.4.1 Theme 1: Teacher of the Deaf: a new narrative of empathy*** ***224***
***7.4.2 Theme 2: Sign Language and Sign Bilingualism: Integrating new languaging practices*** ***225***
***7.4.3 Theme 3: Deaf Learners: re-definition*** ***227***
***7.4.4 Theme 4: Change: struggles and possibilities of new connections ('aporia')*** ***228***
**7.5 Discussion** **228**

**CHAPTER 8: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS: AUTOETHNOGRAPHIC NARRATIVES (Step 4)**
**8.1 Introduction** **232**
**8.2 Research Blogs** **232**
**8*.2.1 Introducing the researcher*** ***232***
***8.2.2 Narrative analysis of blogs and* excerpts** **233**
*i. Bilingual Blog: DeaF 3 February 2013* *233*
*ii. Bilingual Blog: Am I a bilingual deaf person? 27 February 2013* *234*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *iii.* | *Researcher Blog: Vision 9 March 2013* | *234* |
| *iv.* | *Researcher Blog: Focus Groups 11 August 2013* | *234* |
| *v.* | *Researcher Blog: One week after the first visit to The school 11 August 2013* | *236* |
| *vi.* | *Researcher Blog: 'No Teacher Left Behind' 11 August 2013* | *237* |
| *vii.* | *Research Blog: Fieldnotes on the journey 18 August 2013* | *237* |
| *viii.* | *Bilingual Blog: Hearing Test 21 November 2013* | *238* |
| *ix.* | *Bilingual Blog: Being Bilingual 20 January 2014* | *239* |
| *x.* | *Bilingual Blog: Received my DeafSA Card 24 April 2014* | *239* |
| *xi.* | *Bilingual Blog: Languages 8 May 2014* | *240* |
| *xii.* | *Researcher Blog: Paradoxes 8 May 2014* | *241* |
| *xiii.* | *Researcher blog: Case Study 25 May 2014* | *242* |
| *xiv.* | *Researcher Blog 3 Unasked Question August 2014* | *243* |
| *xv.* | *Researcher Blog: Second field trip: 28-30 September 2014, 5 October 2014* | *234* |
| *xvi.* | *Blog: Letter to my Teachers 20 October 2014* | *243* |
| *xvii.* | *Blog: PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder) and the i-PTSD model 23 November 2014* | *254* |
| *xviii.* | *Bilingual Blog: Bilingual Identity 6 March 2015* | *258* |
| *xix.* | *Bilingual Blog: 'Let It Go' 23 July 2015* | *258* |
| *xx.* | *Bilingual Blog: Signing on the Panel of Deaf Mentors 15 July 2015* | *259* |
| *xxi.* | *Combined Blog: PhD Writing Retreat (Mangwa) 2 September 2015* | *260* |
| *xxii.* | *Blog: Becoming Unstuck: merging of the blogs 8 August 2016* | *262* |
| *xxiii.* | *Blog: Solidarity in Sign Language SASL 12th Official Language 1 September 2016* | *264* |
| *xxiv.* | *Blog: Goodness of Fit and Fitting-in 23 September 2016* | *266* |
| *xxv.* | *Blog: Teaching bilingually 27 October 2016* | *271* |
| *xxvi.* | *Blog: The Cave of Audism 20 December 2016* | *272* |
| *xxvii.* | *Blog: Assumptions 24 Dec 2016* | *278* |
| *xxviii.* | *Blog: Metaphors 27 December 2016* | *280* |
| *xxiv.* | *Blog: Bricolage and Bricoleur 28 December 2016* | *286* |
| *xxv.* | *Blog: Bilingualism as 'language separation' or* | |

*'concurrent language use'? 22 January 2017* *288*

**8.3 Analysis and Discussion/reflection and theorising**

***8.3.1 Coherence*** ***291***

***8.3.2 Auto-ethnographic narratives*** ***292***

***8.3.3 An emerging post-audist narrative*** ***292***

**8.4 Conclusion** **292**

**CHAPTER 9: ANALYSIS OF METAPHORS – POOLED CATEGORIES OF VARIATION (OUTCOME SPACES Step 4 continued)**

**9.1 Mapping of metaphors as post-audist narratives** **295**

**9.2 Metaphors (analysis)**

***9.2.1 Focus Group 1: SMT*** ***296***

***9.2.2 Focus Group 2: 'Older Teachers'*** ***298***

***9.2.3 Focus Group 3: 'Younger Teachers'*** ***300***

***9.2.4 Interview 1: Principal*** ***301***

***9.2.5 Interview 2: Male Deaf Teacher*** ***303***

***9.2.6 Interview 3: Female Deaf teacher*** ***304***

***9.2.7 Journals*** ***305***

*9.2.7.1 Category 1: 'Teachers of the Deaf and Teaching'* *305*

*9.2.7.2 Category 2: 'Sign Language and Sign Bilingualism'* *307*

*9.2.7.3 Category 3: 'Deaf Learners'* *308*

*9.2.7.4 Category 4: 'Change'* *310*

**9.3 Conclusion** **312**

**CHAPTER 10: FINDINGS: PHENOMENOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS - INTERPRETING THE ARCHITECTURE (Step 5)**

**10.1 Introduction** **313**

**10.2 Transformational Leadership (Fullan)** **313**

***10.2.1 Re-culturing*** ***313***

***10.2.2 Developing people and teams*** ***318***

***10.2.3 Principal as critical thought leader*** ***319***

***10.2.4 Transformation has a moral purpose*** ***320***

***10.2.5 Identity of the principal*** ***322***

***10.3 Metaphors (Lakoff &Johnson) and Identity (Jansen)*** ***322***

**10.4 Cognitive transformation and i-PTSD model of Transformation** **325**

10.5 Key Findings 328
10.6 Conclusions 330
10.7 Recommendations 331
10.7.1 For Teachers 332
10.7.2 For Principals 332
10.7.3 For Department of Education 332
10.7.4 For Researchers/Autoethnographers 333
10.8 Closing Comments 334

11 REFERENCES 335

12 APPENDIXES
12.1 A Letter of Information and Informed Consent 352
12.2 B Ethical Clearance letter: WSoE 354
12.3 C Letter from Research Site granting permission 355
12.4 D Ethical Clearance (Western Cape DoE) 356
12.5 E Sign Bilingualism Survey 357
12.6 F Poem: 'You have to be Deaf to Understand' 362
12.7 G School Language Policy 365
12.8 H Extract on SASL and Sign Bilingualism from CAPS SASL 369

## List of Tables and Figures

**Figure 1: Levels and cohorts within a school 2**

**Figure 2: Overview of School Leadership and Teachers & Data Collection 9**

## List of Tables

**Table 1: Profile and Identifiers of Participants 92**

**Table 2: Participants across the three research instruments 94**

**Table 3: Focus Groups, Interviews and Journal Themes 229**

**Table 4: Epistemological and ontological metaphors of sign bilingualism: Imagined as an artefact (object) or as an agent (occupation) 323**

## List of Abbreviations

CAPS Curriculum and Policy Statement

CNE Christian National Education

CoL Community of Learners

CoM Community of Management

CoP Community of Practice

DBE Department of Basic Education

DeafSA Deaf Federation of South Africa

DTA Deaf Teaching Assistant

FET Further Education and Training (Grades 10-12)

GET General Education and Training (Grades 4-9)

GVT *Gebare Versterkte Taal* (Afr.) [trans. Sign Supported English/Afrikaans]

HoD Head of Department

hoh hard of hearing (oral)

HH Hard of Hearing (signer)

ICED International Congress of the Education of the Deaf

i-PTSD Inverted Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

LOLT Language of Learning and Teaching

MEC Member of the Executive Council

OBE Outcomes Based Education

RNCS Revised National Curriculum Statement

SADF South African Defence Force

SASL South African Sign Language

SE Signed English

SMT School Management Team

TC Total Communication

WSD Whole School Development

WST Whole School Transformation

# CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND AND FOCUS

## 1.1 Introduction

> *Never to doubt that a small group of thoughtful committed people/citizens [school leaders and teachers] can change the world* (Mead, 1964).

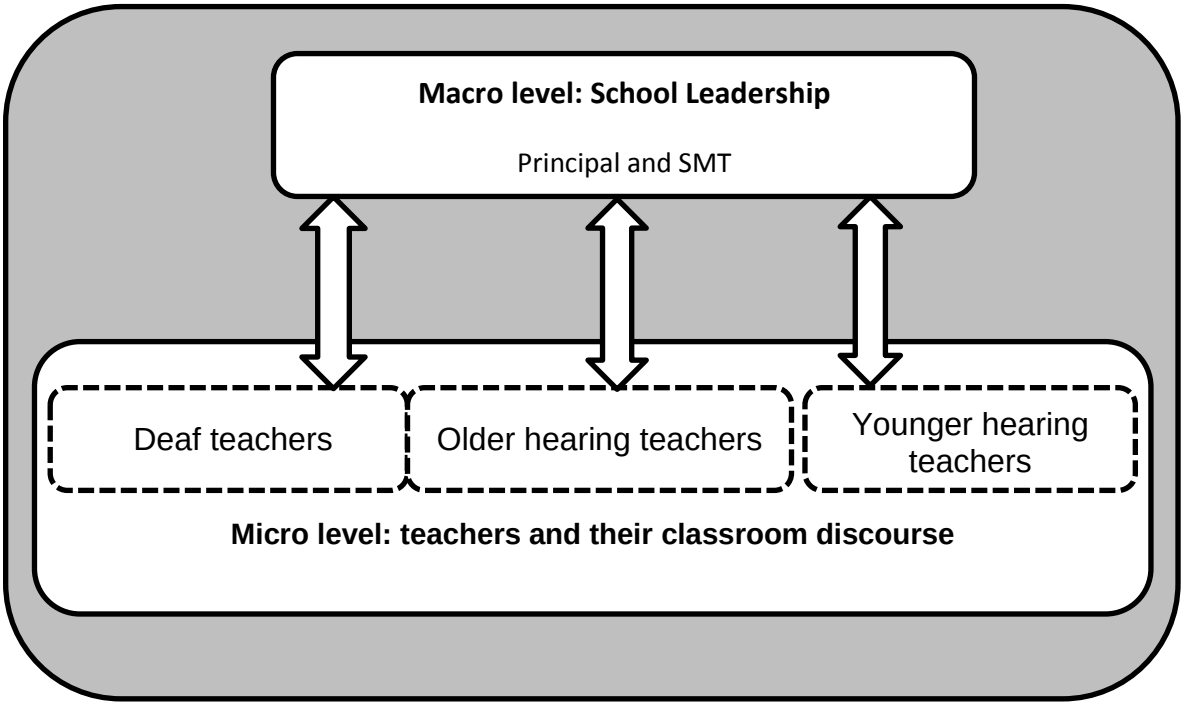
Margaret Mead's quote sets the stage for this thesis as an educational ethnographic case study with an emancipatory focus of researching the teaching community of a school for the Deaf[1]. Typically, emancipatory research is conducted on a marginalised community, and broadly speaking, with a history of marginalisation through linguistic imperialism (Branson & Miller, 2002, p. 246), oral schools for the deaf fit into this definition. However, instead of focusing on Deaf learners, it is the teachers of the Deaf, as a community or cohort that make up the frame of reference of this study for understanding and empowering teachers as 'change-agents' (Fullan, 2012) and co-constructors of knowledge (Garcia, 2015). Another feature of emancipatory research Branson & Miller, 2002) such as this, is the inclusion of the researcher-as-insider in the study with valuable subaltern knowledge (Ladd, 2003) to 'de-colonise the mind' (Nguni, 1994; Grech, 2015, p.9). The primary focus of the study is on teachers. More specifically through Fullan's (1995, 2002) model (see Figure 1 below) that depicts the educational core of the school in terms of the 'macro-level' (school leadership) and the micro-level' (teachers as individuals and as clusters) space in theorizing, understanding and implementing the South African Sign Language (SASL) curriculum and sign bilingual pedagogy and expanding into the 'second wave' of sign bilingualism (Garcia & Cole, 2014, p. 111), of translanguaging, identifying, languaging as 'dynamic bilingualism' (Garcia, 2015, p. 228).

This narrative case study explores not only the macro and micro levels but also the relationship between the macro and micro; the 'meso-level' (Fullan, 2004). More specifically, school leadership, comprised of the principal and School Management Team (SMT), makes up the macro-level that leads and drives the vertical (Fullan,

[1] The classical usage of a capital 'D' in Deaf that is found in the field of Deaf Studies as a marker of people who share a language (Sign Language) and a culture (Deaf culture) (Humphries & Padden, 1988). In contrast to the cultural view of deafness is the small 'd' for deaf which indicates the audiological status as 'not-hearing'.

2004) (see Figure 1 below) transformation of the school in its implementation of SASL as a subject and sign bilingualism as the pedagogical approach embedded in the CAPS SASL curriculum.

**Figure 1: Levels and cohorts within the school**




(Adapted from Fullan 2004)

Inasmuch as teachers, at the micro-level of theorising and implementation, have an important role in educating, Garcia & Lin state the obvious, that 'without teachers, schools cannot be transformed' (2016, p. 12). Yet, it is easy to miss the profound impact that teachers have on school transformation at the micro-level of their practices in their classes. This is where the micro-level of teachers' experiences on a horizontal level among themselves as peers (Fullan, 2004) of their discourse comes into foreground in this study (see Figure 1 above). In particular, it is the sign bilingual approach of teacher's conceptualisation and implementation of the language ideology of 'additive bilingualism' (Makoe & McKinney, 2014, p. 658-659) where a language is added to a person's existing language where the first language bridges the development of the second language to become a bilingual user of both languages. This is how bilingualism is conceptualised in SASL CAPS. However, the traditional perspective of a bilingual as 'two monolinguals in one' (Grosjean, 1982) and linguistic colonial segregation (Grech, 2015) or silo-ing of languages (Garate, 2012) is being challenged by the emergence of the post-colonial dynamic bilingualism model through

translanguaging practices in and between languages (Makelala, 2015a; Garcia, 2009, Garcia, & Cole, 2014).

Although learners and parents are recognised as important contributors to the educational project, they are not the primary unit of analysis in this study. Instead, the focus is on school leadership of the SMT as an official cohort of senior teachers with managerial responsibilities and teachers as the primary agents of transformation.

The perspective of this ethnographic study is a shift away from the prevalent positivist methodology of describing what it means to be a 'teacher of the Deaf'. Instead, as a bricolage[2] (Kincheloe, 2011, p. 170) study that interrogates the hermeneutic perspective of teachers and school leadership's narratives within a deaf-led research project as an interpretive bricoleur (Denzin & Lincoln, 1999) in order to understand and interpret the complexity of being a teacher of the Deaf in a post-colonial moment.

The significance of this moment in South African post-apartheid history is derived from the groundswell of support for South African Sign Language (SASL)[3] in schools for the Deaf (Aarons, 2000), and has become a reality in schools with the promulgation of the SASL CAPS curriculum in 2014 by the Department Basic Education. In effect, the educational policy of CAPS SASL marks a fundamental shift in Deaf Education. The introduction and implementation of the CAPS SASL curriculum has begun to radically transforming the educational landscape of South African schools for the Deaf with an official curriculum that requires and supports South African Sign language. This curriculum is a major departure from past practices of using a mixture of oral and signing (Total Communication/Signed English) in classes for communication (Glazer & Van Pletzen, 2012, p. 27).

At the same time, the CAPS SASL curriculum brings with it a need to conceptualise and re-conceptualise how the identity of teachers of the Deaf is imagined through their

[2] Bricolage is a methodological inquiry that seeks to understand the complexity of the many different post-colonial voices to be heard and analysed (Kincheloe, 2011, p. 170).

[3] South African Sign Language is written with capitals to denote its linguistic status as a language in the same way that English is written with a capital E. South African Sign Language (SASL) or SA Sign Language, as recognised by the South African Deaf community and the South African Constitution as a language, albeit not as an official language (1996, 6(5)1), but has been accepted as an official language for educational purposes (as a LOLT) in the South African School's Act (84 of 1996, revised 2015).

narratives. This ties in with Ricoeur's (1981, p. 113) point of how the analysis of ethnographic narratives function as a hermeneutical arc (Ricoeur, 1985) within an educational landscape that is undergoing curriculum and pedagogical transformation.

In this study, the narratives of the teachers reveals something of their identities and how these are configured through the metaphors embedded in their stories (Clandinin, & Connelly, 1990. p. 2). This brings in the foundational work of Lakoff and Johnson (2003) on metaphors into this research as narrative bricolage (Rogers, 2012, p. 7) recognised that metaphors are the (colonial, de-colonial and post-colonial, Grech, 2015) conceptual maps that are not only expressed in language, but reveal the connection of the concepts' (Gauntless, 2010, p. 149). In this study, there is a wide range of teachers in terms of experience, exposure and competency in sign language, and background and expectations of themselves and of d/Deaf learners whose stories have not been told and critically interpreted.

Along with the narratives of the school management team (SMT) and that of the teachers, (both hearing and deaf) the research narratives of the 'researcher-as bricoleur' (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004, p. 2) as a trilingual deaf person (English, SASL, Afrikaans), provides an insider's critical counterpoint to the research journey.

## 1.2 Background/Context

This study is a nexus of several converging events; two of which have been DeafSA's[4] lobbying for recognition of South African Sign Language (SASL) (spanning more than two decades) to overturn the oral legacy of Milan 1880 (Branson & Miller, 2002) and a High Court ruling in 2009 for SASL in Deaf Education.

Historically, it is known (Lane, Hoffmeister & Bahan, 1996), up until 1880 worldwide that deaf children were able to access knowledge through signed languages in their respective education systems and that Deaf adults held key positions in education, law and medicine among others. Then in 1880, during the landmark Milan Congress (Branson, 2002) the use of sign language in schools for the Deaf was banned in favour of the oral approach to education. The impact of this international educational

[4] DeafSA, (Deaf Federation of South Africa) is the national umbrella body that advocates for Deaf persons' linguistic, cultural, educational rights through recognition of SASL as an official 12th language.

resolution was felt as far afield as in South Africa in that same year or shortly after with the establishment of oral schools for the deaf in South Africa, including De La Bat school in Worcester, Dominican-Grimley in Cape Town, Efata in King Williamstown and later St Vincent in Johannesburg. (Reagan, Penn Ogilvy, 2006 p. 188). After almost a century of the oral mode of education, the national Deaf organisation in South Africa (DeafSA) began lobbying for the recognition of SASL as an official language to be used in schools for the Deaf. Significantly, De La Bat, Efata and St Vincent schools have changed their language policy and practice to formally recognise and use SASL in classes.

The second and more significant, event that started the shift in the educational landscape to the long-awaited institution of SASL as a first language at school was High Court Case no. 4846/2009. Sometimes referred to as the Springate case, in 2009 the Pietermaritzburg High Court ruled for SASL to become an official Grade 12 subject. In response to the court ruling the Minister of Basic Education set up a Curriculum Management Team (CMT) in March 2010, to manage the development of a first-language SASL curriculum, and after submitting curriculum in August 2013, the SASL CAPS was officially launched and rolled out in 2015 (Störbeck, 2016).

Prior to this watershed court case for the South African Sign Language curriculum, South African Sign Language has an interesting story to tell. Reagan, Penn and Ogilvy (2006) sought to understand the politics of SASL with emphasis on post-apartheid (after the 1994 official removal of racial segregation policies and structures) developments. In the period of apartheid, between 1948 and 1994, education of deaf children was divided economically into the perceived superior oral education (Branson & Miller, 2002) for white deaf children with hearing aids and speech therapy while black deaf children did not receive these resources. Instead, some form of signing in black schools for the deaf (Reagan, Penn, & Ogilvy, 2006, p. 191) was allowed and tolerated. As a result, at that time sign language was not considered to be a language, but many different forms of signing occurred in both settings, overtly in class or covertly in the so-called ‘oral’ schools (Aarons, 1999). This discrepancy of signing lead to the pivotal research by Reagan, Penn and Ogilvy (2006) to understand whether there is one South African sign Language or many signed languages. It was therefore concluded that there is a South African Sign Language which has many regional, educational variations as a consequence of its apartheid legacy (2006, p. 195). The SASL Dictionary project provided much needed information but more significantly, it brought

out into the open the idea that 'it is fundamentally impossible, unethical, and pedagogically unwise to impose a created sign language on the various deaf communities' (2006, p. 193). Thus, it was found and accepted by these researchers that SASL cannot be controlled from above This marks a pivotal disrupture from the colonial discourse of 'naming languages' for control (Garcia, 2016, p. 18). Instead, SASL is seen as a natural language in its own right (Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy, 2006, p. 195). This finding has enormous consequence in liberating SASL from the apartheid and colonialist past. In turn, this lead to the sympathetic to South African Sign Language in Education Policy (LiEP, 1997)(Reagan, 2008) that disrupted the paternalistic epistemology and pedagogy embedded in the medical model of deafness as disablement (Lane, 1992, p. 37; Reagan, 2008, p. 179-180, Grech, 2015, p.7; Betcher, 2015) to recognition with the multilingual landscape of eleven official languages in post-apartheid South Africa. Thereafter, the global (Swannick, 2010) and South African shift (Aarons, 1999); Störbeck, 2000) to multilingualism (Makelala, 2015a) spread into Deaf Education with the introduction of bilingual pedagogy for Deaf learners (Cummings, 2007; Störbeck, 2000, Akach, 2015).

According to DeafSA (2015), there are more than 43 schools for the deaf. A cluster of five schools for the Deaf in the Western Cape Province with a cluster of five schools in the province where this research takes place. For this research, the De La Bat School for the Deaf in Worcester has been selected as the 'case' to be explored. De La Bat School started in 1881 as an 'oral' school (Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy, 2006, p. 190). Up to 2013, De La Bat sign language was not used officially but the system of Total Communication of simultaneous speaking and signing (op cit. 2006, p. 191) or signed Afrikaans or English were used as a means to supplement communication. In 2013, De La Bat School began the transition to SASL to align with the forthcoming CAPS SASL curriculum from 2014 onwards. This is context behind where, when and why this study started.

Since this study has substantial autoethnographic content, it is pertinent to provide essential background on the researcher as a deaf insider to this study. My deafness has been diagnosed as 'severe to profound bilateral prelingual sensori-neural hearing loss with a pure tone average (PTA) of 90 dB [left ear] and 90 dB [right ear] on 10 March 2017. I have recently upgraded to Oticon Domino 6 BTE13SP high-power digital hearing aids in 2017. For the previous eight years, I wore Oticon Sumo Digital High Power behind-the-ear (BTE) hearing aids. With the Oticon Sumo hearing aids,

subjectively, I could hear well, but nevertheless, there were always words and information missed in conversations, even when lipreading to augment this. Even though the new generation of digital hearing aids (Oticon Domino) have narrowed the gap in hearing, there is still a need to lipread. As was typical in the apartheid era (1970-1994) for white deaf/hard-of-hearing/hearing-impaired South African with hearing-aids and speech therapy (Aarons, 2000, Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy, 2006), this was also how I saw myself. I had internalised the identity of an inferior, disabled, marginalised, minoritized (to add on Garcia's (2015) term for language oppression) and 'voiceless,' mainstreamed 'Other' (Grech, 2015, p. 9) among a hearing dominated world. Consequently, as an extension of the hegemony of audionormativity (to apply the colonial normativity (Grech, 2015, p.10) to the oral deaf education context that I grew up in which reified audism (Humphries, 1975, 2008) and delegitimised sign language (Reagan 2008). Hence, I was educated orally in a mainstream hearing school. Consequently, during schooling I was not exposed to, nor interested in, nor availed with an opportunity to learn sign language until much later in my late thirties when I joined the Centre for Deaf Studies at Wits University. By my late forties, SASL had become a strong second language and continued to improve in fluency and my deepened my understanding of the complexity of bilingualism, along with discovering the language of coloniality (Fanon, 1973, Grech, 2015, Jansen, 2016,) to re-story my life (Johnson and Golombek, 2002, p.7) during the doctorate. More details of the narrative journey of becoming a deaf sign bilingual doctoral researcher is provided in Chapter 8 (Autoethnography).

### 1.3 Rationale

In their 2011 article on Deaf identity, Mcilroy and Storbeck (2011) provide a conceptual framework for understanding the performativity (Pennycook, 2004, p.18) of deaf identities which included an emerging deaf identity of sign/deaf bilinguals 'who move fluidly between hearing and Deaf worlds on their own terms' (Mcilroy & Störbeck, 2011, p. 508). This concept has become an important concept that has been picked up and expanded upon by Garcia and Cole as 'identifying' (2014, p. 104). In this study, the focus is on the transition (border-crossing) (Martin, 2010) and cognitive transformation

of teachers of the Deaf from an audist[5] to post-colonial Deaf epistemology[6] of SASL, CAPS SASL, and sign bilingualism

### 1.4 Research Questions

The following three questions are the primary research questions that provide focus to guide the entire research process.

1 How does the leadership of a school for the Deaf, through the principal and School Management Team (SMT) understand and lead the process of cognitive/pedagogical transformation required for the implementation of the CAPS SASL and sign bilingualism in the school?

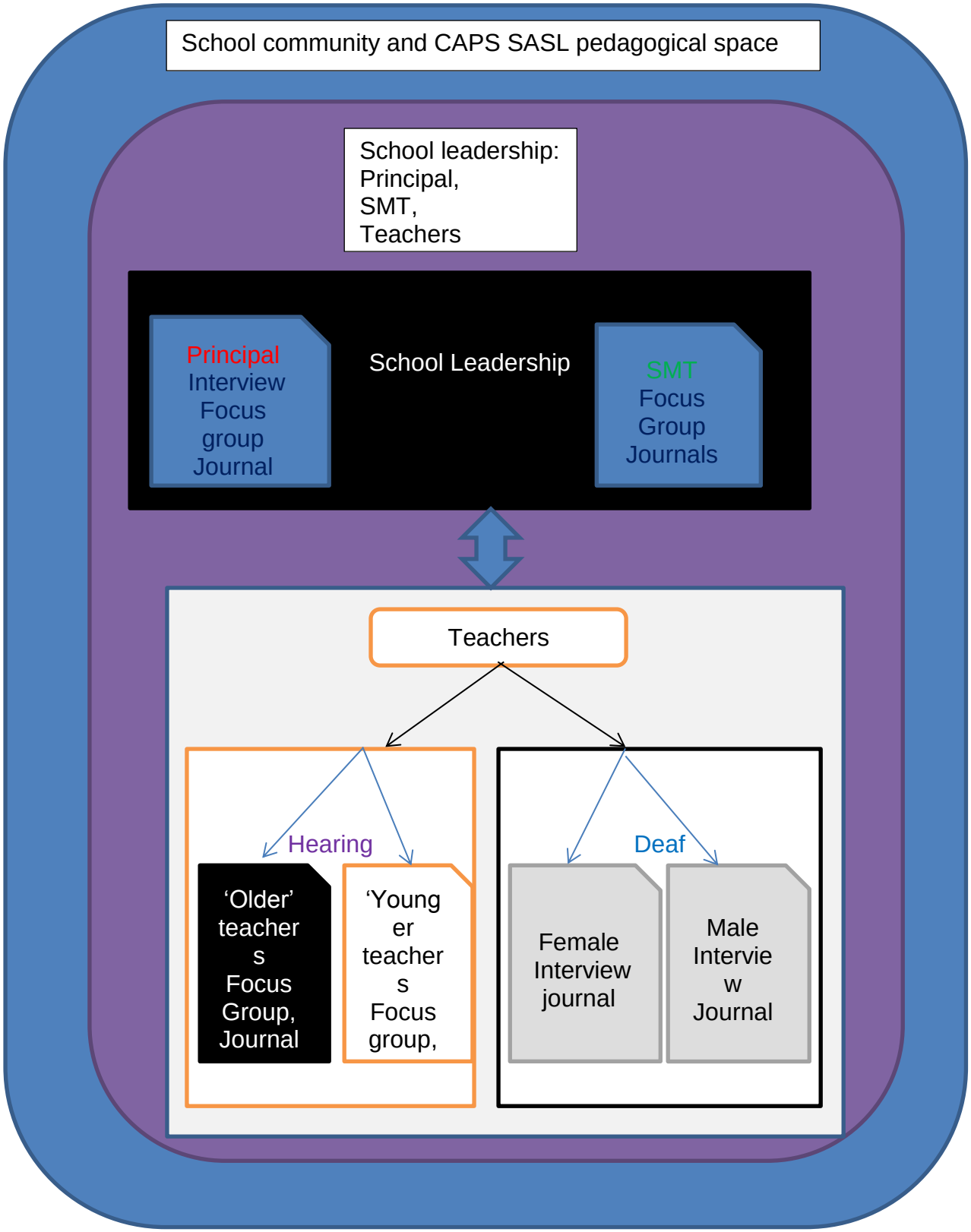
2 How do (hearing and Deaf) teachers of the Deaf imagine themselves metaphorically within the post-colonial pedagogical space as sign bilingual teachers in a school for the Deaf?

3 What does the autoethnographic sign bilingual narrative of the researcher contribute towards understanding Deaf epistemology?

### 1.5 Overview and Summary of Chapters

[5] 'Audist is a metaphysical orientation that links human speech with identity' (Bauman, 2004, p. 245). More than that, audism focuses on the impact of linguistic oppression of the individual's identity as the inferior, subordinate 'other' (Eckhart & Rowley, 2013, p. 107)
[6] Deaf epistemology refers to the knowledge of living as a primarily visual ideology (of SASL) that diverges from the dominant hearing ideology' (Hauser et al., 2010, p. 490)

**Figure 2 Overview of School Leadership and Teachers and Data Collection**




An overview of the thesis is as follows:

**Chapter 1: Background and Focus**

Chapter One provides an overview of South African Sign Language CAPS curriculum and how this informs teachers professional identity. The rationale behind this interpretivist case study of school leadership and teacher's transformation to South African Sign Language and the SASL CAPS curriculum along with the positionality of the researcher as insider has just been set out.

**Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature review**

Chapter Two lays out and unpacks the theoretical framework of narrative and identity construction and reconstruction during the journey of transformation. Once the central theoretical concepts of ontology, audism and the counter-hegemonic discourse of post-audism[7] from its roots in post-colonial theory are discussed, the paradigmatic shift in the pedagogical space of Deaf Education will be discussed and reviewed. This is followed by a presentation of the South African Deaf Education context about the implementation of SASL and the SASL CAPS curriculum. This chapter discussed how the pivotal article by Jansen (2001) on how the professional and personal identity/ies of teachers are imagined metaphorically from the curriculum, is used as a starting point for researching the (re)-imagination of teachers of the Deaf and their identity in a school's transformation to South African Sign Language and implementation of the SASL CAPS curriculum. The transformational leadership model is discussed as a model for understanding how and why teachers make the change to South African Sign language and bilingualism, a cognitive model of transformation, the i-PTSD model is proposed. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the concept of auto-ethnography narratives in order to establish the researcher's narrative and positionality as a critical bricoleur and insider to this study.

**Chapter 3: Methodology**

[7] Post-audism is a term coined and used by Mcilroy (2015) that refers to a Deaf-led post-colonial construction that has the following features: it is a performative, non-dualist (neither deaf or Deaf) epistemology that respects the diversity of deaf lives in a (third) dialogic space between and beyond orthodox identity constructions as multilingual, multicultural hybrid citizens.

Chapter Three presents the methodological concepts, structure and the ethical considerations and issues that are pertinent to this study. This qualitative study is premised on the methodological foundation of interpretivism. From there, the rationale behind the use of phenomenography is discussed along with the key features that aligned this research design to the narrative focus of this study along with the five steps of phenomenographic analysis. This is followed by a discussion of the key attributes of a case study and more specifically of the narrative focus of case stories is discussed. The research site is then described, contextualized and delineated as case study focussed around school leadership and teachers. The principles behind the sampling of the participants after which each of the data collection tools: Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals are discussed. Finally, the ethical issues and safeguards are explained.

**Chapter 4: Data Presentation and Analysis: Focus Groups**

Chapter Four presents the analysis of the four Focus groups in chronological order: the SMT Focus Group, 'Older teachers', 'Younger Teachers' and 'Wrap-up' session. The Focus groups are looked at separately then the similarities and differences across the groups are pooled together.

**Chapter 5: Data Presentation and Analysis: Interviews**

Chapter Five covers the interview of the three key participants: the principal and a male Deaf and a female Deaf teacher. The interviews will be analysed as post-colonial narratives of transformation.

**Chapter 6: Data Presentation and Analysis: Journals**

In Chapter Six, the 16 Journals are categorised into four thematic categories: 'Teacher of the Deaf', 'South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism', 'Deaf learners', and 'Change'. The Journals are interpreted as post-colonial narratives of transformation.

**Chapter 7: Analysis of Outcome Spaces**

Chapter Seven continues with analysis but this time looking at the pooled outcome spaces of the Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals as separate data entities.

**Chapter 8: Data Presentation and Analysis: Autoethnographic Narratives**

Chapter Eight presents and analyses the researcher's autoethnographic narratives created over the space of the PhD research as an emic, post-colonial journey of transformation.

**Chapter 9 Analysis of Metaphors - Pooled Categories of Variation**

Chapter Nine interprets the ontological and conceptual metaphors of transformation across the Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals as categories of variation.

**Chapter 10: Findings: Interpreting the Architecture and Conclusions**

Chapter Ten interprets the structure and relationships (architecture) between the each of the three sets of data along with the auto-ethnographic narrative as an intricate and thickly-woven research narrative seen through the conceptual lens of the Fullan's (2004) transformational leadership model, the cognitive transformation i-PTSD model and the metaphors of school leadership (SMT) and teachers re-imagining of their identity. The chapter provides specific findings from the school leadership (SMT), teachers and the auto-ethnographic researchers in response to the research questions. Specific recommendations for teachers, principals and the Department of Education and researchers are presented. The study concludes with closing comments.

# CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

## 2.1 Introduction

The first part of the chapter will presents the theoretical framework that provides the conceptual lens used throughout the research and this will be followed by an in-depth literature review of the field of bilingual education and sign bilingualism.

## 2.2 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework is defined as:

> A structure that guides research by relying on a formal theory [or theories] and constructed by using an established, coherent explanation of certain phenomena and relationships. (Eisenhart, 1991, p. 205).

In addition to clarity, Mertins (1998, p. 3) reminds researchers that construction of theoretical framework has implications for the decisions made in the research; therefore care has to be taken in the construction of the theoretical framework.

Central to this study is the question asked by Johnson, Golombek (2002, p. 1): 'what is knowledge and who holds it?' This study builds upon the epistemological foundation laid by Johnson and Golombek (2002, p.1) that disrupts the colonial orthodoxy of teachers as 'transmitters of knowledge' (2002, p.2). Instead, from a socio-constructivist perspective, which is well established in education, learning is repositioned as socially negotiated, interpretive and collaborative (Vygotsky, 1978) in which teachers are active change-agents (Fullan, 2012). At the same time, teachers are also themselves (ontologically) changed-agents through their reflexive engagement (Schön, 1983) with sign language in the highly contextualised of a school for the Deaf undergoing epistemological transformation from the pedagogy of oralism to that of sign bilingualism.

In this study, the researcher uses post-colonial narrative inquiry as the theoretical framework or lens to look at the ontological and conceptual metaphors used in the identity narratives of school leadership (through Fullan's model of transformational leadership), teacher's transformation (through the i-PTSD (Mcilroy, 2015) model of

cognitive transformation) and the researcher's reflexive autoethnographic blogs. Hence, understanding the bilingual Deaf epistemology (Hauser, et al., 2010, p. 490) of teachers lies at the heart of this narrative study.

### *2.2.1 Narratives*

> "Life must be lived forwards but it can only be understood backwards" (Kierkegaard, 1844).

Narrative inquiry, as Naidoo and Muthukrishna (2014, p. 275) articulates, is an examination of the stories that people tell to make sense of their experiences. The roots of narrative research have been accredited to Bruner for creating the 'narrative turn' in the field of psychology (Lyons, 2007, p. 604) by acknowledging the power of the subjective that complements the logical, positivist research tradition. For Bruner, as Chan (2012, p. 115) summarises, it is through the stories that we create and tell to make sense of our lived experiences that tell the story of who we are. Hence, as a cognitive psychologist, Bruner, made the connection that narrative ways of knowing (axiology) are central to understanding how we think (2012, p. 115) and for this reason narratives play a key role in the construction of identity (Rogers, 2007, p. 100).

Not only are individual narratives important to understanding self-development, in particular during paradigmatic changes to our thinking, but stories need to be interpreted and understood within the stories of others (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 4). From this basis, narratives in research are a powerful means of uncovering the relationships inherent in the lives of people (Connnelly & Clandinin, 1990). Taking this a step further, Clandinin and Connelly (1990, p. 2), as pioneers in the field of narrative inquiry in education hold that:

> Storytelling is one of the reflective practices that teachers can use in trying to understand how their self-identity and professional identity is constructed and changes (op cit. 1990, p.2)

This point dovetails with the focus of this study of exploring teacher identity through their narratives of transformation. Clandinin (2006) expands on the value of narratives in research:

> Arguments for the development and use of narrative inquiry come out of a view of human experience in which humans, individually and socially, lead storied lives. People shape their daily lives by stories of who they and others are and as they interpret their past in terms of these stories. Story, in the current idiom, is a portal through which a person enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful (Clandinin, 2006, p. 479).

Inasmuch as this study is an interpretive analysis of teachers identity that occurred during the change to South African Sign Language, short narratives of critical events on this topic and teachers' reflections on the introduction of South African Sign Language to their school were invited and discussed. The 'small stories' (Bamberg & Georgeakopoulos, 2006, p. 126) or short narratives that make up the interviews, focus group sessions and pre-determined journal topics were conceptualised as a means of understanding the experiences of teachers as a storied phenomenon (Clandinin, et al. 2016, p. 4). Not only that, interpretation of the 'small stories' has the power to reveal the stories that people are unaware of themselves and from what was unsaid or silenced (Naidoo & Muthakrishna, 2014, p. 275) and contribute towards a deeper understanding of 'who we are'. The 'small stories' fits into the micro-level of teachers experiences while the macro-level of the school as an educational enterprise in transformation is depicted in the 'big stories' of the principal and SMT Focus Group. The combining of the big and small stories tells a fuller story of the school from a combined school leadership and teachers' perspective.

Going a step further into narrative inquiry reveals that there is a 'listening-to and telling-to' (Clandinin, 2006, p. 480) dimension of the intertwined storied lives of teachers and the researcher. Looking at this research landscape from the other side, (Clandinin, 2006: 469) argues that 'narrative inquirers [researchers] cannot subtract themselves from the inquiry relationship'. For this reason, the auto-ethnographic narratives of the researcher are entered as texts in the interpretive process of construction and re-construction (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 4).

There are different types of narratives for different purposes: 'survivor narratives, transformational narratives, confessional, narratives, contemplative narratives, emancipation narratives, inspirational narratives, and historical narratives' (Freeman, 2015), to name a few different types. Initially, and from my experiences of growing up

deaf in an oral-centric world I would have produced a text aligned with the deaf as a 'survivor narrative' which corresponds to the mode of 'recounting' (Greenspan, 1992) where the survivor's recount of the experiences are retold of what was witnessed and survived, such as by Holocaust survivors. This may seem an extreme example of narratives, yet Greenspan (1992, p. 163) makes the point that it is 'about bringing the privatization of the memories and our lived stories into the public domain'. This connects with the third kind of silence of 'recounting'; the first is the traumatic silence of memory, the second is the silence of absent listeners, and the third is the silence of people who are driven to tell their lives rather than retelling their story (1992, p. 163). Doubtless, where silence is pervasive, silence has another meaning in the narrative process of recounting Deaf lives. Here the silence is not only the silence of hearing, but it is also what is said between the words which is played out in the tension between the discourses of audism as a colonial discourse of disablement (Betcher, 2015) that denies full humanity to deaf persons due to being impaired (Bauman, 2004) and its internalization of failure (Humphries, 1978, 2008) and that of de-audism (as a reactive, resistant discourse against audism that valorises Deaf culture and sign language (Hauser, et al., 2010, p. 490) and in the increasingly more prominent post-colonial post-audist performativity (Mcilroy, 2015, Pennycook, 2004) as an alternative third ontological space of thinking about Deaf lives as sign bilinguals beyond essentialist/binary of colonialist audist and de-audist language segregation (Pennycook, 2004).

Thus, in the context of Deaf studies and Deaf Education, the performativity of learning/acquiring sign language that Pennycook (2004, p. 8-10) speaks of the post-colonial shift in identity construction. Over the last 20 years (Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy, 2006) have noticed a radically different script of identity liberation that repudiates the past with an overt 'confessional' and 'emancipation narrative' against linguistic oppression that Aarons and Reynolds (2003) observed to 'narratives of empowerment' (2003, p. 206). This development is a product of Bourdieu's (1999) argument that language is used to *represent* power and authority. In other words, colonial structures, such as education, (Branson & Miller, 2002) use language to sustain their power; hence the rhetoric of 'disablement' (Betcher, 2002) is used to undergird an audist epistemology (Bauman, 2004). Thus, the post-colonial 'narrative turn' (Lyons, 2007, p. 604, Murris, 2010) of changing the language (sign language) presents an exciting opportunity for this research to look into the changed narratives that emerge from a 'post-colonial rethinking of language and identity' (Pennycook, 2004, p.13). Inasmuch

as ‘we re-fashion ourselves through (new) words’ (Pennycook, 2004, p. 15), Bakhtin (1986, p.89) adds that the dialogic nature of language means that we are never entirely free of others, their languages, and our histories as these make up our complexity.

In this way, as a deaf sign bilingual researcher, with the benefit of hindsight, I see how the narrative from before this study has undergone change as well as during as a consequence of the doctoral study into a narrative that is substantially different to what was written at the beginning. In particular, the dissatisfaction with both sides of the deaf/Deaf binary led to a reflection on my own narrative journey and identity space as a sign (Deaf) bilingual in transition. Consequently, the ‘contemplative narrative’ discourse with its introspective focus on ‘exposure, reflection, and theorising’ (Tillman-Healy, 2002) ones experiences fits in neatly here as a narrative tool for analysis since it recognises the identity conundrum of a ‘double consciousness’ (Du Bois, in Brueggeman, 2000, p. 318) of knowing both sides. In this case of having multiple consciousness’s: being a deaf researcher, a writer and a signer that come together into a single complex autoethnographic narrative.

This is where the concept of ‘Deaf epistemology’ as Hauser, O’Hearn, McKee, Steider and Thew (2010, p. 490) enters as theoretical framework which is a preferred term over ‘consciousness’. Deaf epistemology refers to ‘the knowledge of living as a primarily visual ideology (of SASL) that diverges from the dominant hearing ideology’ (2010, p. 490) which is a broader term because Deaf epistemology includes ideology thus recognising the existence of Foucauldian power-relations embedded in ‘linguisticism’ (Bienvenu, 2008b) where one language is prioritized over another (SASL). Therefore, drawing the key parts together, Deaf epistemology is the lens through which to understand ‘the pervasiveness and impact’ of coloniality (Grecht, 2015) of audism on deaf individuals (Hauser, et al. 2010, p. 490). Furthermore, Deaf epistemology, as a theoretical framework goes further than the pioneering concept of Deafhood (Ladd, 2003) since this lens is used to understand the post-audist deaf lives as heterogeneous post-colonial narratives, including the researcher’s autoethnographic narratives.

This process of writing narratives of divergence, or transformation is a hybridization of process of healing as depicted in the ‘rehabilitation, adaptation, reintegration’ (Lazar, 2012, p. 64-75) along with conventional anthropological identity theory of ‘marginality, liminality, re-integration’ (Turner, 1964, p. 47). Taking this theory further, Herman (1992) outlines a similar three-step process of recovery from trauma. Later on, in

Section 2, the psychological model of trauma of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and proposed inverted-PTSD (i-PTSD) model of cognitive transformation is discussed. For now, the trauma recovery process as a model for understanding the process of transformation is highlighted: the first stage is to establish a place and space of safety.

For teachers, this means that creating and maintaining a sense of security is essential for dialogue about their transformation in the Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals to happen. It is thus anticipated that teachers will experience a state of marginality with who they are and what they are becoming during the transformation. The second stage of trauma recovery is the 'narrative' stage (Herman, 1992). This is where survivors of trauma retell their story of the trauma in detail. Adapting this stage to this case, teachers narrate about the transformation in their school and their lives, in their own words. Herman explains: 'the work of reconstruction actually transforms the memory so that it can be integrated into the survivors' life story'. The narratives of transformation as spaces of liminality and ambivalence are thus essential to the teachers' recovery and coping with the trauma of transformation as new identity narratives emerge. The third stage is 'reconnection' with ordinary life that mirrors Turner's (1964) stage of 're-integration'. Hence, by extension, when teachers re-enter their classrooms with a revised/reimagined mental schema about themselves, their d/Deaf learners and their colleagues, this needs to be negotiated to complete the recovery or transformation process. Teachers are on a journey of cultural transgression (Fivush, 2014, p. 286) or more specifically, of 'border crossing' (Hoffmeister, 2008, p. 190) in terms of identity construction that involves moving from a previously held schema of the teacher of the deaf to unknown identity and pedagogical space as a teacher of the Deaf that signs and may also teach the CAPS SASL curriculum.

Several caveats need to be added about transformation and the use of the word 'trauma'. Transformation in this study is not necessarily traumatic, but it can bring about an extensive epistemological and ontological change in individuals and the school as an institution. Even though the basic issue refers to trauma, as Etherington (2003) shows, transformation can be traumatic. In addition, the process of implementation that mandates the transformation of teacher's mind-set may actually be a liberating experience from their past praxis into a new educational paradigm, but there is much that needs to be narrated before recovery can be achieved. Therefore, the transformation 'recovery' process is not tidy and linear, but as a post-modern concept,

it is typically disjointed, partial, incomplete and in all likelihood a messy and complex engagement of self and others on their unique transformation journey.

The first narrative is the researcher's autoethnographic narrative. During the period of writing, a paradigmatic shift in my beliefs about being deaf happened with H-D. Dirksen Bauman and Joseph Murray's call for more 'Deaf Gain' (2014) writing that celebrates the gains of being deaf. I believe that this opens up the opportunity for deaf academics to go beyond the orthodoxy of d/Deaf values into the post-audism space of theorising deaf lives/identities as connected diversities, which includes bilingual deaf, and hard-of-hearing (hoh/HH) persons. These stories of bilingual d/Deaf/hoh/HH lives have not been published yet.

The second kind of narrative is that of the participants, in this case, it is the narratives of the teachers' transformation. Hence, it is not sufficient to only ask what is it like to be a teacher of the Deaf in general terms, but the critical ethnography frame allows the question to be posed: what is the knowledge and lived-experiences (Pathak, 2010, p. 4), of teacher's inner and outer post-colonial transformation? This positionality of narratives as legitimate research speaks of giving the teachers of the d/Deaf and the researcher a voice to critically reflect upon their identity as re-imagined sign bilingual teachers of the Deaf.

Everyone has a story to tell, even if we believe that our stories are not really interesting, but we have interesting stories when we look inside someone else's mind and see their world, not to judge but to understand them and their world. Stories start in the middle. It is the people in the middle who do the actual work in the real world (Wiersma, 1992). In this case, teachers are in the middle of the school's transformation and they may be in various/different identity spaces. How has he/she as a teacher worked on the change to sign language and sign bilingualism? How do they see themselves now? All of which taps into the identity narratives and what /how do they use metaphors in order to understand themselves as teachers of the Deaf? This leads onto the theoretical framework of post-modern, post-colonial identity theory.

### 2.2.2 Identity

The second and connected theoretical conceptual lens is that of a fluid post-modern identity or identities. From a post-modern perspective, identity is seen as a concept of

the self as a fluid network of connections that is grounded in the social, political, educational context. Sen (2006, p. 38) described identity 'as a multi-layered, complex and cannot be reduced to a unitary state of being'. What this perspective leads towards is a break from the modernist perspective of identity as fixed and rigid, to a developmental construction of the self. Classic developmental psychologists (Piaget, 1976; Erikson, 1984) of identity have explained the self as structured around cognitive developmental achievements. Later, the field of sociology (Haralambos, 2005) added the relational dimension as a major contributor to identity theory, which dovetails with the methodological focus of phenomenography in looking at the relationships with and between teachers.

More specifically, from a critical discourse perspective, 'identity formation is always closely connected to text formation' (Wellington, 152) through which the identity of the writer is expressed as a post-colonial agent in the transformational enterprise (Ball, 1995, 260). More deliberately, post-colonial writing looks at the problem of representation (Gulson & Parkes, 2010, p. 81) which speaks directly to the concept and hermeneutics of identity. Taking the point further, the identity work of research writing is a 'double activity' (Wellington, 152) of who we say we are and how the reader sees the writer to be (a hero or a victim), which may well be incongruent with the writer's own identity. Hence, there is a double focus (Young, 2014, p. 9), that of writing as a researcher and as a writer. Logically, by writing, one becomes a writer, and in the same vein, by doing research, one becomes a researcher. These skills are fashioned in the tasks. Having knowledge of writing and researching can only take the writer of researcher so far. Hence, this framework is useful for charting the researcher's journey as a writer for which navigational reflectivity (Edwards, 2002) is an essential skill for making sense of the discontinuities and risks that are a part of the intellectual journey. For this reason, the researcher's journey as a writer has been included in the auto-ethnography section and is discussed further therein as a 'critical bricoleur' (Ball, 2010, p. 86) as 'a metaphor of meaning-making' (Rogers, 2012, p. 2-16) that 'tinkers' with the interplay between the professional and the private worlds. In anthropological terms, what is the outcome of this study? To answer that, the quote by Jansen argues that the central conceit of colonialism needs to be challenged in a post-colonial world:

> The ultimate lie of apartheid is that our identity cannot change (Jansen 2013, p. 226).

Having stated this, the study looks primarily at the professional identity of teachers of the d/Deaf. Lasky (2005, p. 901) defines professional identity, including that of teachers as 'how teachers define themselves to themselves and to others', as professionals in the various educational spaces. Madileng (2014, p. 2017) expanded on this definition by adding that like personal identity, professional identity/ies are not fixed. Building on from Sen (2006), Madileng (2014) reminds us of the contribution that professional identity, as quoted in Coldron and Smith (1999) makes:

> Professional identity is not a stable entity that people have, but it is a way to make sense of themselves in relation to other people and contexts. The formation of a professional identity is a process involving many sources of knowledge, such as emotions, teaching, human relations and subject matter (Madileng 2014, p. 2028).

Yet, what is not said in this definition is how the curriculum defines and shapes their professional identity and this is where Jansen (2001) as educationist enters the conversation.

## 2.3 Literature Review

In the literature review, the research related to the topic will be explored systematically in order to establish the important issues and concepts from pertinent literature in the field. The purpose is: 'to define and refine the research question through a focused reading of the literature' (Kaniki in Terre Blanche, Durheim & Painter, 2006, p. 20-21).

### *2.3.1 Ontology*

Ontology refers to the study of being (Young, 2014, p. 17) who we are and how we operate. Young (2014) advises social researchers to establish the ontological position of their research. The ontological position of a qualitative research is fundamentally different to that of a quantitative, positivist study. For qualitative researchers, 'reality is seen as socially constructed, relative and multiple' (Viljoen, 2008). In this case, ontology refers to deaf ontologies as deaf ways of being. Unlike the past medical conception of 'deaf' and its binary opposite, 'Deaf', there are many ways of being deaf (Mcilroy, 2010, p. 130-132), including among others, the fluid bilingual DeaF identity (Mcilroy, 2008) which is a building block for this study on sign bilingualism.

The purpose of this ontological investigation is to unpack what it means for teachers to be 'teachers of the Deaf through their ontological metaphor/s that speaks of their professional identity. To engage in this enterprise, Young and Temple suggest: "how do teachers of the deaf see their world and interpret it and act within it?' (2014, p. 14-15). Leading on from this research question, this study looks at how the identity of teachers of the Deaf is performed (Pennycook, 2000, Garcia, 2014, p. 101) through their critical incidents in their transformation narratives.

In addition, to the teachers' identities, my hybrid identity (Brueggeman, 2009, p. 88, 2013, Garcia, 2011, p. 55) as a deaf signing bilingual (bricoleur) researcher needs to be positioned. Within (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 6) and researcher's ontology and epistemology is placed in the foreground as opposed to the hallmark of empirical research in which the voice of the researcher is silent the quest for objective 'scientific truth' (Foucault, 1980, p. 133, Kincheloe, 2004, p. 5).

In this case study, both participants and researcher have a voice, which is a hallmark of interpretivist research where the researcher is allowed to take the position of a first-person narrator (Carr & Kemmis, 1986, p. 88). This is a persistent remnant of the positivist perspective where I was taught that the validity of research is dependent on the researcher operating in the background as an objective outsider and not as a participant in the research in any way. What was permitted was the use of the third-person narrative discourse such as 'we/he/it was found…' Instead of the researcher's voice invalidating the research, it has become more prevalent to include the researcher directly and explicitly as a performative agent (Young, 2014, p. 64) along with the participants. In other words, while seeking to understand the transformative journey of the teaching staff, is also on a research journey as a doctoral candidate and as a deaf researcher. Hence, the use of the first-person pronoun in this text was adopted. Initially, this style of writing felt at odds with within the writing context, though I have come to appreciate my own 'voice', which became a complete parallel transformative narrative.

It is not the intention to describe the identity of teachers of the Deaf, but rather to understand the complexity, variations and richness of the relationships of the phenomenon of how the identities of teachers of the Deaf are constructed during a pivotal period of pedagogical transformation of their school and through their

pedagogical practices. Thus, this ontological positioning connects with the hermeneutic-focused methodological framework of phenomenography (Marton, 1981, Reed, 2004, p. 3).

### *2.3.2 Audism and Post-audism*

The field of Deaf Studies has experienced a form of colonialism through the practice of has now been called ‘audism’ (Humphries, 1975). The Deaf community over the years has experienced hearing instigated separation (Dunn, 2013, p. 242), medical labels intent on ‘fixing’ them, phonocentric education known as ‘oralism’ (Lane, 1992) and privileging of speech over sign language (Humphries, 1975), within the colonial discourse of ‘disablement’ as labelled by Betcher (2007, p. 6).

Bauman has put another definition forward: ‘Audism is a metaphysical orientation that links human speech with identity’ (Bauman, 2004, p. 245). This definition focuses on the impact of linguistic oppression of the individual’s identity as the inferior, subordinate ‘other’ (Eckhart & Rowley, 2013, p. 107). Audism also takes place in schools for the deaf on ‘an institutional level that structurally subordinate Deaf culture, Deaf communities, and sign language’ (Eckhart & Rowley, 2013, p. 106) through phonocentric educational practices. These definitions describe the impact of audism on an institutional and at an individual level. Eckhart and Rowley (2013) make a critical link by saying that ‘metaphysical audism is the driver of institutional audism’ (2013, p. 106). In other words, the phonocentric epistemology where teachers focus on speech over sign language maintains the institutional audism. Inversely, when the institutional audism of a school is dismantled, then the metaphysical audism, as located in teachers’ pedagogy ceases to operate. However, this epistemological and ontological void needs to be filled (Eckhart & Rowley, 2013, p. 107) and this is where the model of post-audism (Mcilroy, 2015) completes the metaphysical, individual and institutional, micro, macro and meso-level transformation.

Thus, both definitions of are useful premises to see the audist practices of the (older) teachers as a collective and the disruption of the audist-oriented identity of teachers as individuals during their paradigmatic shift to Sign Language. Hence, the identity of teachers is re-imagined within a post-audist epistemology. The ‘post-modern turn’ (Best & Kellner, 1996, p. 31) presents an opportunity to move beyond the dualist oppositionary education and identity politics of ‘deaf versus hearing’ by entering into a dialogue with each other in a multilingual post-audist conception of Deaf as bilinguals.

This moves on to the post-colonial discourse of 'Deaf Gain' as put forward by Bauman and Murray (2014) as a forerunner of a post-audist theory which embraces bilingual deaf[2] lives[8] (Mcilroy, 2015). But not as simply as an additive space, but as a positive, multiplier ontology of being more than deaf. This is where the post-modern theorization of bilingual education as multiple discursive language practices (translanguaging) (Garcia, 2015) embraced as a pedagogical strategy of using words and languages and the metaphors we use at our disposal to describe and change our worlds. By extension, monolingualism as a standpoint epistemology is rejected and dynamic bilingualism and signacy[9] (Garcia, 2011) are included. This locates the post-audism within the educational epistemology of connectivism (Siemens & Downes, 2015) that seeks and maintains networks and communities of learning, forms relationships, such as trans-local and global connections with d/Deaf communities, with a focus on engaging in transformational dialogues about the past in order to move beyond our histories. This moves praxis into a space where knowledge is subjective, partial, individual, symbolic, meaningful, valuable and personal narratives of our multiple realities that builds cross-cultural bridges through knowledge, understanding and empathy. To take the point further, the post-audist epistemology within the discipline of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, in terms of knowledge-production, is not only a hermeneutic, meaning-making but also an emancipatory (social justice/transformative) enterprise (Habermas, 1972; Long, 2016) of creating space for deaf as bilinguals within a multilingual world through a bilingual pedagogy as promoted by Humphries (2013). Thus, post-audism is a critical response to the 'individualism' (Long, 2016) focus of an audist education paradigm.

At the pinnacle of this groundswell away from an audist discourse, the 2010 ICED conference held in Vancouver, Canada – 130 years after the ICED 1880 conference in Milan - attendees publically rejected oralism and made an apology for the past and began the process of decolonisation through Enriquez's (1979) notion of the distinction between 'indigenisation from without' (imposing audist education) and 'indigenisation from within' (utilizing local knowledge, Deaf culture, SASL language and giving deaf people a voice as insiders). As an insider (Deaf researcher), Humphries argues that

[3] Deaf[2] denotes a nascent bilingual identity of deaf persons who use sign language and have another language, such as English in written or spoken form or both.

[9] Signacy is the sign language equivalent of literacy as it focusses on sign language reception and production skills of visual texts in sign language (cf. Garcia & Cole 2014).

‘[h]istorically Deaf people have been excluded from both the construction and organisation of their own education’ (2013, p. 7).

In response, post-audism (Mcilroy, 2015) as a Deaf-led post–colonial construction that has the following features: it is a performative, non-dualist (neither deaf or Deaf) epistemology that respects the diversity of deaf lives in a (third) dialogic space between and beyond orthodox identity constructions as multilingual, multicultural hybrid citizens. This leads to the question about what is the central narrative of post-audism is that captures the *zeitgeist* of post-audism accurately. Thus far, it would thus be safe to say that the narrative of post-audism is fundamentally about empathy and connection. Likewise, Humphries (2013, p. 9) posits that the narrative of Deaf Studies shifts from the traditional view of deafness as ‘disability’ and ‘deficit’ to the ‘narrative of wellness’ that embraces difference through language and culture. At a deeper level, language and culture (Bakhtin, 1999) are generatives of the post-audism capital of connectivity. Hence, it is through the diverse languaging and identifying dialogues that d/Deaf/HH and hearing people have with each other that create a network of connections. The terms ‘languaging and identifying’ (Garcia & Cole, 2014) are discussed in the next section as expanded concepts of the ‘second turn/wave’ (Garcia, 2015) in bilingual Deaf education.

### *2.3.3. Bilingual Deaf Education*

> “A different language is a different vision of life” (Frederico Fellini)

#### *2.3.3.1 Background and concepts*

The concept of bilingual means a bilingual person is someone who speaks two languages (Grosjean, 2008). Alternatively, multilingual if many languages are used, this is an increasingly common development and strength in the globalised economy (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). It is now well established that learning another language has educational, cognitive and social benefits as discovered in the general bilingual study by the Bialystok, Craik and Luk (2012, p. 11) and confirmed in a European large-scale meta-analysis of general education bilingual study by Reljić, Ferring and Martin, 2015, p. 120). More relevant is the evidence acquired in the American neuro-cognitive studies by Petitto (2012, 2015) and educational and social evidence in Marchark & Knoors (2014, p. 452-457) on deaf bilingual learners. This confirmation of the benefits marries with the critical period for proficiency in another language is the period between toddler to puberty (Johnson & Newport, 1989), which falls within the ambit of education.

In general, education, bilingual education is traditionally defined as the use of two languages in education with the purpose of making learners competent and literate in both languages (Baker, 2011). Garcia adds to this definition in that bilingual means languages used by minoritized communities (Spanish) as a way of developing competence in the dominant language (English). This is illustrative of the 'subtractive model' of bilingual education (Garate, 2012, p. 3). In contrast, and more applicable to the multilingual, multimodal and multicultural Deaf Education context, is the 'additive model' of bilingual education. The current definition of bilingual education is 'the use of diverse language practices to educate' (Garcia & Lin, 2016, p. 2). The aim of additive bilingual education is to 'develop academic and social proficiencies in (SA and English' (Garate, 2012, p. 3). Central to the additive model is the development and maintenance of both languages. And the 'interdependence hypothesis' by Cummins (1982, 2007) which established the foundation of interaction between languages which is a critical piece of theory for theorizing language as a socially constructed practice among users as a flexible, fluid interaction of 'languaging' (Garcia, 2009, Garcia & Wei, 2014, p. 7). Before getting to the post-modern conception of 'languaging', Cummins used the concepts of L1 and L2 to describe languages as first language and second language. The difficulty with Cummin's (2007) use of L1 and L2 in Deaf Education is that assigning L1 and L2 is not straightforward: the first language of deaf learners is not automatically Sign Language, nor is L2 automatically English. The reality is that deaf learners typically have hearing parents thus sign language is not the first language at home even though sign language is naturally the more accessible language for deaf children (Garcia, 2016: 14). Consequently, Garcia concluded that the strict categorization of languages as L1 and L2 might need to be abandoned as a relic of modernist and monolingual thinking (Garcia, 2016, p.14).

Several foundational issues on bilingualism need to be discussed. Grosjean (1990, 2009) and Skutnabb-Tove (2000) as a human rights issue that promotes the rights of deaf learners to be bilingual have driven the original concept of bilingualism strongly. Being bilingual is now well accepted as a strength and not a hindrance in the learning context (Swanwick, 2010; 148) by providing essential language and cognitive skills. Similarly, Grosjean emphasized the reality 'that many deaf people live in two or more cultures' (2010:137) which means that many deaf people are bilingual and bicultural. Furthermore, Pickersgill (1998) defines bilingualism in the deaf education context as sign bilingualism, which means that two different languages, sign language and a spoken language across two different modalities, as opposed to two spoken

languages. To be more specific, in terms of linguistics, this is called ‘cross-modal bilingualism’ (Swanwick 1999).

However, the two differences between deaf and hearing bilinguals. The first difference is that deaf bilinguals are acculturated into Deaf culture relatively late because 92-95% of parents are hearing and parents usually do not understand what it means to be deaf (Mitchell & Karchmer, 2004).

The second difference is that deaf bilinguals locate their identity within Deaf culture while hearing bilinguals tend to be more flexible (Grosjean, 2010:138). From a political/power relations viewpoint, it is understandable that deaf people tend to place Deaf culture as their dominant culture as a reaction to their experiences of discrimination and marginalisation by hearing culture in and over their lives, after all it is a hearing dominated world (Mertins, et al. 2010: 195). From my point of view as a bilingual, I would argue that this point is understandable, but not necessarily true.

Within the context of deaf education, there is a third difference. A feature of sign language is that it is a language that operates in a different mode (observing and signing) to spoken languages (speaking and hearing). Therefore, being bimodal adds another layer of complexity to bilingualism in deaf education that will be discussed in more detail as it has implications for literacy development.

*2.3.3.2 Trends*

In 2007, Munoz-Baell (et al. 2007) published their findings of the megatrends (five international forces promoting and preventing) bilingualism in deaf education, which are summarised here.

The five main forces, in the international context, that have *promoted* the change towards the current bilingual deaf education. In order of importance, the themes included are:

(1) Societal and political changes;

(2) Growing Deaf activism, self-awareness and empowerment;

(3) Scientific research in sign linguistics and bilingualism;

(4) Changes in the d/Deaf educational community; and

(5) International cooperation.

The five main forces, in the international context, that have *hindered or prevented* the move to the current bilingual deaf education were, in order of importance:

(1) The view of deafness as a medical condition with a technological solution;

(2) Phonocentrism and societal resistance to the unknown;

(3) Educational and d/Deaf educational policies;

(4) Deaf bilingual education weaknesses; and

(5) Invisibility, heterogeneity and underperformance of the d/Deaf population (Munoz-Baell et al., 2007, p.132-133).

These forces provide a useful international evidence-based template of concepts/themes for analysis of the data collected in this case study. Therefore, sign bilingualism now has a well-established evidence base to refute claims of a lack of global research.

The bilingual model has been established by Cummins (1999) as effective for literacy development but there has been some controversy as to whether this model of linguistic interdependence is applicable in the deaf education context (Humphries, 2013). Mayer (2010) had picked up this point.

In 2010, Mayer wrote an article that responded to the discussion by exploring two key challenges that she saw happening in Australia. From Mayer's earlier paper (1999, 2007), it seems that she is making a U-turn from her earlier position in promoting bilingualism. Before addressing the challenges, Mayer and Leigh emphasise that their article is not a criticism or rejection of bilingualism as a goal, but argues that it is 'a questioning of the applicability of the model in a context that involves a signed language and spoken language where learners do not have ready access to the target L2 as it is typically used' (Mayer, 2009). This statement goes directly to the point of this study. With the changes and challenges facing bilingualism, the past conceptualisation of bilingualism will not work. This raises important questions, such as: how should bilingual look? Should it be applied in classes with children with cochlear implants, and use speech more than in the past because it is now more accessible? How can literacy be improved in a bilingual framework?

This leads to the other challenge that Mayer and Leigh have raised. Is it because Sign Language does not have a print form, that the linguistic transfer from L1 (a spoken language) to L2 sign language is incomplete, if we take the reversal of L1 (from Sign Language to spoken language) as mentioned in the first challenge into account. That is one interpretation of Mayer and Leigh's argument. However, the line of thought that Mayer and Leigh follow here is that there is concern over the challenge of transference of L1 (sign Language) skills to L2, a 'double discontinuity' (2010, p. 181) exists because of the difference in modality between sign language and spoken languages. The challenge also raises the question 'is it necessary that in order to read in a second language, a level of second language competence is needed? This question is asked because it has been established that a 'firm first language competency does not guarantee that readers will good readers in their second language' (Bernardt & Kamil 1995, p. 17). This point argues against sign language as an important and essential component/linguistic resource available to deaf learners in building their L1 and for transferring these skills across into literacy in their L2 (English). It is well known that literacy is a major challenge for deaf learners. One of the difficulties for this is that deaf learners try to read and write in the language (L2) that they are unfamiliar with and that their sign language skills are of limited use in assisting them with the foreign mode of reading and writing. This literacy challenge is a core challenge in education since learners are scored on their literacy in the spoken/written language, which is their L2.

In the case of bilingualism, McKee (2005) explains that there is a gap between the internal representation in sign language and external representation in a written language without using the spoken form. The key to 'bridging the gap' between the languages is through appropriate scaffolding (McKee, 2005: 202). Furthermore, Akamatsu (et al., 2002) adds that it is by 'developing children's metalinguistic awareness and utilising consistent linguistic platforms that concepts in sign language can contribute to the development of print literacy'. Hence, to develop this metalinguistic scaffolding and mediation, McKee (2005) identified the classroom community and the central role of children's talk in supporting their literacy development (2005:121). McKee's (2005) study came to the same conclusion as Ramsay's (1997) earlier study on ASL in that using sign language in a community of learners assisted children's literacy. In contrast, McKee found that a deaf child in a mainstream class is marginalised from participation in this classroom community despite the intentions of inclusion. Instead of working inside the class community, the mainstreamed child is working with the teacher or teacher assistant/interpreter signing

but is working outside of the learning partnership with peers. Moreover, subsequently, because sign language is the pedagogical tool in a bilingual language-sharing classroom community that supports their bilingual learning, teachers need to be aware of building participation and social competence of their learners.

In a similar move to clarify the concept of bilingualism in Deaf Education, Swannick revisited the terms 'sign bilingualism' and 'sign bilingual education'. Both of these terms first emerged from the 2007 policy document 'Sign Bilingual Education in the United Kingdom. At the time, Swannick (2010) questioned whether there was any or sufficient differentiation between the terms. This questioning led to the use of 'sign bilingual education' in the UK instead of what was considered as the 'more nebulous term of sign bilingualism' (Swannick, 2010, p. 152). For clarity, Pickersgill and Gregory added that '-ism' speaks of engaging in the beliefs and values of sign bilingual practice as an aspirational post-modern theory:

> Sign bilingualism is more than an approach to teaching and language development. It challenges attitudes and assumptions underpinning deaf education and requires certain structural and organisational changes to schools and services (Pickersgill & Gregory, 1998, p. 2).

However, the practice is somewhat different, as global shift has affected bilingual education. Swannick (2010) speaks of the tension between the medical and social views of deafness and the complex challenges for education brought about by the importance of a spoken language for literacy. The rise of cochlear implants has contributed to improved literacy of profoundly deaf learners, but this technology does not work for all deaf learners. Although written six years ago and prior to the 'social multilingual turn' (Garcia, 2016, p. 11) of translanguaging (second wave of sign bilingualism), Swannick noticed that learners' language and communication needs are changing and that the role of sign language is changing.

What was considered as sign bilingual education in 2007 has now been left behind by the global changes of multilingualism. In response, to the changes, Swannick encourages teachers to be able to understand and respond to deaf learner's diversity and adjust their [teachers'] communication accordingly' (Swannick, 2010, p. 156). In essence, Swannick (2010, p. 155) calls on 'teachers to expand their view of deaf learner's diverse language abilities'. This is a vital precursor to the seminal work of Garcia and Cole (2014) on translanguaging in deaf bilingualism. In this context of Deaf Education, sign bilingualism is an approach to education of deaf children (Swannick &

Gregory, 2007). More recently, Humphries (2013, p. 13) applied the concept of bilingual education to Deaf education as 'deaf bilingualism' to distance the concept from bilingualism of spoken languages because of its additional visual-spatial modality of sign language and signacy (Garcia & Cole, 2014). In deaf bilingualism, the two languages are sign language and one or more spoken languages. Therefore, after consideration of the literature on international developments in bilingualism, this study uses the term 'sign bilingualism' as a means of emphasizing sign language as the key word instead of deaf bilingualism.

#### *2.3.3.3 Studies on the benefits of Sign Bilingualism*

During the 1990s, the terms 'sign bilingual and sign bilingualism' became the accepted educational terms (Swanwick, 2010) and the bilingual approach began to be implemented in schools in the UK (Pickersgill and Gregory, 1998), and also in Sweden (Svartholm, 2010), There is a growing research database of the experiences and successful implementation of bilingualism in the last ten years from Australia, (Komesaroff, 2001), Kenya, (Adoyo, 2002), China (Biggs, 2004; Xue, 2008), USA (Evans, 2004; Rojas & Reagan, 2006), England (Lynas, 2005, Sutherland and Young, 2007), Spain,(Munoz-Baell, Alvarez-Dardet, Ruiz, Ortiz, Esteban & Ferrerio, 2007), Netherlands (Hermans, Ormel & Knoors, 2010), Germany (Plaza-Pust, 2008). Bilingualism has spread to Canada, New Zealand, Argentina, France, Switzerland, Uganda, China and other countries.

The studies done in America, Australia and Sweden give an indication of the complexity of implementing the bilingual model in schools for the Deaf. The STAR schools study is a well-known 5-year study on sign bilingualism done in the USA by Stephen Nover. This study provides a useful working definition on bilingualism Star schools described their sign bilingual focus of sign bilingualism as capitalising on the visual strengths of the child rather than on auditory weaknesses through building a full, complete visual language (Nover, 2009). However, Marchark and Knoors offer a timely reflective caveat about the nature of implementing sign bilingualism

> "we need to be realistic because although bilingualism is a simple idea, the actual teaching of classes in this approach is complex, and further complicated by the fact that most classes are not simply a convenient spread of deaf learners. Classes are frequently made up of learners with a range of language histories, needs and expectations. It is not like in the 1960's-1980s where

> learners were differentiated from mainstream learners for fear of contamination from signers (Marchark & Knoors, 2012, p. 11)

For example, in Australia, the move towards bilingual deaf education in 2000 followed the pattern adopted in Sweden. Despite the pioneering work by Komesaroff (1999), principals, schools, and parents in adopting bilingualism, the last ten years have come under increasing challenge by the use of cochlear implants in schools. This challenge is strengthened by the context in which most parents of deaf children are themselves hearing. Therefore, the parent's choice of language for their child with a cochlear implant is by default, an oral language, instead of sign language. This implies that the L1 is a spoken language and this is a radical reversal of the previous conceptualisation of a bilingual model for deaf learners where sign language is the default language by virtue of its visual accessibility.

In contrast, Sweden takes the lead again by offering support for bilingualism in the future and gives hope for South Africa and other countries where cochlear implants are encouraged over Sign Language. The strength and value of the bilingual approach in deaf education is definitely proven by the fact that today's parents in Sweden still choose special schools for their deaf and hard-of-hearing children, whether their child has a cochlear implant or not. They do so because they realise the linguistic needs of their children and want them to become bilingual (Svaltholm, 2010, p. 171).

Petitto picks up this point about the cognitive benefits of bilingualism from 1996 and later in 2015. The BL2 lab at Gallaudet University lead by Laura-Ann Petitto established in the 1996 that sign language is a real language and is processed within the brain's organic hardware in the same /identical way as spoken languages. Using the new technological tools of fNIRS, Petitto and her team found evidence that the brain develops and performs identically in brains of spoken and signed language people, in near real-time. This is a revolutionary finding as it gives us a glimpse into the brain's organisation and that the brain is organised towards linguistic patterns. These previously 'auditory centres of language' are pattern-hungry and not auditory-hungry as the brain seeks to make meaning out of language, irrespective of the mode of the signal; visual, or auditory. Hence, this provides much needed empirical support for sign language to be fully accepted as a language. In other words, sign language is not inferior as previously held in an oral-centric universe, that pervasive audist myth has been shattered, but it is still a prevalent misconception (2015).

The second significant finding to emerge from the VL2 lab is that the human brain performs better with earlier exposure to multiple languages. Petitto adds that:

> It is almost as if the monolingual child's brain is on diet and the bilingual (multilingual) child's brain stretches the brain to its full extent variability that nature gave it to use language and exploit human language (2012).

From this basis, being bilingual is a natural and beneficial human quality that maximises our cognitive and socio-cultural development. We need exposure to more languages, not less. Logically, teachers have a fundamental role in bringing this awareness and languaging into their classrooms.

Petitto outlined three goals for the VL2 lab, which needed to be unpacked. The first is to help in developing remediation strategies, particularly with helping children re-organise and re-engage their brains to new ways of thinking and using language (2015). This thought is raised later when looking at translanguaging, which multiplies cognitive processing through languaging and transculturation (Garcia, 2015).

Secondly, Petitto sees that researchers have the role and responsibility to communicate the results of the cognitive benefits of bilingualism to the public, academics, teachers, and parents (2015). In this case, it is the teachers of the Deaf who are the target audience.

The third challenge is to 'find a bridge to educational policy makers' about bilingualism' (2015). This challenge fits precisely within the scope of this sign bilingualism project in implementing SASL CAPS. A policy document is not enough to change teachers' minds, or to guide them in how-to to implement the curriculum. It is taken for granted that teachers' mind-set needs to be in line with the policy document, but no mention is made on how teachers are mentored along in this progress of becoming and being sign bilingual teachers of the Deaf. The bridge between where teachers are and what is expected of them in the policy document is missing. In this sense, listening to teachers' narratives of this transformation is an essential part of implementing the sign language bilingual policy effectively.

This thesis builds on the work by Störbeck (2000) which raised the question concerning the need to explore the implementation of the bilingual approach in the education of

Deaf learners. Research in other countries by Svartholm (2012), Sweden, Platz-Pust (2016), Morales-Lopez, (2008) Spain, Nover (2005) USA, Akach (2014) in South Africa and Kenya, shows that the sign bilingual model is an effective theoretical foundation and offers a practical alternative to the on-going neo-colonial 'great debate' in Deaf Education over the modality of teaching d/Deaf learners (Plaza-Pust, 2016, p. 3). However, much research is still needed to understand sign bilingualism with its unique variables, such as restricted language access and late acquisition, bilingual education is a well-founded educational concept and practice (Plaza-Pust, 2016, p. 4).

#### *2.3.3.4 Assumptions of sign bilingualism*

There are three assumptions of bilingualism that Garcia (2010, p. 184) raises that need to be addressed. Firstly, America made the assumption of cultural and linguistic assimilation of Spanish people by replacing Spanish with English. Similarly, the replacing Spanish people in the original assumption with the words: 'Deaf', Deaf people, sign language and Deaf culture shows that Deaf/HH people 'have not been assimilated because they did not know English'. This assumption speaks of the lack of assimilation of Deaf into the hearing world through the dominant language of English. Turning this argument around, English language acquisition and cultural assimilation is considered imperative for Deaf learners at the expense of South African Sign Language and Deaf culture.

The second assumption is that 'bilingualism perpetuates divisiveness, disloyalty and foreignness' (Garcia, 2010, p. 184). The post-modern reality of global interconnectedness means that there is a different worldview of the second turn in bilingual education to dynamic plurilingualism (Garcia, 2011, p. 391), hence in education, bilingualism brings people together and forms bonds as equal citizens. Once people are seen as equals, instead of as members of linguistic minorities (Garcia & Cole, 2014, p. 106), then bilingualism is seen as a strong force of acceptance of diversity and as a positive agent of transformation.

The third assumption is that bilingualism is a private matter, which suggests that schools and society have no place in developing children's bilingualism. Bilingualism is both a private and a public matter. It is public in the sense that bilingualism expands the language rights of minorities. The private journey of learning two languages is also a public journey of our journey as a school, and communities, and expands outwards into society. The public journey talks directly to the theme of institutional identity whereas the private journey is the identity narrative of teachers as individuals and

professionals. Both the private and the public are important because the linguistic interaction constructs identities in new, unforeseen ways as bilinguals, individual teachers within a bilingual school.

#### *2.3.3.5 Challenges*

In addition to the turn to multilingualism, another factor in the emergence of deaf bilingual education has been the recognition that Total Communication (TC) has not fulfilled its expectations (Swanwick, 2010) of providing full communication. Given the similar dismal results of d/Deaf learners in South Africa, there is a need to improve the literacy levels of the current learners (DeafSA, 2007). The Department of Basic Education (DBE) has adopted the bilingual approach as a means to improving Deaf Education. In South Africa There has been considerable confusion over the use of TC in that many (hearing) teachers hold the perception that TC works and that they are doing sign bilingualism, but research shows that their classroom practice is more akin to TC (Störbeck, 2000, p. 54) through the use of signed English instead of the bilingual ideal and practice of keeping sign language and the dominant spoken language separate. This is an area of particular concern to this study as it raises the question as to how hearing teachers make this shift from signed English to using full sign language, even though this is their second (L2) language. It is self-evident that Deaf teachers do not have this problem, as they are natural signers in the classroom. But, while Deaf teachers are the most desirable language model, there are generally few qualified deaf teachers. In reality, in South African schools for the Deaf there are disproportionally more hearing teachers than d/Deaf teachers which places strain on how bilingualism is implemented and practiced in classrooms when there are few deaf teachers to demonstrate how sign language is used fluently and naturally in diverse classes in diverse ways across and between languages (Humphries, 2013).

Despite the concerns raised by Mayer and Leigh (2010), the situation in South African is different in a number of ways. Firstly, cochlear implants have not taken on in schools for the deaf to the same extent as in Australia or Sweden. Although cochlear implants are available and fitted in South African deaf children, this is currently the exception rather than the norm. The cost of cochlear implants is beyond the reach of most families. It is unlikely that in the near future those cochlear implants will attain the same level of use as in Australia. In South Africa, there are other priorities that take precedence over cochlear implants, in particular: social development and redress

(poverty); health care in the AIDS epidemic; and unemployment, especially in the rural communities. These are three of the most urgent priorities of the South African

#### *2.3.3.6 South African context*

In the South African Deaf Education context, this refers to the use of South African Sign Language (SASL) as one of the languages and English. The positionality of English is defended as the majority language 'by virtue of its *de facto* status as a 'neutral' or atribal language' (Makalela, 2005, p. 162). It is one of ten other official (spoken) languages as the other language under the bilingual heading.

The push for recognition of South African Sign Language as a language is a reaction to the inferior position of South African Sign Language as a language of a minority (Reagan, 2008, p. 177) and resulted in the Language in Education Policy LiEP (1997)(Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy, 2006, p. 199) that was supportive in that this policy made concessions for deaf learners and sign language but it did not go far enough. A watershed moment of advocacy for SASL happened when the High Court case of 2009 of Kyle Springate brought the issue of South African Sign Language recognition to the forefront of the educational authorities' agenda for immediate action. This pivotal court case in the Pietermaritzburg High Court resulted in the development of the South African Sign Language (CAPS SASL) curriculum in 2014 as stated in the amendments (3, (a),(b), (c), (d), (e), (i), (j) in Government Gazette (no. 39435 of 2015). However, making South African Sign Language, an official language did not follow on the coat tails of this urgent court ruling and SASL remains a minority (heritage) language. SASL is not an official language, although it is recognised by the Department of Basic Education as a language of learning and teaching (LOLT) in school for the Deaf in the Schools Act (84 of 1996). Yet, this may be a blessing in disguise when interpreting sign language as a social construction (Branson & Miller, 2002, p. 237), the multimodal, spatial nature of sign language with other spoken languages can develop without the constraints of the standardization and control (Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy, 2006).

The word 'uses' is more appropriate as Deaf persons use Sign Language and the written form of a spoken language. This is characteristic of 'bimodal bilingualism' in that has two different modes of reception and production, viz: eyes and hands; ears and mouth, hence it is also bimodal (Morgan & Woll, 2009, p. 230). Deaf bilingualism does not preclude the use of speech where appropriate. Advanced hearing aids and cochlear implant technology has benefitted many d/Deaf in becoming bilingual, predominantly in families that are hearing. Nonetheless, sign language brings a

different vision of life that is embedded in the lives of deaf people as a linguistic minority (Humphries, 2013, p. 9), and by extension, Deaf/HH lives tell a different narrative:

> The Deaf child should have the right to grow up bilingually and it is our responsibility to help him/her to do so (Grosjean, 2001: 114).

This thesis builds on the work by Störbeck (2000) which raised the question concerning the need to explore the implementation of the bilingual approach in the education of Deaf learners. Research in other countries by Svartholm (2012), Sweden, Platz-Pust (2016), Morales-Lopez, (2008) Spain, Nover (2005) USA, Akach (2014) in South Africa and Kenya (Masinga, 2015), shows that the sign bilingual model is an effective theoretical foundation and offers a practical alternative to the on-going neo-colonial 'great debate' in Deaf Education over the modality of teaching d/Deaf learners (Plaza-Pust, 2016, p. 3).

However, much research is still needed to understand sign bilingualism with its unique variables, such as restricted language access and late acquisition, bilingual education is a well-founded educational concept and practice (Plaza-Pust, 2016, p. 4) which is where the work by Humphries (2013) on deaf bilingual schooling in America and Garcia and Cole's (2014) ground-breaking theorization and empirical study mark the post-colonial paradigmatic shift in sign bilingualism.

#### *2.3.3.7 Second wave of sign Bilingualism: Dynamic Bilingualism*

As mentioned in an earlier work, deaf identity politics has moved along in two waves Mcilroy (2011). The first was marked by the medical-social debate and the second wave brought about a shift away from the essentialist manner of seeing things, with a focus on respect for diversity and fluid identities. Up to now, this second wave has been unnamed in the literature, and it could be described as a post-colonial, post-audism wave. What is also characteristic of this wave, or epistemology, is the shift away from monolingualism to an acceptance of bilingualism. However, the concept of bilingualism has not stayed still. Recent research on bilingualism adopts the view of languaging as the natural and dynamic way of describing how we use our languages today (Garcia & Cole, 2013).

Until as recent as twenty years ago, education was directed towards building learners to be monocultural and monolingual, and focussed on one culture/language. There was

the perception that having another language, in this case, sign language, would cause linguistic and cognitive damage from having sign language introduced in lieu of a spoken language (Baker, 2001). This perception of having an additional 'language is a problem' (Ruiz, 1984: 21) shifted as sign language gained recognition as a language in its own right, (Swanwick, 2010:149).

Recent research calls for the rethinking and re-evaluation of constructions of traditional pedagogy, e.g., usage of translation, and language separation and denial of flexible transfer between languages (Cummins, 2005; Creese & Blackledge, 2010, García, 2007). Similarly, Humphries argues that the diversity of languages and heritages of deaf and hard-of-hearing learners has created a rich multicultural and multilingual space. Thus, the post-modern focus on multicultural, multilingual and diversity shifts away from the monolingual pedagogy of 'inclusive' special education towards bilingual pedagogy' (Humphries, 2013, p. 14). Later, Humphries added 'deaf' in a broad sense that is inclusive of deaf, hard-of-hearing, Deaf, bilingual, Hard-of-Hearing, cochlear implantees, into the bilingual pedagogy in order to differentiate it from bilingual pedagogy of spoken languages.

Within the field of deaf bilingualism, where sign language is privileged, Garcia and Cole (2014, p. 104) invite scholars and teachers to enlarge their understanding in five critical ways: languaging and identifying, transglossia, translanguaging, and dynamic bilingualism which are critically unpacked next.

It is argued that languaging establishes the foundation of a post-modern explanation of language (Garcia, 2009). In contrast, from a modernist framework, languages are 'bound systems with fixed codes constructed by nation-states to consolidate political power.' (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). More specifically, colonialism is a western ideological structure that sustains a complex relationship of language domination through monolingualism (Garcia, 2016, p. 5). Despite the constitutional claim of that all languages are equal, minoritized languages, such as South African Sign Language hold less power and value in society, compared to English. However, in the social justice purpose of languaging, bilingual education disrupts the linguistic hegemony of monolingual and bilingual ideology that stratifies and separates languages into 'legitimate and illegitimate languages' (Janks, 2015). In a similar vein, South African Sign Language has been perceived as inferior and in need of unification in order to be seen as legitimate (Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy, 2006, p. 193). This is the route taken by the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) (Reagan, 2008, p. 176) to have

one official SASL despite evidence emerging of the natural languaging that happens among SASL users (Reagan, Penn &Ogilvy, 2006, p. 192-3).

Within a modernist, read 'colonialist epistemology', Garcia (2011, p. 35) argues that schools are complicit in the wider social hegemony by selecting and imposing an academic language for literacy, thus controlling bilingual learners from language interaction. Within a colonialist epistemology/pedagogy, despite being bilingual in name, the dominant (spoken) language remains in force in the school. The colonialist conception of language as a 'named entity' (Garcia, 2016), i. e. English leads to the problematic pedagogical authority of teachers as 'masters and commanders' of the classroom which is a discordant identity in post-modern, post-colonial schooling as metaphors of subjugation and oppression (Grech, 2015, p. 7).

In contrast, the post-modern concept of languaging emerged to disrupt the rigid unequal power structure (Garcia, 2016, p. 6) that attempts to silence sign language with invisibility as a minority language. I have taken the use of 'post-colonial' for its accuracy in describing the 'third space' that languaging occupies between languages. Languaging evolved from Swain's (2005) conception of producing language through using language. Post-modern sociolinguists (Garcia & Cole, 2014, p. 4) question even the concept of language as a 'completely autonomous system'. Instead, languaging is about the multiple discursive practices of users of speakers/signers to communicate (Marconi & Pennycook, 2007). Before going onto translanguaging as an extension of languaging, the place of sign language within languaging needs to be clarified.

#### *2.3.3.8 Identifying*

The modernist concept of identity as being rigid, immovable and tied to language has shifted to a contextual, subjective construction of fluid identities, (Bhabha, 1994, Garcia & Cole, 2014, p. 5). The central premise of a post-modern identity is that 'all identity is performative' (Brueggeman, 2002). Identities are expressions of who we say we are through the languages we use. Garcia takes the point about identity further in that 'we cannot speak of separate constructions of two language identities (an English/Afrikaans identity and a SASL identity), but rather of a hybrid (bilingual) one.' (2011, p.45) even when the organisational structure of the school is monoglossic'. The second part of this statement refers to the audist discourse at the macro-level of the school but a post-modern, post-colonial institutional and metaphysical transformation of the school is happening in this case study. The school leadership is leading the school along the path of change as an organisation and has a concomitant expectation of

teachers to disrupt their pedagogical authority of audism in order to take on the a different pedagogical authority as sign bilingual teachers. Not only do they have respect for South African Sign Language, but also a cross-cultural awareness and fluidity (Branson & Miller, 2002, p. 160). What exactly does post-colonial (post-audist) pedagogical authority looks like is incomplete, suffice to say that Garcia imagines teachers as critical 'co-learners' (2016). It is through the metaphors that teachers use to describe their as pedagogical identity thus we get a glimpse into the pedagogical authority of teachers. Thus, the professional, pedagogical identity and pedagogical authority of teachers are negotiated and closely related to the concepts of agency, positionality and representation (Giddens, 1991, Berry and Hodges, 2015, p. 64-66).

Deaf teachers (of the d/Deaf) have unique pedagogical authority by virtue of their deafness (Brueggeman, 2012, p. 212), but there is a coming-out process in terms of post-colonial performativity discourse (Pennycook, 2000, 2004) of their post-audist bilingual identity. This adds another dimension to the pedagogical authority of teachers. Conversely, how is the pedagogical authority of hearing teachers that do not sign performed? Since, as Garcia continues 'deaf learners use their semiotic systems fluidly, as they blend their signed and spoken languages' (2016, p. 14), teachers need to keep up by re-inventing themselves so that they can dynamically engage with deaf learners. It is both interesting and significant that Garcia and Cole use the term 'deaf' and not 'Deaf' when discussing deaf bilingualism and deaf learners and teachers of the deaf who use sign language and other languages. It seems that for Garcia and Cole (2014) this is non-issue rather than a need to always push the Deaf advocacy agenda by emphasizing the term 'Deaf' at every opportunity. This also suggests that the term 'Deaf' is a narrow concept and that 'deaf' has more explanatory power of deaf identities within a translanguaging approach. Nevertheless, in this thesis, the convention of using 'Deaf/HH' persists in order to emphasise the primacy of SASL as a person's language of communication and as a personal and professional identity marker. This language-identity term is not ideal, but this is what a sign bilingual identity is in current usage.

This is where translanguaging comes into play in the classroom by leveraging all the language practices available, of literacy, signacy and oracy, to use Garcia and Cole's expanded conception of languaging (2014, p. 7). With the addition of sign language, the repertoire of languaging practices of deaf learners is greater than that of hearing learners who cannot sign. Furthermore, this expanded languaging has significance for teachers as co-learners and leaders of learning. In short, teachers need to mix and match their languaging to that of their learners and to question the orthodox linear

model of bilingualism that persists in teachers minds, which despite its avowed goal of bilingualism, limits language interaction, viz.: languaging. Languaging signifies a paradigmatic shift away from the linear model of sign bilingualism to dynamic model of sign bilingualism (Garcia, & Cole, 2014).

Dynamic bilingualism calls upon teachers to discard the separatist worldview of colonialism and adopt a post-colonial translanguaging framework (Makalela, 2015a, p. 212) that re-imagines teachers' pedagogical authority as interconnected '*ubuntu' with their learners. Ubuntu* is an African concept that propagates a communal orientation expressed in the evocative proverb "*I am because you are, you are because we are*' that disrupts the individualism embodied within the western modernist epistemology (2015b: 27). This epistemic orientation is a feature of Deaf communities as community-orientated communities. Thus, teachers who establish their positions within their classroom as a Deaf community space as SASL-users are considered as insiders and supporters by moving from fixity to fluidity (Makalela, 2015b, p. 16) have moved to the third space of translanguaging as a theory and pedagogic strategy. The interactive connectivity between people and communities through a variety of communication networks is a central feature of dynamic (sign) bilingualism. More so, the multiplier effect of heteroglossia (multiple languages) and transglossia (across languages) takes dynamic bilingualism beyond the linear, additive models of bilingualism (Garcia, 2015). In other words, the languaging and translanguaging practices of dynamic bilingualism are not merely additively more, but there are exponentially more users and multiple ways of using languages. This way of understanding the post-modern hyperconnected-ness returns to the previously mentioned 'deaf$^{2}$' as a multiplier epistemology as a way of describing the dynamic cultural space of deaf bilinguals.

#### *2.3.3.9. Transglossia*

Returning to the terms, *'diglossia'* and '*transglossia'* (Garcia & Cole, 2014, p. 106). Up to now, the focus in bilingual education (and bilingualism) has been on language separation. Humphries offers an alternative reading of bilingual to the segregation of learners into categories or classes of deafness: 'Deaf', 'oral deaf', hard-of-hearing/TC', cochlear implant learners', and 'learning disabled' among others. In the same way, teachers also coalesced into categories of teachers: Deaf teachers, oral teachers. Bilingual, TC teachers, and learning disabled teachers. The fundamental shift that Humphries offers is that in schooling in ASL, (read: 'sign bilingual' for our purpose), these categories of learners and teachers are collapsed into the sole inclusive category

of a transglossic 'language-learner' (Humphries, 2013, p. 18). This revolutionary imagining of bilingual pedagogy away from the past practice of silo-ing of learners into convenient categories by teachers has implications for teacher education, identity and for providing 'multi-language classroom organisation' (2013, p.19) and practices. Taking transglossia a step further, within the sign/deaf bilingual model, this embraces the contemporary theory of learning as a sociocultural process in learning communities in which language and culture co-construct development (Vygotsky, 1978, Wink, 2000, in Humphries, 2013, p. 19).

This is where the teacher steps back to allow and facilitate the connections that learners make as a 'community of learners' (CoL). For Garcia and Cole (2014, p. 107), the concept of translanguaging emerged as a way of explaining the language practices that happen in multi-language (transglossic) classes, which in turn requires teachers to question their previously held mono/diglossic language practices that privileges the dominant spoken language/s (English or Afrikaans in this context) over South African Sign Language.

*2.3.3.10. Translanguaging*

The term translanguaging first originated from Cen Williams (1994) who used the used it to describe a bilingual pedagogy that alternates between languages modes, such as reading and writing. Later, Garcia (2009) added languaging and all kinds of discursive practices as well as signacy along with oracy and literacy in stable transglossic dynamic bilingual situations. More recently, in general education, Heugh (2015) argues that translanguaging is a structured metacognitive language process that enables epistemological access. Hence, translanguaging is a pedagogical tool used in multilingual classes that bridges communication in nuanced ways that brings about a more humanising experience for learners and teachers (Childs, 2016, p. 23). All of which speaks of the connectivity between learners and teachers as 'co-constructors of knowledge' (Garcia, 2009). Furthermore, translanguaging is somewhat controversial because it disrupts the idea that there is monolingualism and bilingualism/multilingualism (Garcia, 2009a). Instead, translanguaging occupies the 'third space' between and beyond the languages. Famously, Grosjean stated that 'a bilingual is not two monolinguals in one' (1982). Another observation of separatist bilingual practice occurs in the bilingual immersion approach to create 'two solitudes' (Cummings, 2007) of languages and identities in bilinguals. Instead, translanguaging

uses languaging to create new features from old language features and become new, emergent hybrid users of languages (Garcia & Cole, 2014).

#### *2.3.3.11. Sign bilingualism: Language separation or concurrent language use?*

Despite the name, 'bilingual', the quest for balance in bilingual education is a misnomer when revisiting the model of bilingualism. For the sake of clarity, Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) explained that there are two types, subtractive (transitional) and additive (maintenance) bilingual education. More specifically, in the context of Deaf studies, Garate (2011, p. 2), the aim of the subtractive model is monolingualism where one language replaces the other. Instead, the aim of the additive model is the maintenance of both languages, hence, the use of 'bi-' in bilingualism. In a more narrow sense, Deaf Education, the aim is the development of the social and academic proficiencies in both South African Sign Language and English. The additive model of bilingual education is indebted to Cummins for the interdependence model (1999) that stipulates that in bilinguals, the languages interact with each other. However, Humphries (2013) has questioned the applicability of this model in the multimodal context of Deaf Education (signing uses hands and eyes and has no written form, while spoken languages like English operate via the speech mode: ears and mouth and has a written form).

What is more relevant to sign bilingual is the two ways that the two languages are used: either 'language separation' or 'concurrent language use' (Garate, 2012, p. 3). Language separation is a bilingual program that separates languages by subject, such as South African Sign Language only in the South African Sign Language class, and English only in English class. The strict separation of languages is grounded on the modernist assumption of languages as bounded systems with code-switching by the teacher to make the content and themselves understood, Garcia emphasised that 'language separation' is a linear and static model that legitimises the inequality of minorities (Garcia, 2016). This point resonates strongly with the need to protect and maintain sign language as a minoritized language (Garcia, 2016). In Deaf Education, the voices of South African Sign Language users (learners and teachers too) are muted. In this way, South African Sign Language is seen as less than equal to English or Afrikaans as the dominant spoken languages at this school. Hence, the introduction of the Red Star program as a bilingual program emerged at the school to build literacy and to promote SASL (Steyn, 2015). The Red Star program was a precursor to the current sign bilingual program. Red Star was a pilot program that tried to bridge the language gap between writing in a spoken language through meaning-making in South

African Sign Language with the use of red stars/hoops for South African Sign Language and another coloured star/loop for when using English/Afrikaans. On first glance, the Red Star approach appears to be a separativist language program. However, the aim of Red Star is to enable Deaf/HH learners to bridge their inner thinking and expression in SASL into written English and with access to written English to work the other way around, back into SASL. This back-and forth movement of meaning making between languages and language modes extends Red Star closer to the dynamic bilingualism model that began to supersede it in 2015 at De La Bat School.

The 'concurrent language use' model in bilingual education is closer to the translanguaging practices. Garate (2012, p. 4) stresses that simultaneous language use is impossible with spoken languages and this carries over into sign bilingual. Garcia (2014) picks up this discussion by stressing that fluid internal language practices of learners have been developed from interaction with others. Not only does translanguaging involve the interaction between teacher and learners and learners among themselves, but also it 'is expressed by teaching two or more languages in parallel' (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). This point adds clarity to how translanguaging resolves the issue of language separation or integration as a dynamic interaction. Additionally, translanguaging, as Garcia sees it, is more than going across languages, it is about going beyond named languages (Garcia, 2016, p. 18). This returns to the concept of 'third space of translanguaging' (Garcia, 2011, p. 44) that teachers need to empower learners by leveraging languaging as a transformative experience and pedagogy (Garcia & Cole, 2014, p. 106-7). In 2014, Garcia talks of translanguaging as the 'second turn' of bilingual education. The first multilingual turn is the turn from monolingual to bilingual. The 'second turn' is the turn from linear (language separation model) bilingual model to dynamic bilingual model of languaging, heteroglossia and translanguaging (Garcia & Cole, 2014, p. 388-389). 'Translanguaging transgresses the reified categories of language, exposing meanings, and histories buried within fixed language systems and identities' (Garcia & Cole, 2014, p. 109). For teachers, as Hornberger (2013) argues, this means that teachers need to draw upon the full linguistic repertoire of bilingual learners by themselves becoming dynamic bilingual teachers.

Looking back at the case of sign bilingualism in Sweden illustrates a major development. From thirty-five years of experience of the Swedish deaf bilingual program, Svartholm (2014) makes the point that the bilingual approach has two

presuppositions that apply to teachers. First, the teacher must not only have basic (core) knowledge about the two languages and their structures and linguistic features. Secondly, teachers then need to have the pedagogical knowledge and methodology (Deaf pedagogy) for accomplishing the depth of languaging and translanguaging work in class as dynamic bilingual teachers. Knowing sign language is not sufficient in itself for teachers to be effective bilingual teachers. Similarly, without the first presupposition in place, teachers lack the functional language skills to become bilingual. Teachers first need to learn the language themselves in order to become bilingual teachers.

Similarly in America, Humphries (2013, p. 17) argues that 'schooling in sign language', as a working definition for deaf/sign bilingual pedagogy, begins with the recognition of the multilingual and multicultural nature of deaf and hard-of-hearing children in America'. The same point about the multilingual and multicultural nature of children holds true for South African Deaf/HH children by virtue of having exposure to eleven official languages, and cultures, communities and school environments. This is an example of the shift to post-modernist thinking of the acceptance of sign language and English as the languages that make up the bilingual pedagogy. We need to acknowledge that this diversity of languages and cultures exists and the old way of seeing languages as separate entities no longer fits or applies in the modern hyper-connected multilingual world (Makelala, 2015b). Thus, Garcia introduced the concept of languaging and identifying to capture the idea of non-segmented language practices (Garcia, 2011).

This article addressed the question in Deaf Studies of the presence of a bilingual identity. Seeing bilingualism as 'schooling in South African Sign Language' (Humphries, 2013, p. 14) to modify Humphries phrase to suit the South African context by dropping the American from ASL is a concept that captures and embraces bilingual identities of deaf persons, like myself. The field of socio-linguists has moved on in the last 15 years. The idea of what language is and what we do with language has finally caught up with each other now (Humphries, 2013, p. 15). This correlates with my experience of using two or more languages as a sign bilingual. Yet, we need to move into the mode of [re-]thinking of language as a concept for communication by those who use it, and this includes sign language. In South Africa, the Deaf community has been lobbying hard through DeafSA for SASL to be recognised as a language, with its own system, structure, rules, grammar, dictionary, resources, literature and standardised way of signing and most recently, the standardised SASL curriculum in education from grades R-12 (SASL CAPS) has been achieved. But how is the

language used and how should it be used and by whom in what ways? Where are Deaf/HH learners and Deaf/HH teachers, who are mostly hearing taking SASL going? These are the new unasked questions. These are provocative questions, as these are not riding on the back of the past conception of SASL as a language that has yet to be recognised. In fact, will SASL ever be recognised as an official language under the current criteria for recognition as a language? As Garcia (2009) has already argued, as a minority language, this will not happen. The coloniality of language power will remain (Grech, 2015). It is time to change our view of language to a post-colonial epistemology (Makelala, 2015a), and therefore tactics in promoting the recognition of South African Sign Language for recognition also need to change. As mentioned by Reagan, Penn and Ogilvy (2006), SASL is and needs to remain in the hands of its natural users, and this includes deaf; Hard-of-Hearing; second-language users; prelingual deaf and post-lingual; CODAs; interpreters and hearing and Deaf teachers of the deaf. This is a liberating positionality for the reason that it is an inclusive and heterogeneous representation of sign language users away from the 'special education' conception of inclusion (Humphries, 2013, p. 14) that is limited by the bilingual language separation model of the first wave. Instead of building walls that separate sign language from other languages, this is the opportunity in our nation building project to include South African Sign Language in the repertoire of learner's and teacher's languaging. It is not simply a skill set to be acquired or to 'have', which breaks away from the essentialist view of 'complete-incomplete bilingualism' (Grosjean, 2008, p.13-14, Garcia & Cole, 2014, p. 104). More forcefully, Garcia and Cole (2014) declared that 'we do deaf learners and other bilinguals a disservice to say that they are 'incomplete' bilinguals'. Thus, to hold up the goal of the ultimate attainment of bilingualism is to be a 'balanced bilingual' (Garcia, 2014, p. 105) is a fallacy. This applies to teachers of the Deaf too. To be a 'balanced bilingual' is not a realistic goal since languages are not equal, nor can equality in this sense be achieved. This is what led to Garcia challenging the false assumption of 'balanced bilinguals' (Garcia & Cole, 2014). Furthermore, Garcia had the courage of her experience as a Spanish-English bilingual herself, no doubt verified by Cole's epistemology and experience as a Deaf person, to declare that this is not the reality of most deaf bilinguals. This was a vital piece of information for me as a deaf bilingual. From my subaltern (Ladd, 2003) and border-crossing (Martin, 2010) experiences as an emerging bilingual, deaf person, I have been plagued with the guilt of never being truly 'bilingual enough' as recounted in the early cluster of blogs (Mcilroy, 2013-2015).

Now through the second wave concept of translanguaging (Garcia, 2014, Wei, 2012), I have been liberated by the idea that a sign bilingual identity is a valid site of belonging for deaf people who use more than one language. It is this perception by majority language users that made me feel that being deaf was equated with inferiority. Now as a researcher armed with this theoretical discovery and experience, what evidence is there of this Deaf epistemology of a sign bilingual identity among (hearing and Deaf) teachers of the Deaf at this particular school for the Deaf?

### 2.3.4 **South African Deaf Education context**

Despite a concern raised by Mayer and Leigh (2010) about the application of sign language in diverse classes, in which Humphries has already addressed by repealing the 'special education' model of Deaf Education and to embrace the diversity of learners communication needs through the dynamic bilingualism model (Garcia & Cole, 2014). The situation in South Africa is similar in that way with multilingual, multicultural learners are protected within the South African Constitution (1996) and in the social model, inclusive, mainstreaming human-rights focussed White Paper on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2015) policy that follows on and updates the Integrated National Disability Strategy (INDS) document (1997) with nine strategic pillars. Significantly, this policy statement recognises SASL as the first language of Deaf South Africans (WPRPWD, 1995, p.37). Furthermore, this document aligns with the National Development Plan (2012) on substantially reducing poverty and inequality by 2030. In addition, the NDP document stresses that a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to removing barriers of disabled persons does not work but the enormity and urgency of the problem of post-apartheid transformation is apparent.

Nevertheless, the current South African Deaf Education context is unique in a number of ways. Firstly, cochlear implants have not taken on in schools for the Deaf to the same extent as in Australia (Mayer, 2010, Komesaroff, 1999 or Sweden (Svaltzholm, 2010, p. 171). Although cochlear implants are available and fitted in South African deaf children, this is currently the exception rather than the norm. The cost of cochlear implants is beyond the reach of most families. Thus, it is unlikely that in the near future that cochlear implants will attain the same level of use as in Australia. In South Africa, there are other priorities that take precedence over cochlear implants, in particular: social development and redress (poverty); health care in the AIDS epidemic; and unemployment, especially in the rural communities that have been identified in

Economex 2000 (in Rural Health, 2015) as the 'Big Three Inequities' viz.; between private and public health care; the inequity between affordability and accessibility and the inequity between healthcare finance and funding (Rural Healthcare, 2015, p. 63-73). These are three of the most urgent priorities of the South African government at this time as articulated through with the government's endorsement of Millennium Development Goals (1, 2, 4, 6) as priority tasks to achieve social transformation and redress from the effects of the inequalities from apartheid (Statssa, 2015). In a more pragmatic sense, the South African Cabinet accepted the National Youth Policy 2015-2020 as a policy vehicle tasked with addressing the needs of South African youth in the medium term, especially in the critical issue of social and economic development through employment.

Likewise, according to DeafSA, even though SASL operates at the level of First/Home Language of many South African Deaf people, it spills over into other countries and is influenced by other signed languages from the encounters with other Deaf people and their languaging practices (DeafSA, 2016). The word 'languaging' describes the connectedness that happens between the plurilingual language users: signers and speakers (Garcia, 2015). It is a verb rather than a noun (TexMex, 2013) that describes 'language'. Language is not just something you have, but a linguistic tool that you use, to make meaning, and to communicate. It is through the language practices that people use to make meaning and communicate, and this draws in the richness of their experiences, and ways of thinking and culture and background. Makoni and Pennycook capture this concept neatly: "deaf people perform their identity by using languages in certain ways" (2004, p. 8).

Having outlined the multilingual context of South Africa means that Deaf Education needs to be defined, redefined or reconceptualised to keep up to date with the changes in the broader South African educational sphere. As well as with theoretical and practical developments in sign bilingualism internationally. In South Africa, the Deaf Education scenario has been well documented by DeafSA (2007) as in urgent need to ameliorate the decades of poor literacy of deaf learners. More recently, DeafSA (2013) has advocated its support of the bilingual model of deaf education and made a call for more well trained teachers of the deaf who are fluent in SASL to build more bilingual schools for the Deaf. Hence, the goal of this research is to understand what the transformation to sign bilingualism means for schools and teachers of the Deaf. To do that requires understanding the experiences of the school leadership, through the

school principal and SMT, and teachers as contributors to the process of transformation to SASL and implementation of sign bilingualism.

The objective of this case study is to explore a single school that is currently using sign bilingualism in order to assist educationists with understanding how to apply sign bilingualism in other schools for the Deaf.

### *2.3. Dialogism*

In order to understand bilingualism, Bakhtin articulated a vital concept of dialogism that enlightens our understanding of monologism or monolingualism and its audist places and practices. For Bakhtin, dialogism is fundamental to truth and human relationships (1988, p. 4). This is a foundational premise as this study is essentially about the truths and relationships of teachers in their identity narratives. By extension, and as a methodology, at its core phenomenography is about exploring the variations of experiences, and the relationships between and among the actors, to use Bakhtinian language (1996, p. 105).

Furthermore, Bakhtin, makes three salient points which guide the positioning this study as an interpretative study of the narratives of teachers. First, this is a 'polyphonic' or heteroglossic narrative of many voices (1996, p. 113). It is not simply about, from or in the author's voice. To do so would be to construct this text as a monologic text. Bakhtin talks about this use of text as consciousness (1996, p. 104) that gives voice to a text. To tell the research narrative from the researcher's perspective only, would be problematic to Bakhtin because it would dominate other voices, instead of being one voice among many (polyphonic). Once this step is taken to accept the plurality of voices then research is opened up to become receptive of the dialogic interaction of multiple, independent consciousness. Here, in this way, teachers are encouraged to tell their stories their way, in all its richness, complexity, messiness, even if it conflicts with each other. It is not about seeking a master narrative from their stories, in fact, Bakhtin castigates researchers for trying to harmonise by pulling all the voices together (to monologize) (Bakhtin, 1996, p. 115). Not from one person's sense of truth, even as a researcher, but from the multiplicity of voices (Bakhtin, 1996, p. 116). This is where Bakhtin believes the truth of human lives is found (Bakhtin, 1996) which disrupts the positivist frame research to embrace the post-modern project of uncovering the diversity of narratives/storied lives (Clandinin, et al., 2016).

This leads to Bakhtin's third point, of the *'unfinalizability'* (Bakhtin, 1996, p. 133) of our stories that needs to be heard with in its 'non-coincidence and incomplete' (Bakhtin, 1996, p. 133) texts that shape our identity. This brings in the heuristic dimension of the dialogic imagination as texts for knowledge creation. This also draws in the dialogic hermeneutics of Heidegger in the way that recognises how language is used to express my experiences, but language is also my experience. This is an astute comment about the power and choices that teachers as language users make, whether teachers choose to speak in English, Afrikaans, or signed English/Afrikaans, or use SASL. The languages that are chosen frame our experiences differently. In addition, Bakhtin (1996) adds that our language practises and narratives are also triadic in the sense that these are temporally located in past, present and future. Everything that we say, think, write or sign is connected. Furthermore, sign language is a unique language that is an 'embodied intertextuality' (Rose, 1996), by virtue of its use of the body as a linguistic tool of expression. Thus, it is not only significant when sign language is used by teachers but also how it is used as Garcia and Sylvan (2011, p. 388) outlined as an expression of the first turn or second turn of sign bilingualism.

To pull these points together, in terms of how language mediates identity, as a deaf person, Kerschbaum (2012, p. 4) articulates the point as 'my deafness is very different to my friend's deafness'. This epistemological insight of the diversity of experiences resonates deeply with me. Even though my experiences or consciousness is different to everyone else's, Bakhtin makes the argument that 'all voices or consciousness's are equal' (Bakhtin, 1991, p. 117). Working from this premise, as a deaf researcher, I want to know the richness of the diversity of consciousness of hearing and d/Deaf teachers of the Deaf through their identity narratives about being and becoming sign bilingual teachers.

### 2.3.6 South African Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) (SASL) and Teacher's Identity

Before getting to Jansen's conception, Dixon, Excell and Linington (2014, p. 141) provide a broad outline of teacher's identity as being 'their sense of self as well as their knowledge and beliefs, dispositions, interests and orientation towards work and change'. From this epistemological and ontological outline, teacher's identity is also

constructed emotionally, professionally and politically (Jansen 2001). Taking the professional aspect of teacher's identity further:

> Teacher's professional identity stands at the core of the teaching profession. It provides a framework for teachers to construct their own understanding of 'how to be, how to act and 'how to understand their work and place in society.
> Importantly, teacher identity is not something fixed or imposed: rather it is negotiated through experience and the sense that is made of that experience (Sachs, 2005, p. 15)

But, as Dixon et al. (2014, p. 141) continue to explain, teachers' identity of themselves as teachers may coexist in a state of tension or to borrow the concept of cognitive dissonance as identity disjuncture from Bernstein (2000) with the official imagination of teacher's pedagogic identity in policy documents.

Thus said, Jansen's (2001, p. 243) article described how teachers were imagined within the policy of colonialist Christian National Education (CNE) that during apartheid as an *'authoritarian'*, and as the *'facilitator'* of learning under the post-apartheid OBE policy/curriculum reform premised on a 'learner-centred' approach (Naidoo & Muthukrishna, 2014, p. 272). The demise of Curriculum 2005 (C2005) that was failed attempt at bringing coherence (Hugo, 2010, p. 64) to the overly complex, technocratic (Jansen, 1999, Chisholm, 2003, Naidoo, 2014) Outcomes Based Education (OBE). This gave rise to the Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) policy in 2004 that further foreclosed teachers as 'pedagogically closed' civil servants in education (Hugo, 2014). The CAPS curriculum emerged in 2012 as an offshoot of RNCS and attempts to integrate the basic curriculum structure and once again prescriptively imagines teachers as 'learning mediators' (Dixon, et al., 2014, p. 143).

However, Jansen's seminal article on teacher identity in 2001 is limited to a critique of teachers within the OBE and C2005 policy framework. There has not been a follow-up article by Jansen exploring the identity of a CAPS teacher. More specifically, with the rollout of the new context CAPS curriculum for SASL in 2015-2018, how teachers of the deaf are imagined within the CAPS SASL has not been addressed. Equally important, is the question of how teachers understand and imagine themselves as sign bilingual teachers of the deaf either as bilingual language separators or as dynamic bilingual teachers that use the pedagogy of translanguaging. Is there a disjuncture of

images between what the official policy of CAPS SASL constructs, explicitly and implicitly, as a teacher of the Deaf with what teachers of the Deaf experience and construct for themselves as their professional identity and their pedagogical authority? Lastly, by way of integration is the question regarding the kinds of identities is being negotiated, and need to be negotiated between the official CAPS SASL policy and teachers' experiences.

In Jansen's, article '*Re-imagining Teacher's Identities' (2001),* as a primary source text, he discussed the educational imagining of teacher identity according to national educational policies from OBE to RNCS in 1997. This critical imagining of how the SASL CAPS educational policies imagines teachers has provided a useful ontological and epistemological framework for analysing how teachers are depicted within these policies over time, and also how teachers see themselves as imagined by these policies. This is a two-way process of identity construction that oscillates between the policy statement and teachers' interpretation of how the curriculum policy document images them as teachers. From this point, this draws in the role of metaphors and identity narratives into the framework of this study. In the OBE policy, Jansen argues that from a constructivist position, teachers were constructed as '*facilitators'*. At the time, taking a constructivist position was a new pedagogical position that moved dramatically away from the prior direct learning theory framework, which saw teachers as 'authoritarian' masters of the classroom whose authority was beyond question, and questioning in class was at best, controlled, and worst, denied (Jansen, 2001).

In 1999, Jansen pre-emptively listed the reasons for the downfall of the OBE curriculum. One of the primary reasons, which are pertinent to highlight here, revolved around the technocratic positioning of teachers within the curriculum that both disempowered teachers in the classroom where the teacher's previously unquestioned authority was cast aside and replaced by a model of teachers who had lost their power in the learner-centric classroom. The result was chaos: underperforming learners, who lacked the skills to lead their own learning, together with a de-motivated cohort of teachers overburdened by the volume of bureaucratic tasks along with a politicised teacher body that shut down schooling for political purposes leading to poor exit results. Change was evidently needed. In 2012, the Department of Education rolled out Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) to address these concerns, however, South African Sign Language was not yet one of the subjects offered to learners. The implementation of SASL CAPS took the combined weight of a learner and his parent

(Kyle Springate) and a Supreme Court order to force the Department of Education to comply with the court order. The development and implementation of SASL CAPS was duly set in motion and the curriculum has started in 2014 in Grades R - 3 and Grade 9, with a planned rollout to Grades 4-7 and 10-12. However, the actual implementation followed a different phased roll-out scheduled for Grades R, 1, 2, 3 and 9 in 2014, then in 2015 in Grades 4, 5, 6 and 10, followed by Grades 7, 8 and 11 in 2017 and culminating in Grade 12 in 2018 (Government Gazette (39435 of 2015). For teachers at 38 schools for the Deaf, although DeafSA identified 43 schools, the DBE audit of schools for the Deaf accounted for 38 schools. This implementation plan despite in-depth training of SASL CAPS provided in 2014, 2015, 2016 (DBE Report, 2014, 2015) has led to a state of distress regarding the extent of the new knowledge and workload that the new curriculum required from teachers. Although the content of the in-service training was not made available to universities, it is safe to assume from knowing one of the trainers that training included an introduction to SASL. From my position as a writer of CAPS SASL, it is clear that it is not simply a matter of adding another subject to teacher's range of subjects.

Instead, CAPS SASL is unique in that it brings a new language to schools, and teachers lacked the necessary proficiency as signers, and as teachers of Sign Language with knowledge of Deaf pedagogy and sign bilingualism. This included hearing and deaf teachers. Initially, there were insufficient teachers of the deaf qualified to teach SASL CAPS. This is a serious concern. The success of the much-needed sign bilingual supported SASL CAPS curriculum is potentially hamstrung by the lack of qualified, sign-competent and experienced teachers of the Deaf. Hence, DBE support of teachers is needed, and in parallel, evidence-based research on teachers' experiences of the implementation their transformation to becoming effective teachers of the deaf needs to be conducted. It is this call for evidence that warrants this research. This leads to the question as to how teachers make sense of themselves as teachers of the Deaf from their reading of this curriculum policy document.

By extension, it is almost twenty years since the 2001 article by Jansen and during that time, the RNCS policy has been superseded by CAPS. Hence, there is a need to add on to this body of knowledge on how teachers are imagined as teachers of the CAPS curriculum. More specifically, the question of how the SASL CAPS curriculum imagines teachers of the Deaf needs to be addressed and this study explores how teachers are interpreting the SASL CAPS in terms of the their identity as a teacher in this embryonic

phase of this new and innovative educational and pedagogical policy and its pedagogy. It is important to add the pedagogical component as the SASL CAPS makes an explicit link to sign bilingualism as its preferred language policy and pedagogy (CAPS, 2014, p. 11). Fundamentally, this shift of language policy on a national level marks a significant development in Deaf Education at national, provincial and local levels.

Education in the modern world is a hyper-connected multilingual, multicultural network of learning that is radically different to the previous epoch of the teacher as sole arbiter of knowledge. The post-modern educational paradigm of socio-constructivism, and extends into the connectivism (Siemen & Downes, 2015) fuels this sharing of knowledge and languaging locally and across the globe (Siemens, 2005, Downes, 2010). The connectivist paradigm offers an opportunity to celebrate and enter into dialogue about our differences and commonalities Instead, as Garcia (2009) argues, being plurilingual connects people and enriches learning through interactions with other languages and cultures. This is a core value of CAPS SASL curriculum (CAPS SASL, 2014, p. 10).

The CAPS (SASL) curriculum is both a curriculum document for deaf and for hearing learners who want to take South African Sign Language as a subject. It was rolled out in 2014 by the national Department of Education to schools, starting with Grade R and Grade 9. This is a ground breaking pedagogical policy document because it is the first time in South Arica that Sign Language is offered to students as a subject, and later as a language. For schools for the Deaf, this is a monumental breakthrough by opening the way for higher educational expectations, achievements, and access to HEI. This curriculum is the result of the court order stipulating that a SASL curriculum must be produced. It also marks a radical paradigmatic shift in South African Deaf Education from the oral, TC/SE approaches to the bilingual approach that is embedded in this curriculum from the start. (Appendix G) This means that teachers require extensive and intensive training on South African Sign Language and sign bilingual pedagogy.

Thus, this study is looking at the teacher's transformation through the lens of their social justice and social practices (Garcia, 2012). Garcia reminds us of the obvious that it is impossible to live in bilingual communities and communicate among multilinguals without translanguaging (Garcia, 2013, p. 151). In this way, translanguaging enables us to make sense of the multilingual worlds we live in and understand our multilingual landscapes, of English, Afrikaans and South African Sign Language.

Multilingualism is typically conceived by practitioners as encouraging the use of many languages in the classroom or school context, in reality this is 'multiple monolingualism' (May, 2014, p. 3) rather than a truly multilingual practice as envisaged by translanguaging. The separation of languages has a bitter history (bitter memory) (Jansen, 2013) of apartheid legacy within schools for the Deaf (Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy, 2006, p. 111). This colonial legacy has created anxiety about this mixing of languages and the contamination of one or the other where teachers and learners have typically been instructed to keep the languages separate (Grech, 2015, p. 6). Hence, a practice of monolingualism prevails even when there is more than one language in operation in the school or classroom. For some teachers, there may well be the common sense and protectionist tendency to toe the official policy line of language segregation and to abide by the prior practice of silo-ing the languages (Reagan, 2008; Garate, 2012), in this case, keeping SASL and the spoken languages (such as the languages used by the majority: English, Afrikaans, isiZulu, isiXhosa) separate. Has SASL CAPS been able so far to empower teachers to move beyond separation of languages? How should the concept of translanguaging be included in SASL CAPS and how does this alter the shift the construction and training of teachers of the Deaf as sign bilingual teachers is a question for possible future research.

Teachers can change and the truth is that our identity can change along with our perception of others: *'deaf people can'* (Bauman & Murray, 2014) no longer the lie that: '*deaf people cannot'*. It bears saying it again: schools and teachers can and have to change their identity, and how they see deaf learners as those who can instead of those who cannot. To do that, teachers need to have the space to tell their stories, and to listen to the stories of others. That is where identity is defined and redefined (Ricoeur, 1984, p. 54-5) through narratives of the self. Likewise, Jansen makes the call for us to change our narratives (2010, p. 132). Instead of being bogged down in the pessimism of the crisis in South African education, he invites us, as citizens and in this case study, as researcher and the educators of the school of this case study to tell a different story. Logically, to borrow from Ricoeur's theory of narrative (1984), a new narrative will have a different metaphor that pulls the story together as the narrator tells the story of how they make meaning of their lives through the narrative process of 'pre-figuration, figuration and refiguration' (1984, p. 80) of seeing and interpreting the self and the world. In a more recent publication (*Leading for Change*, 2016), Jansen reads the new transformative storyline through the metaphor of 'nearness'. This raises the

question as to the application of this metaphor in understanding the teachers of the d/Deaf/HH in this case study.

It is through the dialogue, or dialectic in Ricoeur's language (1985), between the desire for a sense of permanence through selfhood and the diversity, instability of sameness within each of us that discloses our narrative identity. At the same time, narrative identity is 'inextricably bound up with the other and the relation between the self and the other' (1992, p. 10). Ricoeur talks of 'emplotment' (1985, p. 70) as the cognitive structuring of the elements into a cohesive whole along a narrative timeline (1992). It is through narrating a story to an audience that leads to a new understanding or a paradigm shift, or 'refiguration' (1985, p. 71) in their way of seeing others and themselves. Ideally, teachers will have reached this point with their narratives of change. These teachers have much to share about how they made meaning of their experiences so that others may learn from them. However, it is more likely that there will be teachers, and the researcher who are still in the process of configuration by telling their stories. Some stories of change have yet to be told, 'prefiguration' (Ricoeur, 1985), or in this context, are not going to be told until a dramatic experience of Sign Language happens. However, some stories are at various points of transformation, this is a fruitful area in which to witness the identity negotiation, and construction as it is happening.

Moreover, narrativity enables the movement away from our legacy and histories (Ricoeur, 1985), and the unravelling of our stories and moves beyond the negative cycles of 'victimhood' and 'powerlessness' and the counter-current of oppression and abuse (Jansen, 2013). I am encouraged by the point that Jansen makes that most South Africans do not subscribe to being members/agents of these 'noisy margins or dangerous intimacies (2016, p. 150, 170), but seek the calm, middle ground somewhere between reconciliation and social justice. While transformation is often seen most frequently when it is under duress to change, there is, as Jansen says, the danger that the cycle of 'protest-accommodation-protest' (Jansen, Times Live, 15 November 2015) is repeated. This is not an effective way to make progress, as it happens noisily and at the extremes. I would venture to add here that this is at the heart of the transformation project and of nation building, as we forge a new national identity that respects difference and diversity as an essential part of who we are through our revised narratives.

The same applies in the Deaf Education context, where teachers unravel and discover the complexity of who they are, where they have come from and where they are going as teachers and researchers, and as learners, because in the broadest sense teachers and researchers are also learners. For this reason, Jansen (2014) argues that '[W]e need a different story' instead of talking about problems with Deaf Education. This is the moment to talk about how SASL CAPS and the sign bilingual pedagogy is helping our deaf learners and us. As researchers and teachers, we need to listen to their stories, and then we can reflect on what they have said that changed their narrative. I see my role as an agentic doctoral autoethnographic (Harrison, 2015) researcher in uncovering and interpreting teachers' narratives of transformation made during the time of the transformation. The aim is 'to record and listen to these teachable moments of change, with a view to unravelling the complexity, troubled legacies, and entanglements' (Jansen, 2016) of teachers' metaphors in their narratives. Significantly, it is the entanglements that Jansen identified as intrinsic to lived realities correlates with Goldin and Kutarna (2016, p. 64) who argue that 'in the 1990s the world was connected… but this descriptor is no longer adequate to explain the implications of the past twenty years of global political, economic and social changes'. Hence, globally, we are entangled through the multiple connections with others in complex ways. The same trend applies to identity; the drive for self-determination of communities and nations has implications for languages (Goldin & Kutarna, 2016, p. 66). Subsequently, more sign languages have become recognized informally and formally as a consequence of the spread of human-rights advocacy as a response to colonialism (Akach, 2010, p. 47). However, inasmuch as being 'Deaf' and a 'signer' have become visible icons of identity, it is not without family and educational complications of living in a competitive multilingual world (Goldin & Kutarna, 2016, p. 68).

### *2.3.7 Metaphors*

> All sociology is, in a sense, metaphorical' (P. Sweetman, 2003)

Although this thought belongs to sociology, by extension, it also finds traction in the fields of Sociology of Education, and extends into education broadly by virtue of the need to use language to teach complex concepts, such as identity.

In the classic treatise on metaphors, '*What are the metaphors we live by?*' Lakoff and Johnson explain, "The essence of a metaphor is to understand and experience one

kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff, 1980, p. 5). Taking this a step further, their central assertion was that metaphors are the conceptual tools that we use to make sense of our world (Yu, 2013, p. 1467). Metaphors operate as structures in that metaphors map out our structures of thinking and languaging.

In other words, the central and most profound claim surrounding the study of metaphors as posited by Lakoff and Johnson (2003 : 4) is that metaphors are linguistic expressions that take us beyond seeing metaphors as 'mere words' (2003, p. 4), since the way that we think (cognition) is largely metaphorical. In 2008, Su (2008, p. 242) picked up that Lakoff had corrected an error in 2003. The correction addressed the point that all metaphors are structural and that the earlier categories of structural, orientational, ontological metaphors was an artificial division and was revised as 'domains' (2008, p. 242) or as a more tangible concept of 'thinking spaces' (Botha, 2005: 409). The purpose of domains is to ground our experience not only in our body, but also in our experience of the physical world and culture (Botha, 2005, p. 408) in an interactive network of meaning. Ultimately, the significance of cognitive structuring of our inner and outer worlds is that the conceptual metaphor theory developed by Lakoff and Johnson (2003) pioneered the field of first-order of cognitive semiotics research. Moving onwards, the second-order of cognitive semiotics research by provides a platform for mapping how meaning is created and transferred (Botha, 2005, p. 413) which adds to the hermeneutic quest of meaning through teacher's stories and metaphors.

In Lakoff and Johnson's (2003, p. 12) thinking, 'truth depends on context' which leads to the heart of human experience and logically, research is the means to understand the context. This profound statement deserves an appropriate metaphor of having our minds blown to carry the impact of their thought on cognitive semiotic research. By extension, this study explores the context of the teachers' transformation through their metaphors. This line of reasoning extends comfortably into the interpretive paradigm as the methodological framework for exploring the meaning of change through languages and experience.

For this reason, I advance the argument that conceptual metaphors are not only also important tools for structuring experiences, but at the deeper ontological level of abstract concepts (Botha, 2005, p. 414), are also intrinsically involved in conceptualising identity through how we see and map the world (Botha, 2005, p. 405).

Hence, identity is grounded through the schema (Johnson, 1987, p. 23) that we use to construct, orientate, and express ourselves: about whom we say are, and who we are not. It is through the ontological metaphors that we use to say who we are that becomes an expression of our identity (Humphries, 2003), and this is open to change through our metaphorical constructs that we use in various contexts. It is obvious that in a post-modern and post-colonial epistemology our experience of these domains overlaps and interact (Botha, 2005, p. 412). To distil each of the key concepts into a position statement behind the argument for the focus on metaphors in this study:

> Metaphors ground abstract concepts through cross-domain mappings using aspects of our embodied experience ... Metaphors are the very means by which we can understand abstract domains and extend our knowledge into new areas (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 543).

What is also made explicit is that metaphors, both conceptual and ontological, are a new cognitive and language domain for understanding how the identity of teachers of the Deaf is expressed.

Taking this a step further, narratives contain metaphors that contribute to telling the story of who we are, and this structure of identity is not a permanent structure, and is particular feature of the post-modern epoch of multiple identities (Brueggeman, 2008). By way of background, Jansen has noticed this point in his 2001 article on teachers' imaginings of themselves as teachers (2001, p. 242). Metaphorically, teachers were seen in the now-defunct OBE curriculum as "*guides on the side rather than a sage on the stage"* (2001, p. 243) and the language of this metaphor reverberates through the teacher's discourse as a rhetoric that re-positions them as non-dominating helpers. Listen to the staffroom chatter about the past and prevailing curriculum betrays the ways that teachers see themselves and also the ways in which they are resisting being seen, as 'old-fashioned finger-wagging dictators' in the classroom or as a puppets to the political will that controls the teachers by removing their authority (2001, p. 243).

At the same time, we use our languages and ways of thinking to construct metaphors to conceptualise our worlds:

> One way to find out is by looking at language. Since communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, language is an

> important source of evidence for what that system is like (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 4).

Likewise, each language has its own way of talking about itself and others and offers insight into how the users think and see the world (epistemology) through the language they are using. Extending this point, by returning to Bakhtin (1996, p. 114), in the polyphonic modern world, the languages that we use and choose to use reveals something of the power structures that underlies our thinking of ourselves, others (d/Deaf learners and teachers of the Deaf) and the curriculum. The same applies to how sign language is used as an alternative pathway of visual learning and visual language as a new bilingual narrative that forefronts the role of sign language in supporting the learning of English (Humphries, 2013, p. 9).

Taking this discussion further into the realm of hearing teachers, as Afrikaans speakers and as English speakers or as English second-language users interpret the world of sign language and CAPS through their metaphors. Secondly, and conversely, how Deaf teachers and proficient signers interrogate/construct or deconstruct the metaphors and what are the new metaphors that are emerging at this point of change to sign bilingualism in their school. Mitchell and Snyder (in Keller eds., 2004, p. 95) make the point that the master metaphor of the colonial discourse is that of 'disablement'. More specifically, this metaphor legitimises 'the social exclusion of disabled persons' (2004, p. 95). Taking this point further, Althusser's (1971) term of the 'interpellation' offers an explanation as to how the language of auditory-centric teachers is used to imagine deaf learners as 'disabled'. Therefore, deaf learners are in need of healing or cure through what Keller eloquently puts it as the 'politics of rescuing' (2004, p. 89) along with a subsequent denial of a Deaf identity and repudiation of sign language in education. In this way, teachers are constructed, or recognised as agents with a 'social mission' (2004, p. 89) of reintegrating the 'other' back into society through the audist discourse of spoken language. This argument provides a link to the post-colonial struggle that is shaped around a different master metaphor of 'diversity/difference' of voices. At the same time, the dialogue around what constitutes valid and recognised metaphors of post-colonial discourse is still open and not necessarily resolved, and indeed there may never be one master metaphor that has primacy given the nature of the post-colonial diaspora of ideas and narratives. Instead, as Reinharz (1994) explains, 'voice' is the post-colonial mega-metaphor that symbolises freedom, protest against oppression, and when the opposite happens,

there is silencing of voices. Thus, the transformation of teachers' metaphors takes Deaf Studies and Deaf Education into uncharted third space of post-colonial and more specifically, offers a post-audist lens for interrogating the metaphors, such as Deaf Gain (Bauman & Murray, 2014), of emergent sign bilingual teachers of the deaf.

### *2.3.8 Transformation and Nearness*

As a response to the problems of racism and prejudice, Jonathan Jansen (2016), as rector of University of Free State theorised on how to move beyond the superficial and strategic intimacy in race relations to transformative nearness with the 'other'. Looking at the metaphorical concept of 'intimacy' first, Jansen explains the principle that 'sheer contact with other people is not enough' to change their ways of seeing and thinking. At this point of contact, the person is untransformed and their categories of meaning (deaf and hearing impaired) remain unchallenged and undisturbed by the encounter. This correlates with Gladwell's (2009) concept of *'remote miss'* where the envisaged encounter with South African Sign Language has not shaken their cognitive foundations. In contrast, 'nearness' is comprised of going beyond the physical proximity into spiritual proximity of identity and the self. It includes having the courage and trust to engage in a communion of intersubjective connections with others who are different, and allowing ourselves to be changed permanently through their story (Jansen, 2016, p. 142). Not only is nearness about the heart, it is about breaking down cognitive barriers through new ways of seeing. Hence, in this context, it is about teachers finding a new way of seeing deaf learners and themselves in and through a new language (SASL).

This is where Gladwell's concept of '*near miss and direct hit'* hits home, as it were. However, this intimacy with sign language is not yet sufficient for transformation to happen 'Intensive and extended contact with sign language training and being among sign language users. At the same time, nearness cannot be compelled (through policy), but it is pursued through small deliberate steps (Jansen, 2016, p. 135) of contact, as a necessary and sufficient condition for transformation (2016, p. 146). Jansen used the classical theory of contact by Allport (1954) on the nature of prejudice to conceptualise 'nearness'. Allport (1954) stipulated that there are four conditions that have to be met: there needs to be equal status between people; intergroup cooperation is necessary; they have shared goals; and there is strong support from authorities to make this work.

Allport's classical work on breaking down prejudice is thus a foundational source towards the transformational leadership model articulated later by Fullan (2002).

Since transformation is about relationships, Jansen (2016) argues that there is the assumption that transformation is internal and therefore difficult to measure. Jansen makes the link to stories as the means for understanding and affirming the intersubjective experience of change. Furthermore, stories, as research narratives have the power 'to explain how through close human relationships we come to see and include the other person in the self' (Aron in Jansen, 2016, p. 142). By identifying deeply with the other through an epistemology of empathy (Jansen, 2014) transformation happens.

Deep and lasting transformation happens through nearness, as used in this sense, is a metaphor for understanding transformation as transcendence of self through empathetic connection with others (Jansen, 2016). In Lakoff and Johnson's terminology (2003), 'nearness' is an ontological metaphor of identity that serves to explain the extent of distance in relationships. Like any other language, South African Sign Language cannot exist independently of its users. Signers bring the language to life and the experience of having contact with signers facilitates nearness. In contrast, 'distance' is metaphorically the opposite indicator of nearness as it displays the state of disconnection between people.

### *2.3.9 Places and Spaces*

Taking Morgan's (2013) discussion as a starting point, the notion of 'place' and 'space', as Morgan uses from De Clereau (1984) is a useful notion for this thesis. Morgan argues that 'place' and 'space' are metaphorical constructs in the construction of narratives. Place is seen by Clandinin et al. (2006a, p. 481) the second of three [i.e.: temporality, *place {italics added for emphasis}* and sociality] as a fixed construct or context/situation and space is a fluid construct for mapping out our social worlds. For example, schools are seen as a place of hegemonic control, and the sites where audism is resisted and transformed are the spaces of transformation/transformative dialogue.

This line of thought leads to the post-audism features of connection/empathy/heteroglossia/bilingualism/translanguaging as an emergent space

of transformation in response to the audist hegemony. In this way, the narratives of the teachers are interrogated as transformative spaces where transcendence of nearness (Jansen, 2016, p. 144) is happening or has happened. It is through the teachers' dialogues and narratives (in the focus groups, interviews and journals) that they create spaces within an alternative discourse to the audist discourse that has dominated their conception of place. Similarly, in the post-audist language of inclusion used by Wei: "inclusion is not about bringing people into what already exists: it is making a new space for everyone" (Wei, 2011) as a translanguaging space where the interactions of multilingual teachers and d/Deaf learners breaks down the artificial dichotomies between languages, cultures, modalities (Wei, 2011, p. 1234).

### 2.3.10 Transformational School Leadership

Fullan (2002) is credited with drawing attention to leadership in schools and putting educational leadership on the map as an academic domain. By doing so, Fullan brought the language of leadership into education by foregrounding the principal as the leader and 'change-agent' (1993) of the school. While this may be obvious, Fullan realized that the leadership model of instructional leadership during the 1990s was 'too narrow' for the reason that it did not address the 'big picture of change in a rapidly changing post-modern world, or what he called 'a culture of change' (2002, p. 1). From this position, school leadership theory split into distributed leadership and transformational leadership (Bass & Avolio, 1994; Leithwood, 1994 in Denmark, 2016). As an attempt to address this discrepancy, Fullan moved towards the trend of transformational leadership as a sustainable model in the world of change. For this purpose, Fullan merged his earlier theory of instructional leadership with insights gleaned from Hay Management (2000) that compared highly effective managers with highly effective principals and identified five key leadership domains. Both groups see 'the big picture'; have drive and confidence; a vision to which they are hold themselves accountable; use tactics that influence the politics; and have a thinking conceptual style that embraces the complexity of the context.

From this benchmark, study on leadership, Fullan reached three conclusions about school principals as 'culture-change agents' (2012). The convergence of culture with capabilities of teachers had been added to this model (2014, p. 48). The 're-culturing' (2012) process is of great significance for successful transformation of the school from one language policy to a new language since language cannot be separated from its

culture. To be clear, sign language cannot be learned without learning about the Deaf culture and living as a bilingual. In fact, transformation implies a re-culturing of the school and the creation of new professional capital (Hargraves & Fullan, 2012) with a new generation of sign bilingual teachers coming through as leaders (2012). Hence, principals need to have a good grasp of the 'big picture of the school' and its legacy, politics and new vision, plus the wider socio-educational agents and politics of Deaf Education in South Africa, and globally.

The second conclusion is that principals need to have an understanding that transformation of school happens through people and teams. In this case, in teachers individually and as a cohort of teachers are of particular significance to transformation. The theme of 'developing people' (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2006, p. 205) speaks to the need to strengthen the dialogue of change between principal and teachers and this connects with Jansen's transformative post-colonial dialogue (Jansen, 2013, p. 272-276).

The third conclusion made by Fullan (2002) is that the principal needs to be a sophisticated thinker who understands the concepts and the implications of the change. It is thus necessary for the principal to have a strong conceptual knowledge of Sign Language and sign bilingualism in order to be able to lead with integrity.

This leads neatly onto Fullan's next point: 'moral purpose is one of the five hallmarks of leading in a culture of change' (Fullan, 2002, p. 4). Not only is a school expected to have a strong moral purpose, which is informed by the literature in support of Sign Language and sign bilingualism (Humphries, 2013, Garcia & Cole, 2012, Petitto, 2015) but this also ties in with the larger moral purpose behind the transformation in post-1994 South African democracy that values human rights. In turn, the rights of deaf learners are recognized and they need to be actioned through transformation of the past discrimination and educational imbalances towards linguistic equality. From this political platform of transformation, and armed with the SASL CAPS curriculum, the school has found itself in a good space to proceed with the moral purpose of implementing the long-awaited pedagogical use of South African Sign Language.

This study looks at the identity of school leadership (the principal and by extension, the SMT) and teachers, rather than the roles that each plays in the functioning of the school. Identity explores the question of who they say they are while the concept of

roles explores the question of what they do as teachers/SMT members/principal. Fundamentally, the identity question looks at the impact of change on people, especially on how teachers express themselves as educational professionals within the dynamic learning context of SASL and sign bilingualism.

For this reason, the focus is on the principal as the principal informant as seen through the lens of transformational leadership. From here, the principal, acting as the change-agent or catalyst for change, provides leadership. This raises questions to be explored, namely, is the principal's leadership informed by a particular leadership model, such as transformational or transactional or instructional leadership or how is this expressed? At this point, the intention was not to interrogate the principal or SMT on leadership models directly but rather to look through the language used in order to indirectly uncover the leadership models that may be applicable, in this way other schools can see how this case functioned. Thus, it would be presumptuous to predetermine or impose a model fit for this case based on only one set of data. Instead, it is envisaged that the data from the principal, SMT and teachers would point towards the best fit of one of the models (transformational/transactional/instructional/servant leadership) or an amalgam of leadership models given the untouched and unexplored terrain of this case.

Metaphors are a powerful way of understanding the kind of leadership model that principals and teachers subscribe to, either consciously or unconsciously. To illustrate, Reeve-Ellington (1998, p. 99) attached the metaphors of 'disciple/creator/liberator' to transformational leadership. More recently, Fullan (2014, p. 48) used the metaphor of the principal as a 'positive contagion' on the teaching staff and school. These metaphors provide a way of understanding the complexity and fluidity of a post-colonial, post-audist world through the coherence making and connectedness (Fullan, 2001) of principals and teachers, which gives an indication of the direction to take in interpreting the data as narratives.

By virtue of the metaphor of 'disciple' already mentioned, this metaphor brings into play another model of leadership, that of servant leadership. Servant leadership sees leadership through the metaphorical lens of 'authenticity/helpfulness/servant/stewardship/humility' (Greenleaf, 1970).

Hattie (2012) advanced on the ideas of Greenleaf to conceptualize teachers as an 'activator' of learning through 'reciprocal teaching, feedback, meta-cognition, challenging goals and student-self verbalization, which occurs between learning partners'. All of which adds news ways of looking at principals and teachers as a network of educational leaders in the context of a South African school for the Deaf under transformation.

### *2.3.11 'i-PTSD' (inverted-Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) Model of Cognitive Transformation*

Moving from a colonial into post-colonial epistemology and ontology is a starting point to disrupting the distorted meanings deep inside the narratives. The risk of life-changing transformation is potentially traumatic but a necessary encounter with ones beliefs and wilful ignorance (Jansen, 2016, p. 150) about others and our own practices.

As a consequence of research on victims and survivors of war, naively known as 'shell-shock, the concept of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) was included in the American Psychiatric Association (APA) diagnostic manual known as DSM-3 in 1994 as an 'anxiety disorder'. PTSD is described as:

> The development of characteristic symptoms following exposure to an extreme traumatic stressor involving direct person experience of an event that involves actual or threatened death or serious injury, or other threat to one's physical integrity; or witnessing an event that involves death, injury or a threat to the physical integrity of another person, or learning about unexpected or violent death, serious harm or threat of death or injury experienced by a family member (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p. 424).

A more recent and clearer understanding of PTSD is that of Alexander (2004, p. 45) of when a person has experienced a cultural and identity-disrupting (Erickson, 1994) traumatic event, and the impact of the event is relived and the person is paralysed by the anxiety and flashbacks to the event. Even though the person is a survivor, not all the wounds are visible and the psychic wounds become evident in their thinking and behaviour (Feinstein, 2011). Thus, it takes professional care and a supportive family and peers to walk through the damaged life of a survivor to refigure their narrative through and beyond the traumatic event (Eyerman, 2004, p.73; Fanon, 1963). For the

survivor, his/her life has been irrevocably changed by the *'near miss'* (Gladwell, 2009) experience.

In the same way, Gladwell (2009, p. 128-132) explains the impact of the bombing of Germany on London in the Second World War. He unpacked the abovementioned trauma of the survivor as those who experienced a '*near miss'*. This term matches with the psychology literature (Schoeman, 2014, p. 167-169), and fits in with the first-hand accounts of the trauma of victims of combat-PTSD, or complex-PTSD. Gladwell takes this further with the observation that a negative view of life has been constructed from this traumatic event, which further paralyses the victim that is characterised in psychological literature (APA, 1994, p. 425; Alexander, 2004, p. 51) by defensive repression, denial, avoidance and splitting.

From there Gladwell (2009) added another circle of the impact of PTSD: the '*remote miss'*. At first glance, this seems to be an insignificant sphere of influence, but he argued that it was this sphere of people who experienced a '*remote miss*', that was not too close to home that it actually destroyed their homes or upset (refigured) their belief system of British superiority. It was this wider group of 'remote misses' that responded in exactly the opposite way to the *'near hits'.* It was found that the *'remote miss'* group was emboldened by their survival to resist the fear and destruction of the Blitzkrieg. It was this group that rallied the British hearts and minds to resist the onslaught because they still had a positive frame of mind that they will endure (Gladwell, 2009).

When this model of PTSD is brought into the context of SASL and Deaf Education and inverted, there is a striking parallel. Translating the terms: *'direct hit', 'near miss',* '*remote miss'* into this context would read as follows: a '*direct hit'* refers to the person who has been hit directly with an experience of SASL and has been fully changed by the experience and has become conversant in the language, culture and identity and is proud of the language and has become strong advocate for South African Sign Language with a new positive narrative to share with others that merges Herman's (2002) second stage of trauma recovery model by narrating their new experiences and the third stage of re-integration with their colleagues and classes as a sign bilingual teacher of the Deaf.

The term '*near miss'* refers to persons, and in this particular context, to teachers of the Deaf who are in the process of transition (Martin, 2010) from an audist epistemology to

a de-audist epistemology of sign language and associated cognitive transformation from exposure to SASL that it has had such a critical impact on them that it has begun to re-organise their attitudes towards SASL, Deaf learners and themselves as a teacher of the Deaf (Bauman, 2004, 2014; Humphries, 2013). This change may be incomplete and partial but the person is undergoing a transformation of their mind-set/beliefs and attitudes because of their exposure to the language. As they are becoming more and more immersed in the Deaf and Hard of Hearing world as d/Deaf/HH people see and experience it they realise that they want to make a difference through sign language. Sign language has shifted their perception of Deaf learners as visual learners (Marschark &, Knoors, 2014) and as an educational necessity, This transformation is characterised by a casting off of past cognitive conceptions, expectations of themselves as teachers of the deaf, and of deaf learners that are incongruent with the new post-audist Deaf epistemology.

The second circle of influence is that of the *'remote miss'*. In line with the inversion of the first group, this group perceives SA Sign Language in inferior to spoken languages and as a negative attribute of being deaf, even though they have limited exposure and partial or incorrect/biased information about SASL. Due to their remote contact with deaf people and experiences, their worldview may have hindered them from accepting SASL as a positive attribute for d/Deaf learners. As teachers of the deaf, the hearing way is what they know and what they believe in and therefore for them, audism prevails. Consequently, for the *'remote miss'* teachers, South African Sign Language, Deaf culture and Deaf identity are not recognised or valorised concepts. To return to the analogy of the bombing used in the context of this study. It is hypothesised that the '*remote miss'* group has not yet been hit with SASL hard or deeply or near enough for it to have had a meaningful impact to break through their current cognitive structure (Fanon, 1973). Hence, their perception of the foreignness of the untested (for them) pedagogy of sign bilingualism remains in place. Cognitive dissonance towards changing beliefs is an effective cognitive tool against disruption and instability of cognitive systems and results in extreme resistant to change (Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959).

Would this mean that teachers should be forced to learn SASL, and that courses and certificates and compulsory in-service training is the way to go? To achieve intensive and extensive cognitive transformation that is permanent is always hard to achieve (Fullan, 2004). For teachers, cognitive transformation to SASL means unlearning their

deeply held beliefs, letting go of old thinking and habits and the practicing of new thoughts and habits. In addition as in this case, a new language, with its attendant new way of seeing the world (epistemology), the Deaf/HH way and its values, while operating within a hearing-centric world. This transformation adds to the complexity of teacher education and teacher training. Being in and of two worlds is an ever-present thought and reality to d/Deaf/HH learners and for teachers and both have different ideas, experiences and expectations for coping with this complex ontology.

The re-framing of narratives is where personal growth can happen, but there needs a space of safety (Herman, 2002) in order for the person to safely relive the trauma and make sense of the experiences, and to resolve this in terms of one's own belief system, and re-calibrate the belief systems or 're-culturing' in Fullan's language of transformation. This mirrors the concept of 'refiguration' that Ricoeur (1995) refers to in narrative hermeneutics. Instead of seeing the transformation as a destructive traumatic event, these transformation narratives are positive configurations or performativity (Pennycook, 2004) as new post-colonial narratives of liberation (Grech, 2015).

The doctoral journey of the researcher is included as a critical auto-ethnographic narrative (Harrison, 2015).

### *2.3.12 Autoethnography*

> "And the end of our exploring will be to arrive at where we started and know the place for the first time." (T S Eliot, 1921)

Autoethnography is a research method of writing about oneself as a participant and researcher into the study, in essence, autoethnography is 'both a process and product' (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). As a process, autoethnography is a retrospective selection of critical incidents (Ellis, & Bochner, 2000) of the journey the researcher. The process of writing follows two conjoined disciplines: anthropology (ethnography) and literary studies (autobiographical) (Denshire, 2013, p. 2) in constructing a narrative of the researcher as a reflective insider:

> Personal narratives propose to understand a self or some aspect of a life as it intersects with a cultural context, connect to other participants as co-researchers, and invite readers to enter the author's world and to use what they

> learn there to reflect on, understand, and cope with their own lives (Ellis, 2004, p. 46).

Yet how the researcher is represented in the text is a vital consideration for legitimation of the narrative as an evocative, vulnerable and reflexive text (Ellis, 2004, Berry and Clair, 2011). Therefore, representation and legitimation are important ways of ensuring rigour to safeguard used against narcissistic auto-ethnography (Holt, 2003, p. 26).

At the same time, autoethnographers aspire to truth but not certainty, which breaks away from the positivist cause-effect approach to research (Kincheloe, 2008). This infers that autoethnographers realise that throughout the research process that truth is contested, partial, incomplete and always in motion (Tullis, Jillian, McRae, Adams and Vitale, 2009 p. 185). Likewise, autoethnographers are interested in the potential of narrative truth to explain what experiences mean and their utility (Bochner, 2014). Furthermore, through the researcher's vulnerability, reflexivity and empathy with the writer's audience. (Berry % Patti, 2015), Thus, autoethnography is an empathetic journey into the life of the researcher, 'even if such seeing into is by nature partial, an interpretive fiction' (Doty, 2005 p. 161). But to avoid going down the slippery slope of becoming merely fiction, Berry and Patti (2015) argue that as applied communication research, autoethnography allows the autoethnographic researcher to negotiate socially stigmatized identities and complicate taken-for-granted assumptions and to imagine more just, inclusive worlds (Boylorn and Orbe, 2013) of post-audism.

Having said that, autoethnography can be transformational (Berry, 2013, Ellis, 2009) as researchers make sense of ourselves and our experiences through writing. For this purpose, this thesis takes up the therapeutic and hermeneutic tool of 'narrative reframing' (Kiesinger, 2002) in which we "actively re-invent our accounts of ourselves …in ways that empower rather than victimize us" (Kiesenger, 2002, p. 107).

Similarly, the storying of our lives is an attempt to explain and bring order to our experiences (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Hence, in the same way, autoethnographic narratives, offer us the opportunity look more closely at ourselves and others in the study from the position of an 'empathetic insider' (Ellis & Bochner, 2000):

> A story told from a personal, first-person account usually carries a far greater weight of authority and trustworthiness, than a passed-down story because the first-person narrative has the indisputable and indelible mark of: 'I was there.' (Ellis & Bochner, 2000).

As already mentioned by Freeman (2015) in the section in this chapter on narratives, there are different types of autoethnographic narratives for different purposes applies, viz: survivor narratives, transformational narratives, confessional, narratives, contemplative narratives, emancipation narratives, inspirational narratives, and historical narratives (Ellis & Bochner, 2000).

In terms of representation (Holt, 2003, 19), initially, and from my experiences of growing up deaf in an oral-centric world (within the ambit of audism) I would have produced a text aligned with the deaf as a 'survivor narrative'. Instead, with the shift towards a Deaf identity through learning South African Sign Language, and being involved the local Deaf community, the last 10 years brought forth a radically different script that repudiated the past with an overt 'confessional', and 'emancipation narrative'. I am mentioning this now as this script has changed again during, and because of the doctoral study. The dissatisfaction with both sides of the deaf/Deaf binary led to a reflection on my own narrative journey and identity space as a sign (deaf) bilingual in transition. Consequently, the 'contemplative narrative' discourse with its introspective focus on 'exposure, reflection, and theorising' ones experiences fits in well here as a narrative tool of analysis of the 'double [multiple] consciousness' (Du Bois, in Brueggeman 2000, p. 318) of being a deaf researcher, as a writer and also as a signer. This is a hybridization of 'rehabilitation, adaptation, re-integration' Lazar, (2012, p. 64-75) and conventional anthropological identity theory of 'marginality, liminality, re-integration' (Turner, 1964) for interpreting the parallel autoethnographic narrative.

This autoethnography is a reflective narrative of researcher's journey of the paradigmatic shift in epistemology to that of being sign bilingual deaf person. The personal transformation coincides with Bauman and Murray's call for more 'Deaf Gain' (2014) writing that celebrates the post-colonial performativity (Pennycook, 2004) and gains of being Deaf. However, I believe that this opens up the opportunity for deaf academics to go beyond the orthodoxy of deaf and Deaf into the post-audism space of theorising about deaf lives/identities to include sign bilingual deaf researchers. This is the researcher's untold story of transformation.

## 2.4 Conclusion

Chapter Two laid out and unpacked the theoretical framework of narrativity and identity construction and reconstruction during the journey of transformation. The chapter started with narratives and identity as the central theoretical concepts that informed the study. Afterwards the concepts of ontology, audism and the counter-hegemonic discourse of post-audism from its roots in post-colonial theory, bilingual education and bilingual deaf education is unpacked and reviewed then the second wave of sign bilingualism of dynamic bilingualism is discussed. The context of South African Deaf Education concerning the implementation of SASL and the SASL CAPS curriculum was presented and discussed. This established the foundation for looking at Jansen's (2001) pivotal article on how teachers are imagined in the curriculum and led to exploring the developments and ways that the new CAPS SASL curriculum imagines the identity of teachers of the Deaf and metaphors and places and spaces that are embedded in the identity narratives and the ways teachers understand and explain their experiences of the transformation. The transformational school leadership model was discussed as a model for understanding how and why teachers make the change to sign language and sign bilingualism, a cognitive model of transformation, the i-PTSD model is proposed. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the concept of autoethnography narratives to establish the researcher's narrative and positionality as a critical bricoleur and insider to this study.

Chapter Three explains the methodological framework, research instruments, research procedures followed, and the ethical considerations.

# CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

> Social research is at its best when it undermines certainties and grand narratives that limit people's live' (Young & Temple, 2015, p. 181)

## 3.1 Introduction and positioning

As explored by Young and Temple (2015), research is seen as a disruptive activity that seeks to understand what is behind what people say/sign and do. In the same way, it can be argued that the researcher becomes a co-constructor of knowledge through the research process. More so, this study adopts the interpretive methodology as an alternative to traditional humanist research approach, which constantly seeks objectivity.

This brings the issue of researcher subjectivity and the researcher's knowledge as an insider to the foreground and the 'epistemology of the insider' (Reinharz, 1997) adds epistemic authority of authenticity to the narrative analysis (Young, 2014, p. 107).

> [E]thnography is grounded in the commitment to first-hand experience and exploration of a phenomenon, there is also the insider's narrative as co-construction of research that contributes to the production of situated knowledge (Young, 2014, p. 131)

However, adding Spivak's concept of the researcher as 'subaltern' (1988, p. 90), the previously unvoiced insider, adds potentially disruptive knowledge of the researcher as a deaf academic to the analysis. Williams (2012) argues that:

> The epistemological and methodological choices that the researcher makes, the research takes on a particular shape by including some perspectives and voices and also by excluding others (Williams, 2012, p. 255).

The concept of 'dangerous knowledge or guilty knowledge' (Williams, 2012, p. 256). happens when the researcher is privy to the deeply personal, subjective, truths of people's lives. Thus, as researcher, I will take great care with the information while keeping in mind that knowledge is always partial and may be interpreted differently by other researchers. As a bilingual deaf researcher and as an insider during the research

process, I intentionally positioned myself as an involved subject or agent in the data collection process followed by the process of interpretation to understand the participant's experiences. Hence, this is a narrative study of the participant's transformation journey along with the parallel autoethnographic journey of myself, the researcher.

## 3.2 Interpretivism

As an interpretivist study, this research adheres to Gerring's (2003) point that the focus of the interpretivist researcher is on understanding the context of the phenomenon. Hence, this focus aligns interpretivism with the hermeneutic tradition of inquiry as a search for meaning through language (Gadamer, 1975). The epistemological basis of interpretivism is on seeking coherence (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 2) rather than the correspondence with truth (realism) as in a positivist reading of the data.

An interpretivist methodology is frequently found in the fields of anthropology, sociology, politics and education as these disciplines focus on the intentions of the author/speaker which in this case, includes the signer, and explores their local, indigenous knowledge and variations (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999), which is what Booth (2006) contends is the foundation of phenomenography as a method. It is this textual analysis that provides fertile ground for the use of a '*verstehen*' [trans. Ger: understanding] process of working through the variations and relations/connections of peoples interpretations of their world (Marten & Booth, 1997).

Although interpretivism has received some criticism for being biased towards the subjective perspective, it has responded to this criticism (Cresswell, 2003), of having a narcissistic pitfall by looking at the context of an event or action/phenomenon and by searching out the inter-subjective meanings (Taylor, 1985).

## 3.3 Bricolage

In qualitative educational research, Kincheloe and Berry (2004: 2) as a disruptive critical methodological framework have put the term 'bricolage' forward. Instead of following the pre-set logical positivist framework of doing research to discover how things work, Kincheloe and Berry returned educational research to its central focus as an 'epistemology of complexity' (2004, p. 2). In 2004, Kincheloe and Berry developed

the concept of bricolage and described it as an adaptation of the French word for a handyman, a 'bricoleur' who is someone who 'tinkers, fiddles with things, (Steinberg, 2011). This term originates from Levi-Strauss, an anthropologist who defined it as 'a spontaneous creative act that uses whatever is available to reach a desired outcome' (Yee, 2010 in Bremner, 2011: 3). For 'researchers-as-bricoleurs', the outcome is about 'respecting the complexity of the meaning-making processes and the contradictions of the lived world' (Rogers, 2011, p. 4), which ties in with the quest for knowledges of human lives as they are. Hence, there is not a singular reality or way of seeing the world, but many ways of interpreting our realities and how we construct knowledge, Not only does this methodological approach take on an active focus of knowledge and meaning-making, but it also places the researcher in an ontological position as an agent in the research as 'researcher-as-bricoleur' (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004, p. 2).

The task of the bricoleur is 'to uncover the invisible artefacts of power and culture and to document the nature of their influence' (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004, p. 2). This leads to moving beyond the empirical, monological, passive, external, reductive, objective and standard ways of knowing and doing research into a multilogical inquiry of bricolage (Kincheloe & Berry 2004). In the seminal research methodology handbook, Denzin and Lincoln (1999, 2011, p. 4) outline five types of bricoleurs: 'the interpretative bricoleur, methodological bricoleur, the theoretical bricoleur, the political bricoleur and the narrative bricoleur'. For this study, the types of researcher-as-bricoleur that emerged in order of prominence were the 'interpretive', 'narrative', 'theoretical' and 'political' bricoleur. The primary bricolage was focused on 'interpretive bricoleur' as:

> A researcher that understands that research is an interactive process shaped by his or her personal history, biography, gender, social class, ethnicity and by those people in the setting (Rogers, 2012, p. 4).

Yet, this description of what bricolage means is incomplete and needs refinement to which Kincheloe adds: '[T]he revised description of an interpretive bricolage inquiry is an interactive process that is shaped by my personal history, educational background, disability, social position and assumptions' (Kincheloe, 2001, p. 683). Furthermore, as Denzin and Lincoln (1999) highlighted, the task of interpretive bricoleurs is to piece together their research through critical reflection 'by recognising that knowledge is never free from subjective positioning or political interpretations' (Rogers, 2012, p. 4). This insight speaks directly to the interpretive heart of this study and pulls in the

overlapping narrative and political and theoretical researcher-as-bricoleur. Turning to narrative bricoleurs, Denzin and Lincoln (1999) describe this type as bricoleurs: 'that appreciate how ideologies and discourses shape how knowledge is produced… and avoid univocal research representation' (Rogers, 2012, p. 7).

There are many voices to be heard and analysed (such as those of the principal, the SMT, the 'older teachers' and 'younger teachers' and those of the deaf teachers) instead of attempting to subsume all of the teachers into a single representation and thereby losing the complexity and richness of the multiple voices within the site. This leads logically to including the political bricoleur in which the researcher 'is aware that knowledge and power are connected and that all research has political implications' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1999, p. 6). This study recognises the political implications of policies on research in Deaf Education as a deeply contested domain as a consequence of the theoretical and practical struggles for control internationally and in South Africa between the oralist and South African Sign Language advocates.

Returning to the assumptions that a bricolage inquiry holds, the assumptions adapted from Kincheloe (2005) are:

- The monological assumption that all phenomena can be broken down into their constituent parts is false when analysing human relations.
- The assumption of the multilingual complexity of human relations.
- An assumption that variation, and heterogeneity is a positive attribute.
- An assumption of cultural negotiation of knowledge.
- Abandoning the assumption of realism in research.
- Assumption that everything is connected and can be connected.
- Assumption of the invisibility of power, but the effects of power is not visible.
- Assumption that life is unpredictable, and that change is inevitable and unpredictable.
- Assumption that despite the bias of narrative fallacy, teachers' selection and construction of their narratives is accurate, trustworthy, and meaningful.
- Assumption that the work of bricolage research is partial and incomplete but there is coherence midst the complexity.

- The assumption of active agency in research instead of passively following a pre-set methodological framework of determinism.
- The assumption of the subversive nature of bricolage and the researcher as bricoleur in disrupting structures and relations of power.
- The assumption that context and historicity matter in research on people.
- Assumption that knowledge is never free of the researcher's subjective, political positions or interpretations.

The following assumptions have been added:

- The assumption that contact alone, a 'near miss', with sign language is insufficient for transformation to post-audism.
- The assumption that a deep, extended, extensive experience of sign language, a 'direct hit' is a necessary and sufficient condition for transformation from audism.

In line with the use of metaphors (to understand how teachers position and structure themselves as teachers in section 2.10), in the same way, the 'researcher-as-bricoleur' is a metaphor used to capture the researcher as a critical co-constructor and co-participant in this study. The autoethnographic blogs (Chapter 8) serve to integrate the 'researcher-as-bricoleur' into the critical hermeneutic process (Rogers, 2012, p. 12) in an attempt to disrupt the authoritarian control of the dominant view over knowledge production and identifying (Garcia & Cole, 2014) with sign bilingual Deaf epistemology of post-audism.

Furthermore, Kincheloe outlined first how bricolage takes research 'to the next level of complexity' through the 'criticalization of inquiry' and proposed 'critical bricolage' (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 7) that reveals and embraces 'indigenous knowledges' (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999) that are unfixed and dynamic, such as unexplored deaf epistemologies, identities and sign language. In short, critical bricolage is a move away from the positivist, monological research approaches that reinforce the oppressive, mechanistic, reductionist marginalising structures of colonialism (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 43). These strong words of counter-hegemonic resistance may in turn apply to audism as a colonial offshoot It is Rachel Levitt (2013) who makes this crucial link explicit'

Audism and oralism are specific nodes of oppression crafted and produced in tandem with racism, heteronormativity and colonialism' (Levitt, 2013, p. 71).

Secondly, since:

> Theory is a cultural and linguistic artefact; its interpretation of the object of its observation is inseparable from the historical dynamics that have shaped it. The task of the bricoleur is to attack this multicultural complexity, uncovering the invisible artefacts of power, and documenting the nature of its influence on not only their own but on scholarship and knowledge production in general. In this process, bricoleurs act upon the concept that theory is not an explanation of nature - it is more an explanation of our relation to nature. In the twenty-first century neo-colonial era this task becomes even more important' (Kincheloe, McLaren & Steinberg, 2011, p. 168).

Hence, bricolage research embraces the complexity and interrelationships of the lived world experiences of teachers of the deaf. This line of argument of the complex power relations embedded in social theory and transformation (Kincheloe, 2011, p. 170) provides a link to understanding the logic behind the use of phenomenography as a discursive interpretive methodological framework.

Thirdly, critical bricolage is a move towards emancipatory research based on a post-colonial, post-audism rationality that drives social justice inspired political action (Kincheloe, et al, 2011, p. 170). These three points contributed to the selection of the relationship-focused methodology of phenomenography over the individual-focused methodology of phenomenology. The former will be discussed next.

### 3.4 Phenomenography

The selection of phenomenography as the approach to data collection and analysis was informed by the central focus of phenomenographic analysis as a 'non-dualist, second-order perspective on a phenomenon' (Reed, 2006, p. 2). By non-dualist, second-order, Reed (2006) meant that both the internal (subjective) and external (objective) realities are both considered and seen as valid contributors to research which locates phenomenography within the interpretative epistemological orientation.

This ‘second-order focus’ emanates from the way that people explain their experiences, typically collected through conversations, narratives and interviews. Interviews of people are a powerful means of exploring a phenomenon and a widely used phenomenographic data collection instrument (Reed, 2006, p. 5). Not only that, but also what makes phenomenography unique is the focus on the variation in how a phenomenon is experienced by a group of individuals’ (Collier-Reed, et al. 2009, p. 340). This is where phenomenographic analysis differs from the focus of phenomenological analysis on the experience of an individual. Essentially, by being a reflective inquiry of a group of individuals of their awareness of a phenomenon, phenomenography is a ‘meta-awareness’ analysis. Saljo (1997, p. 174) explains that by looking specifically at the relationship between experience and discourse, or the variations of ways that things are said or not brought to the foreground to create a complex (network) of relations of the themes within the outcome space. Within the ‘outcome space’ (Koole, 2012) of the context of the phenomenon are the ‘categories of descriptions’ that describe the conceptions of the phenomenon (Reed, 2006, p. 3). In this case, the study seeks to understand the ways that teachers experience the change and conceptualise, and re-conceptualise, their identity as teachers of the Deaf within this changing environment.

There are five points made by Booth (2006, p. 136) about the nature of phenomenographic research that need to be unpacked. First, there are two types of learning happening within a learning community, ‘surface and deep’ (Booth, 2006, p. 136). These are the changes in the individuals, not specifically the actual individual, as this would slant this towards phenomenological enquiry, but the core lessons that a range of individual voices contribute to our understanding of the learning, and in this context to the transformation process of teachers as each describes the ways of understanding the meaning and structure of the phenomenon. It is these ‘dimensions of variation’ (Booth, 2006, p. 137) that are at the heart of this approach as a way of interpreting the clusters of individual meanings of the transformation process. The notion of ‘surface’ and ‘deep’ experiences is an important lens through which to examine the intensity as well as the structure of the transformation.

Secondly, Booth (2008, p. 9) stresses that phenomenographic research is located at the ‘meso’ level of social science research, not at the micro or the macro levels. This implies that the meso is informed by the microanalysis of the individuals and then extrapolated to the context in which they are agents. The focus is on the meso, or

middle level of analysis, which dovetails with the case study approach of making trustworthy claims as opposed to claims of generalizability to the macro level of all schools for the Deaf.

Thirdly, phenomenography is linked to the scholarship of the teaching and learning movement (Booth, 2008, p. 9). This leads us into the realm of exploring how and why learners learn, but also into the realm of how and why teachers teach and become teachers. Teaching is not a static concept. The practices of teachers change in alignment with prescribed educational reforms and educational pedagogical trends and theoretical developments, as well the larger social influences, such as the shift to bilingualism and more directly, in this case, in the direction of sign bilingualism and translanguaging. Hence, Booth (2009) argues that phenomenography is a performative research methodology as it has a strong link with the transformative and critical traditions in charting and embracing the change process in the lives of the participants. Furthermore, Collier-Reed (2009) adds that performativity (action research) allows for alignment of the process of transformation in the participants, including the researcher-as-insider into the process of research (2009, p. 2). Hence, the post-colonial performativity (Pennycook, 2004) potential of phenomenography (Booth, 2008) links with the conception of this study as a bricolage.

In this case study, the teachers are both the change-agents involved directly in their change and they also are carried along with the changes happening in their school (Fullan, 2002). This also means that the researcher is a co-participant in this process of change along with the teachers as a performative researcher who records, reflects and redefines/reshapes his and their experiences along the research journey as a research narrative that takes on the form of a bricolage. This connects with the hermeneutic tradition of Ricoeur as a gateway methodology to understanding the complexity of the experiences (*verstehen*) of teachers and the researcher as co-subjects (Ball in Thomson & Walker, 2010, p. 101).

Fourth, the focus on understanding the variation of experiences of a cohort is the goal of phenomenographic research (Booth, 2008, p. 9). The concept of 'variation theory' states:

> That learning about a phenomenon is essentially constituted of discerning new features of the phenomenon and seeing the relation between parts and wholes

> in structurally new ways and thereby coming to find new meaning in the phenomenon (2008, p. 451).

Variation theory lies at the heart of this approach as the analytical driver for understanding the relationships between the subject's knowledge and their experienced variation of teacher identity which constitutes the knowledge of the context of teachers of the d/Deaf in a school undergoing transformation into becoming a sign bilingual school.

Fifthly, Booth states that:

> The last, but not least of the features is that phenomenography and variation theory are derived from and attend to issues that are pedagogical, strictly related to ways of experiencing and understanding that have to do with learning, whether formal or informal (2008, p.10).

The significance of this point is that phenomenography in education is not derived from the field of psychology with its individualistic focus, but has a multi-discipline dialogue of the institutional and personal experiences of transformation as a connected phenomenon.

### 3.5 Phenomenographic analysis

As stated before, phenomenography is a research approach that fits within the interpretivist epistemology where the meaning of a phenomenon is the focus of the research (Marton & Booth, 1997, 2009). In this case study, teachers were invited to talk, sign and/or write about their own and their school's experiences of the change towards bilingualism and the imminent implementation of the CAPS (SASL) curriculum, as a means of exploring their identity as teachers of the Deaf. This is the phenomenon under study.

It was for this reason that focus groups were chosen to give teachers, as a group, an opportunity to talk amongst themselves. In doing so, this analysis looks closely at the various relationships from the teacher's dialogues and at the 'thematic and margin' elements (Booth, 2009) that have begun to emerge within the outcome space of this case.

### *3.5.1 Steps of phenomenographic analysis*

Step 1: Reading each transcript through to get a sense of the whole focus group discussion/interview and viewing of the HD video of the session with the SASL interpreter in the focus groups/interviews and journals.

Step 2: Re-reading/re-viewing the transcripts individually as separate units of variation. Examining each transcript as a whole through an interpretive lens of post-audism (Mcilroy, 2015) and looking for un-voiced/non-dominant ways of understanding (Larson & Holmström, 2007: 57) within the thematic field;

Step 3: Drawing together a preliminary list of 'categories of description' (pools of meaning) of how the SMT and each of the teachers articulate and understand the process of transformation to South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism. The similarities and differences in the experiences of the participants are interpreted through the lens of post-audism to create decontextualized 'outcome spaces' (Säljä, 1996, p. 28);

Step 4: Analyse the outcome spaces from an interpretive post-audist reading of the Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals through the teacher's use of metaphors and the inverted-PTSD (i-PTSD) model (Mcilroy, 2015) as 'categories of variation' (Booth, 2009).

Step 5: Discussing the architecture (Martins & Booth, 1997, p. 117) (the structure, relations, and meaning of the outcome spaces) of the variations of teachers' experience through their Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals along with the autoethnographic narrative.

The traditional method of doing phenomenographic analysis, as described by Marton and Booth (1997) is to create 'pools of meaning' by cutting and sorting the transcripts into thematic pools of similarity, then looking at the differences between the emergent themes (categories of description). However, while that way of doing data analysis was considered, the decision was made to follow the route of reading the transcripts as

whole units instead of taking the Interviews and Focus Groups and Journals out of context. Therefore, the 'extracts that exemplify meaning' (Reed, 2006, p. 8) where selected and pooled into 'categories of variation'. This lead to the decision to blend Marton and Booth's (1997) approach of 'pools of meaning' with Bowden's (2000) approach of taking out extracts to data handling in order to create the broader 'outcome spaces' that are used in the next level of analysis of 'categories of variation'. Then an analysis of the structure of the relations (architecture) between the Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals through the conceptual lens of bilingual Deaf epistemology as post-colonial, post-audist narratives, informed by the i-PTSD model of cognitive transformation and the epistemological and ontological metaphors used to re-imagine their identity as sign bilingual teachers of the Deaf.

### 3.6 Case study

The focus of a case study is on greater understanding (theoretical knowledge) and the enhancement of practice (praxis). Both of these foci are geared towards meeting the 'educational imagination' of schools and improving the practices of teachers. It would seem to be stating the obvious to say that schools have an educational imagination, nevertheless, this term is adopted from two sources, the 'sociological imagination, and the teacher-learner discourse as a 'dialogic imagination' (Bakhtin, 1984). The emphasis on dialogue is central to this study as this is a case study of a cohort of teachers of the Deaf through their research dialogue with the researcher.

In addition to engaging in comprehensive understanding through dialogue (Bakhtin, 1981), the case study was chosen for another reason: it is an investigation of a 'singularity' (Wolby, 2014). Singularity in the context of case study research is the focus on one phenomenon. This word is used intentionally, even though it is an ethnographic study of the teachers at one school in detail. At heart, the essence of a case study is on its targeted focus on the singularity of a phenomenon under study. Here the focus is on the phenomenon of introducing sign bilingualism and how teachers change or grow with this new pedagogy. In this case (sic), the transformation of the school and teacher's lived-experience of the introduction of sign bilingualism as a new pedagogy and perspective and their identity narratives is the targeted phenomenon.

Typically in an empirical study, a case study pulls together multiple sources of data (Yin, 1994, p. 13) to triangulate for validity and reliability purposes. However, as this

case study is a prism of different perspectives from different participants as well as the use of four different research instruments to capture the complexity and diversity of the phenomenon. In this case, the various sources of data used were surveys, focus group discussions, interviews and journals collected from teachers at one school. This is driven by the research question aimed at discovering what is happening in a school by looking at the teachers' dialogues as a research instrument for gaining a glimpse and insight into the minds of teachers through their own words/signs. Furthermore, this interpretative analysis extends into a (Booth, 2008) deeper reading (meso and micro) of the qualitative data to explore how this school and its teachers contributes to understanding of the universe of teachers of the d/Deaf across the country. To be more specific, a strength and characteristic feature of case study research is that it is grounded in real-time actual educational contexts and looks at the specific particular case within the overall context (Yin, 2014). This is where the empirical and theoretical parts of research collide and influence each other as much-needed praxis.

Using Yin's (1989) extensively cited description, a case study is:

> An empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (1989).

It can be argued that this study is less of an empirical study, in that it pursues Bourdieu's (1988) principle of 'theory without empirical research is empty, and research without theory is blind.' Hence, the focus is not on being empirical for its own sake, but a necessary performative research-driven practice of dialoguing/narrating the practices and theorizing into the analysis of this case. All of which support the interpretative framework. 'Phenomenon' is explicitly used here and is an essential concept in this case study as it embraces the idea of investigating a specific phenomenon within its context as a 'bounded system' (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 39). This in turn informed the choice of methodology for analysis, in this case, of phenomenography for its hermeneutic power in understanding the relationships within a phenomenon.

This definition of case study can be simplified into the definition used by Soy (1997) 'a detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions and their relationships'. This definition enables the study to extend into the interpretivist domain by giving credence to the complexity of the relationship between the phenomenon and

its context as a site of curriculum and pedagogical transformation. It is this focus on understanding how teachers' construct and re-construct their narratives of the changes that this study seeks to analyze in detail. For this reason, it is a small and easily made jump within the interpretivist paradigm to the use of phenomenography as the methodological lens of analysis. As already established in the working definition, a case study is about investigating a phenomenon, which is precisely what this study has set out to do by its focus on the phenomenon of the change process and its complexity involving a cohort of teachers at one school.

In terms of sampling of a case study, Flygberg (2006, p. 229) outlines that a case study can either be categorized as a 'random selection' or an 'information-oriented selection'. This school fits into the 'information-oriented selection' category on the basis of its expected content on this phenomenon which gives it considerable explanatory power for other schools to draw upon when implementing sign bilingualism and the SASL CAPS curriculum. What makes this school an information-rich site of study is that it is currently the only, and therefore, the first school for the Deaf in South Africa to be pushing forward with the implementation of sign language ahead of the roll-out of the CAPS SASL curriculum. Although there are other schools that use SASL as a language of instruction, this school is unique in that it is embracing the sign bilingualism model as opposed to a monolingual spoken or signing model of instruction. In addition, the school ran a Sign Language Pilot Project in the classroom; another substantial outcome of the pilot project was the production of a substantial amount of first-time resources made in anticipation of the CAPS SASL curriculum. To date, as an outcome of the SASL audit of resources required by Department of Basic Education (DBE) of all schools for the Deaf, there is a serious lack of resources and teaching materials in SASL and for SASL as a subject.

The CAPS SASL introduces a completely new curriculum for schools for the Deaf. This is groundbreaking work of rolling-out the curriculum has started in 2014, and despite Level 1 training (basic SASL). According to the Department of Education Annual Report (2015/6), Level 2 and Level 3 training is currently being provisioned and is specially aimed further equipping teachers with knowledge and skills on how to use the CAPS SASL curriculum (DBE, 2016). Although understanding language policy in the South African deaf education context has been conducted by Reagan (2008), but the process of transformation of a school for the Deaf from one language policy and pedagogy to another has not been documented. It is beyond the scope of this doctoral

study, as intensive as it is, to cover all the stakeholders, especially the learners, parents, DoE, and Deaf community with the kind of detail that would do a $360^0$ study justice. Thus, the focus in this study is on teachers as the primary change-agents (Fullan, 1993) in this process, and without a doubt, the impact of their transformation spills over into the lives and domains of the people with whom they frequently make contact.

According to Wolby (2014), a case study can be an 'extreme', a 'critical', or a 'paradigmatic' case. This case may not seem an extreme case as it does not portray the unusual or deviant case; however, in terms of being a pioneering case it can in fact be catagorized as such. The validity of this case as a precursor of a new dispensation in the field of deaf education. It is essential in the sense that it presents a critical case before us in this field as a means of seeing how a new path is being trod for other schools to follow in their footsteps. Would it be accurate to call this a paradigmatic case? Although a 'paradigmatic case' stands out as an 'exemplar' of the phenomenon, this may not fit here because it is not about seeking to validate the paradigm shift that is already occurring. According to Circular S15/2015, the DBE has passed the CAPS SASL as policy and begun implement the roll-out the SASL curriculum from 2015.

What is not being questioned here is the necessity or value of having SASL curriculum, or for that matter, the attendant sign bilingual pedagogy which in itself is a long-awaited and lobbied for paradigm shift in South African Deaf Education (DeafSA, Störbeck, 2001). Hence, although there is overlap of the various kinds of case study (paradigmatic/critical/extreme), for the sake of precision, to consider this kind of case study: 'a pioneer case' (Wolby, 2014) and to accept this description as its term of reference. For clarity, this school qualifies as a 'pioneer' case as it is one of the five schools pioneering the use SA Sign Language and sign bilingualism as its language policy and pedagogy respectively and has participated in the pilot SASL Project to in anticipation of SASL CAPS curriculum implementation in 2015. The process of the school's transition from an oral, then a Total Communication school, that recognized the pedagogical space of South African Sign Language has all been a part of its journey to where they are at now. The SMT has made it explicit to teachers and its educational community that it is a (sign) bilingual school, not merely in the sense that is an Afrikaans and English medium school, as it serves an Afrikaans and English local community, but more significantly, it is bilingual in the sense that South African Sign Language is the language of instruction, not TC or GVT or SE, and that Afrikaans and

English are the other languages of instruction. Afrikaans is the first language of the majority of the teachers, who are also good at English, (reading) as most of the text books are in English. It would be more accurate to call this a multilingual, multimodal school, but for the purpose of clarity, sign bilingual refers to the difference of modalities, viz: sign mode is through the hands and eyes, and the oral mode (spoken languages: Afrikaans and English in this case) are exacted through ears and mouth as modes of expression and reception. Although SASL is being implemented in most schools for the Deaf, this is still a unique development in South African Deaf Education. This study focuses on one school for the Deaf has explicitly, purposefully and proactively taken up the challenge of transformation to introduce SASL in the school as a language of the school and implement SASL as an official school subject. Having emphasized the pioneering, Merriam adds another dimension that has not been mentioned. Merriam (1988) describes a case study being 'descriptive', 'evaluative' or 'interpretive'. Then later Merriam and Tisdell (2016) expand on the interpretative case study as a 'situated case that tells a narrative' (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 39). This is an accurate description of this case study as an interpretive narrative of the school leadership (SMT) and of the teachers at a school for the Deaf.

The purpose of the study is to probe deeply and intensively to interpret the complexity of the process of transformation of school leadership and teachers with a view to being of assistance in the development of schools for the Deaf in similar contexts.

In response to the well-worn criticism of the problem of generalizability that is frequently leveled against case study or any qualitative research for that matter, Yin (1989) argues that we can extrapolate from a single case to generalizations, from a single to a class or group. In fact, much of our major scientific discoveries came about from case studies. Within the domain of Deaf Education, the case study has the power to extend our understanding of a school undergoing transformation to other schools for the deaf, practically, theoretically and nationally. Likewise, and more recently, Young and Temple (2014, p. 97) elaborate that despite the focus of case studies on the individual, specific, and unique, there is usually much that is typical and can be learned from a unique and valuable context that is applicable to a wider, transnational realm of Deaf Education and deaf studies.

Hence, the dialogues that happened in a case study are a recording of the process of engagement and reflection between participants and the researcher. Moreover, a case

study tells the narrative of the research through the metaphor of a journey of transformation. In addition to the methodological pragmatics in favour of using the case study method, the concept of ‘case stories’ below highlights the focus on the narrativity of this study. Case stories is an intrinsically Bakhtinian notion of polyphonics (Bakhtin, 1996) which is discussed in the next section.

### 3.7 Case Stories

Moraes (1996, p. 85) takes up Bakhtin’s point that it would be an error to see learners as a homogenous group for the reason that learners bring with them their discourse of the past, present and the future, which is invariably specific to each learner. More recently, Young (2014, p. 48) emphasizes this point in relation to doing research on d/Deaf participants. Deaf learners are not monolinguals, but in the context of South African Deaf Education, are multilinguals and multimodals, with a different way of viewing the world from the perspective of each of their languages. This is enriched with the addition of the sign language users to their linguistic mix to create multimodal discursive practices. The same logic applies to teachers, viz: teachers are also not a homogenous group. Each teacher brings their languages, identity, experiences and their own story to the school and their classes. For this reason, the term case study is replaced with the more appropriate term of ‘case stories’ (Olley, 2006, p. 6) as a means of marking the data as narratives from teachers. Instead of following the traditional (reductionist) method of analysis of taking things apart, case stories puts the stories together (Olley, 2006). This way of looking at analysis fits with the Bourdieu concept of habitus and social capital (Bourdieu, 1990) and the Bakhtinian hermeneutics of polyphonics (Moraes, 1996, 94-102) to create an interpretive narrative of teachers’ identities.

### 3.8 Narrative Inquiry

Narratives provide fertile ground for exploring and understanding human experience, especially of the hidden, invisible, unheard, or that, which disrupts and challenges the researcher/reader to rethink (Young & Temple, 2014, p. 107). In the context of Deaf Studies, ‘coming-out’ stories are a familiar genre of emancipation and empowerment (Mcilroy & Störbeck, 2011). Teachers may share this potential theme with the researcher.

Young and Temple (2014) take narrative analysis a step further by focussing on that 'understanding involves understanding how narrators use language and to what intent' (Young, 2014, p. 109). Since transformation (of people) happens on the inside, cognitively, among others, as Jansen (2016) concedes, 'it is difficult to measure transformation empirically'. Instead, a change in a person's identity narrative can indicate the ontological shift in the way they perceive themselves and others. The identity narrative is the storying of the self that also reveals both who we are and who we are not (McAdam, 2008, p. 244). This dovetails with the 'dialogic imagination' (Bakhtin, 1981) of Bakhtinian recognition of the discursive power of language. Thus, the way that language is used to construct new stories in turn has the power to construct new identities (Young & Temple, 2014, p. 109).

### 3.9 Research Site and Research Participants

This research took place at the De La Bat School for the Deaf, situated 100 kilometres northeast of Cape Town. De La Bat School is located in the town of Worcester in Western Cape. Worcester is renowned for its beautiful mountains, fertile farmland, and mediterranean climate that is ideal for viticulture and is located in a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking area in South Africa. Afrikaans is a widely used language in Western Cape and has engaged in negotiating through its troubled identity politics of its legacy as the language of the oppressor during the apartheid. Since 1994, Afrikaans has successfully re-invented and repositioned itself in South African society as a post-colonial language that tells a different narrative beyond the 'divide-and-rule' grand narrative of apartheid as a contributor to the complex 'the South African story has been and should continue to be a massive translation project' (Chapman, 2007, p. 229) linguistically, but also politically and educationally.

De La Bat School is one of the oldest schools for the Deaf in South Africa. The school was founded in 1881 by the Dutch Reformed church named that *'Doofstomme- en Blinde Instituut'*. The name of the school changed to *'Worcester Skool vir die Dowe'* in 1928 then again in 1981 to its current name of *'De La Bat School for the Deaf'* in honour of the founder, Jan De La Bat. De la Bat is a special school that caters for deaf and hard-of hearing and has a separate unit for multi-disabled learners of all ages and has a vocational–oriented School of Skills catering for vocational training. There are nine hostels on the school grounds accommodating learners from 3 years to 20 years. The school teaches learners from Grade R through to Grade 12. There are 37 teachers

teaching 220 learners. The National Institute of the Deaf (NID) College is on the premises and provides post-school training in SASL with fulltime SASL interpreters available to students and staff and in written and spoken Afrikaans and English where possible and appropriate, thus mirroring and extending (post-matric) the language policy and practices that occurred in the school.

As Reagan, Penn and Ogilvy (2006, p. 110) discovered, De La Bat school was established as an oral school as evidenced by its school motto of the Greek Biblical word *'Efata' [trans.* Be opened!']. During the apartheid era from 1948 to 1994, De La Bat school served the white community of deaf learners with an oral education. As was typical practice in that period, sign language was not used in classes. Likewise, coloured or black deaf learners were schooled at the Nuwe Hoop Skool within walking distance from De La Bat or at schools in and around Cape Town, such as Mary Kihn, Dominican (Wittebome), Noluthando. In Cape Town, Dominican-Grimley school and Carel Du Toit centre continue to offer an oral education. In addition, at that time, education of deaf children was not compulsory until 1996.

De La Bat School shows many interesting developments over its 136-year history. In 1927, Rev. Gawie De La Bet, son of Jan De La Bat was appointed principal. Followed by Mr JG Badenhorst in 1953. And Dr J Hamilton in 1976 as fourth principal. Dr Hamilton became executive director of the growing Institute for the Deaf, later the NID including the crèche and facilities for multiple handicapped and long stay residents. Mr E. Van Vuuren as the fifth principal in 1993. In 1996, the school relinquished its special status as a 'church school' and become a public school to align with national rationalisation of schools, which included schools for the deaf and the amalgamation into one national department of education: Department of Basic Education. During this time, the use of Total Communication was used in De La Bat and marked a shift away from the oral educational philosophy that had existed up to then. In 2008, Philip Cook was appointed as the sixth principal and current principal, and launched the SASL pilot project, supported by the Western Cape Department of Education and managed by Minna Steyn that ran until 2015. This project developed much needed resources in SASL for use in SASL classes. Then in 2015, as one of the five schools in the Western Cape selected to begin the implementation process, De La Bat school began roll-out of the CAPS SASL curriculum with Grade R-3 and in Grade 9, The language policy of the school has officially changed recently (2016) to that of recognising SASL for the first time, while maintaining Afrikaans as the post-apartheid *lingua franca* of the region and

English for education and as an essential language for communication and business. TC is not included in the language policy as a language (information sourced from De La Bat website)

What makes De La Bat school both unique and a useful sample as a case study is its position as one of the five schools pioneering the simultaneous transformation to SASL as a language of teaching and learning (LOLT) in the school along with its implementation of the SASL CAPS curriculum.

Despite the awareness of sign bilingualism as an effective approach, most schools have not formally implemented the approach and De La Bat School has been identified as a suitable sample for discovering how schools can go about implementation based on the experiences of this case.

**Table 1: Profile and Identifiers of Participants**

| # | Gender | Age: years | Deaf or hearing | Phase: Foundation/ SP & Intermediate/FET | Total years teaching | Years teaching at this school | Journal: code and language (English/ Afrikaans) | Focus Groups: SMT/Older teachers: FGO/Younger Teachers: FGY | Interview |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | M | 24 | hearing | FET | 1 | 1 | | FGY4 | |
| 2 | F | 49 | hearing | Multi-disabled | 27 | 16 | G Afrikaans | SMT7 | |
| 3 | F | 62 | Hard-of-hearing | Foundation | 18 | 11 | L Afrikaans | | |
| 4 | M | 34 | Deaf | SP/ Intermediate | 10 | 10 | I Afrikaans | | Yes |
| 5 | F | 55 | hearing | Pre-school | 30 | 3 | B English | | |
| 6 | M | 56 | hearing | All phases | 34 | 5 | | FGSMTP | Yes |
| 7 | F | - | hearing | FET | - | 29 | H Afrikaans | FGSMT4 | |
| 8 | M | 53 | Hearing | FET | 30 | 22 | C English | | |
| 9 | F | 48 | hearing | Foundation | 26 | 2 | | FGSMT6 | |
| 10 | F | 29 | hearing | Foundation | 5 | 3 | E English | FGY3 | |
| 11 | F | 38 | deaf | Intermediate | 13 | 13 | O Afrikaans | | Yes |
| 12 | F | 58 | hearing | | 30 | 28 | D English | FGSMT1 | |
| 13 | F | 59 | hearing | FET | 26 | 20 | | FGSMT8 | |
| 14 | F | 53 | hearing | FET | 15 | 10 | A English | FGO5 | |
| 15 | F | 48 | hearing | Foundation | 24 | 24 | | FGO4 | |
| 16 | M | 28 | hearing | Foundation | 3 | 3 | | FGY2 | |
| 17 | F | 59 | hearing | Foundation | 36 | 32 | P Afrikaans | FGSMT2 | |
| 18 | F | 59 | hearing | Foundation | 20 | 15 | H Afrikaans | FGO3 | |
| 19 | F | 58 | hearing | Intermediate | 16 | 15 | | OT1 | |
| 20 | F | 59 | hearing | FET | 30 | 3 | | FGSMT3 | |
| 21 | F | 38 | hearing | Intermediate /FET | - | - | N Afrikaans | | |
| 22 | F | 47 | hearing | Senior Prim/Interm ed/FET | 24 | 24 | M Afrikaans | FGSMT5 | |
| 23 | F | 25 | hearing | Foundation | 4 | 4 | K Afrikaans | | |
| 24 | F | 61 | hearing | FET | 13 | 13 | | FGY1 | |
| 25 | F | 47 | hearing | Foundation, multihandicapped | 25 | 25 | F Afrikaans | FGO2 | |

Sampling in a phenomenographic research design, as Reed (2006, p. 6) explains, focuses on who and how many are required in the study. Since the goal is on finding sufficient variation to understand a phenomenon, 'critical case' sampling is used (Reed, 2006, p. 6). The principal was selected by virtue of being the *de facto* leader of the school as well as the initiator of the transformation of the school to SASL. Both of the deaf teachers were selected to contribute the 'voice' of deaf teachers as key informants with their background as deaf persons and their experience as deaf teachers among a cohort of predominantly hearing teachers. Participation in the Focus Group sessions was extended to the members of the SMT and to two loosely defined but separate groups of teachers according to how they self-defined themselves. This was either the 'older teachers' focus group (experienced teachers who have been at the school for many years and used the Oral method) or into the 'younger teachers' Focus Group (as determined by having less teaching experience, but have received training in South African Sign Language and Deaf Education background and started at the school during this transition to South African Sign Language, thus self-identified as sign language teachers of the Deaf). In response to the question on numbers required for generating validity, the inclusion of 3 interviews, 3 focus groups (SMT: 9, Older Teachers' Focus Group: 5, Younger Teachers' Focus Group: 4) excluding the interviewer and the SASL Interpreter (see 3.12.5.2) and Journals: 18 exceeds the minimum number of 10 participants required for trustworthiness of qualitative analysis, according to Trigwell (2000, p. 66) and for discovery of the range of variation of this sample. Thus, the criteria of having sufficient variation is an important criteria for phenomenographic analysis when using the methodological concept of 'variation theory' (Booth, 2012) was considered to have been met.

The study spread across the teaching staff from across all the phases from Grade R to 12 in the survey, Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals. As a result of access and proximity to the teachers at the school, 'convenience sampling' (Merriam, 2009) was used as the sampling technique for purposive selection of participants. The sample comprised of the principal, School Management Team (SMT) consisting of nine members and ten teachers, and both of the Deaf teachers who consented to participate in the various research activities (Survey, Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals. Some teachers opted to participate in more than one activity, in addition to the pilot survey (Focus Groups: 19, Interview: 3, Journals: 16). Some teachers opted not to participate in one or the other research activity or in none. Once approval from Western

Cape Department of Education was received, all members of the teaching staff were invited to be involved. The principal informed teachers that the participation of as many teachers as possible was appreciated and the principal openly gave his full support for the research during staff meetings held at each visit. The teaching staff consists of 37 teachers and all were present at the meeting and 37 (100%) completed the pilot Survey on Sign Bilingualism. Thereafter, 18 teachers including the principal, participated in the three Focus Group sessions (a 59% response rate), and three key informant Interviews (principal and each of the Deaf teachers individually) and 16 Journals (43% response rate) were submitted. The spread of the participants across the three research instruments is depicted in Table 3 below.

**Table 2: Participants across the three research instruments**

| | **Principal** | **SMT** | **Deaf Teachers** | **Older Teachers** | **Younger Teachers** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Focus Groups** | 1 | 8 | - | 5 | 4 | 18 |
| **Interviews** | 1 | - | 2 | - | - | 3 |
| **Journals** | - | 4 [English: 1 Afrikaans: 3] | 2 [English: 0 Afrikaans:2] | 7 [English: 2 Afrikaans: 5] | 3 [English: 1 Afrikaans: 2] | 16 |
| **Total** | 2 | 13 | 4 | 12 | 7 | |

For MacMillan and Schumacher (2010, p. 355), 'key informants are individuals who have special knowledge, status or communication skills that they are willing to share with the researcher'. The key informants were the principal, and the two deaf teachers. As leader and manager of the school, principal has special knowledge of the transformation process. Furthermore, the status of principal also places the principal as an 'elite'/apex interview (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2010, p. 355) at the centre of the study. The principal's proficiency in Afrikaans, English and South African Sign Language fulfils the requirement of having exceptional communication skills that gives the researcher insight into principal's thoughts on the process of transformation from a transformational leadership perspective.

As key informants, both Deaf teachers have specialist knowledge of the school, one of the deaf was a learner at this school and became a teacher, and the other teacher had a similar educational background from another school for the deaf. Both were encouraged to become teachers of the Deaf by their teachers during the time when South African Sign Language was not endorsed, but their proficiency in South African Sign Language made them a sought after asset for this school in the run up to and during the transformation. The inclusion of both Deaf teachers at in-depth, individual interviews was considered an imperative in this case study because of their special status in the school as 'deaf' teachers. Therefore, their voices as Deaf teachers of the deaf needed to be given an opportunity to be heard, and the interview offered them this space to express themselves. Although both Deaf teachers were given an open invitation to join a focus group, with an interpreter present, both indicated that an interview would be preferred. Prior to the interview, what made the interview with the deaf teachers unique was the realisation of both parties (researcher and informant) that the interview would be conducted by a (deaf) researcher in the language (South African Sign Language/GVT) that they chose, thereby in keeping with Deaf values. Thus providing parity of power that rarely happens when deaf teachers are interviewed as researchers are by-and-large hearing interviewers who have an audist agenda, or lack the ontological and epistemological insight as insiders who are deaf.

At the first visit to the site in August 2013, there were 37 teachers and at the last visit in May 2016, the staff complement has increased in number by three posts. In August 2013, there were two deaf teachers, both of whom were interviewed. At the 2016 site visit, one of the deaf teachers had left and has been replaced by another Deaf teacher. In this sense, the profile of deaf and hearing teachers has not changed, but a more significant change has been the increase in the number of teachers teaching SASL as a subject. By 2016, the curriculum has spread upwards into the Intermediate Phase (Grades 4-7) and there are currently three classes of SASL. The new Deaf teacher is currently teaching SASL and is assisted with a Deaf Teaching Assistant (DTA). In the other two SASL classes, one of the teachers (hearing) is teaching SASL in SASL and has moved along with the class from Foundation Phase. The other teacher is a new post that has been created and filled by a new teacher who was previously an SASL interpreter. This constitutes the new Department of SASL at the school and is under direct control of the SMT. The establishment of a Head of Department (HoD) SASL position is currently being mooted. The theoretical background and rationale for using each of the four research instruments are discussed in the next section

## 3.10 Data Collection Instruments

Four data collection instruments were used, two of the instruments were direct contact (face to face and were recorded live) Focus Groups and Interviews and two of the instruments were paper-based: the pilot Survey and the Journals.

### *3.10.1 Survey*

A survey is a questionnaire usually administered to a large sample of respondents to find out information variables of interest, (Macmillan & Schumacher, 2010, p. 235). This definition of surveys reveals the larger over-all view of a phenomenon and thus the statistical value of using surveys. This survey is used for teasing out the formative trends in teachers thinking and attitudes on SASL and sign bilingualism. The survey was intended as an entry point into how teachers see themselves without involving all of them in an in-depth interview of Focus Group session or Journal. For this reason, the survey is secondary level data with two purposes. The first purpose is to provide broad background information about the local context of transformation from the teacher's perspective. Secondly, to pull together the information into pools of meaning as themes of transformation, thus the survey gives a sense of the direction that teachers say the school is taking (Sunter, 2014). The primary information of this study is sourced from the Focus group sessions, Interviews, and Journals as in-depth tools for critical analysis.

### *3.10.2 Focus Groups*

The classic definition of a focus group is provided by Patton as: 'an interview with a small group of people on a specific topic. Groups are typically six to ten people with similar backgrounds who participate in the interview for one–two hours.' (Patton, 2002, p. 385). This definition sets out the main features. Unlike the individual interview, the focus group session is intentionally designed around engaging in a conversation with each other in the group. From this definition, it needs to be stressed that focus groups are comprised of people with similar background in order to stimulate discussion that on common experience. This is not to say that people need to be as near identical to each other as this similarity defeats the purpose of having discussions that bring out differences in people and groups of people. The variations between people are a valuable resource of information for a phenomenographic study, which is founded on

variation and analysing, pools of meaning from the range of differences. Nevertheless, similarities between people on the topics under discussion also provide important information. In addition, the group member's similarity to each other increases the level of trust and increases their willingness for self-disclosure among their peers (Kreuger & Casey, 2000). This is a fundamental pre-condition for engaging in discussion of personal and sensitive topics, such as their experiences and opinions. Discussion on personal and professional transformation needs to be managed by the facilitator from the beginning and handled with care throughout, since peoples' identities are exposed and group members to each other can do damage. On the other hand, people may be enriched by the experience of sharing and listening to each other. However, the primary purpose of the focus group remains research focused: 'to collect information from the higher level of understanding on a topic' (Kamberelis & Dimitridis, 2012, p. 546).

The more recent definition by McMillan and Schumacher (2010, p. 440), focus groups are 'a well-known qualitative method for obtaining information from a group of individuals to get a better understanding of a problem, phenomenon, policy or idea'. This definition focuses more on the hermeneutic purpose of the focus group as a vehicle for understanding what a group of people think about the topic presented to the group. The session may follow a topic with pre-determined questions or more freely around a topic (Przepiorkowska, 2010, p. 7). The topic can include a range of ideas on issues, as well useful to reveal similarities and differences between people or groups.

However, this definition leaves out the impact of group dynamics as Krueger and Casey (2009) outlined, central to focus groups, is to create a social environment that stimulates the group members to discuss the topic. As Rabbiee (2004, p. 656) highlighted, the dynamics or synergy of the interaction of the group members is another reason for using this research instrument. The interaction between people, spoken, signed, or non-verbal, provides a linkage to the relationship focus of phenomenographic analysis (Mertins, 1996). In addition to generating 'rich data from the variations and the interactions mentioned above, the third key feature of focus groups is the capacity for the session to generate a large amount of data in the form of narratives (Rabiee, 2010, p. 656). During the Focus Group session, the narratives are constructed and interweave with each other into a text for later analysis. Thus, focus group narratives on transformation are an integral part of this study.

Lastly, focus groups are frequently used for research on policy statements. This research instrument can be used at the planning, implementation or impact phase of a policy (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010, p. 440) and this study falls within the implementation phase. The planning for sign bilingualism has already been done both at school level through the decision to accept Sign Language as LOLT and at national Department of Education level through the promulgation of SASL CAPS curriculum in the Government Gazette (no. 39435 of 2015) and implementation has already begun at schools.

### *3.10.3 Interviews*

The individual interview is a useful qualitative research tool that complements focus group interviews in particular The intimate one-on-one intersubjective nature of the interview provides a platform for in-depth dialogue which overlaps with the open-ended inter-group dialogue of the focus group and thus allowed the interviewees to say things that they would have withheld from saying in a focus group session. Merriam (1998) emphasizes that 'the interview is useful for probing things that cannot be observed, such as feelings, thoughts, intentions, past experiences and the meanings that a person attaches to an event' (1998, p. 72). Going a step further, this study is structured around what McMillan and Schumacher (2010, p. 355) called the 'phenomenological interview' as a means of understanding the transformation to South African Sign Language from key informants (2010, p. 355). Hence, the interviews were structured broadly around what was experienced, how it was experienced and the meanings that the experience of change to Sign Language had for the interviewees (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010, p. 356; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 112). In this case study, the transformation of the school to Sign Language through the school leadership and teachers experiences was the phenomenon under study. Furthermore, phenomenological interviews add another layer of complexity and significance by 'permitting an explicit focus on the researchers personal experience combined with the experiences of the interviewees' (McMillan & Schumacher 2010, p. 356) which allows for the dialogical space between the interviewee and the researcher as heuristic (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 227) co-constructors of knowledge and meaning.

The key research participants were the principal, and the two deaf teachers. As leader and manager of the school, principal has special knowledge of the transformation process. Furthermore, the status of principal also places the principal as an 'elite'/apex

interview (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2010, p. 355) at the centre of the study. The principal's proficiency in Afrikaans, English and South African Sign Language fulfils the requirement of having exceptional communication skills that gives the researcher insight into principal's thoughts as well as provides the principal with a linguistic armoury in the transformation battle. It was these multilingual skills of the principal that the researcher noticed made the principal a key informant. It needs to be added by way of background, that the bilingual skills of the current principal is in itself a radical change from the past. Principals at this school did not use sign language in compliance with the previous oralist language policy.

The inclusion of both of the Deaf teachers in the study is a *de facto* choice of these participants. As it turned out, both Deaf teachers have specialist knowledge of the school, one of the Deaf teachers was a learner at this school and became a teacher, and the other teacher had a similar educational background from another school for the deaf. Both were encouraged to become teachers of the Deaf by their teachers during the time when South African Sign Language was not endorsed, but their special communication skills in South African Sign Language made them a sought after asset for this school in the run up to the transformation. The inclusion of both deaf teachers at in-depth, individual interviews was considered an imperative because of their special status in the school as 'deaf' teachers. Therefore, their voices as deaf teachers of the deaf needed to be given an opportunity to be heard, and the interview offered them this space to express themselves. Although both deaf teachers were given an open invitation to join a focus group, with an interpreter present, both indicated that an interview would be preferred and without an SASL interpreter. Prior to the interview, what made the interview with the Deaf teachers unique was the realisation of both parties (researcher and participant) that the interview would be conducted by a (deaf) researcher in the language (South African Sign Language) that they chose, thereby in keeping with Deaf values. Thus providing a parity of power that rarely happens when deaf teachers are interviewed as researchers are by-and-large hearing interviewers who have an audist agenda, or lack the ontological and epistemological insight as insiders who are deaf.

However, interviews have limitations that need to be taken into account. The primary limitation is that the data is presented from the participant's perspective. In an interview, there is the all-too-human tendency for the interviewer to represent him/herself in a positive light and choose the material that is to be disclosed

accordingly (Meriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 112-113). Therefore, the interview cannot be taken on face value as telling the full story. For this reason, interviews are counter-balanced with Focus Group discussions and the Journals.

As a matter of research protocol, it was considered prudent to include interviews with the principal as the leader of the school. Moreover, from an earlier discussion with the principal at the World Federation of the Deaf (WFD) conference in July 2011, the principal extended an invitation to the researcher to study bilingualism at De La Bat School at which he explicitly made himself available for interviews on this topic. This invitation has been taken up and this proposal is the product of this research collaboration between the Centre for Deaf Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand and De la Bat School.

Interviews were conducted with the principal and the Deaf teachers on their experiences of SASL and implementing the sign bilingualism approach following a topical interview schedule (see Appendix B). The interviews followed the themes from the guiding analytical question: what is required for sign bilingualism to be implemented and how can school leadership drive and sustain the change to sign bilingualism?

#### *3.10.4 Journals*

Writing is a form of research in qualitative research. Adapting the seven points made by Janesick (1999), for the purpose of this study, as a reflective narrative on transformation, the following six points are applicable:

- Journal writing allows the writer to be more reflective.
- Journal writing offers the writer an opportunity to write uninterrupted, and totally focused on the point at hand.
- Journal writing is a technique well used in the arts and humanities, and may offer social science researchers an opportunity to cross borders.
- Journal writing allows for deepening knowledge of whatever subject matter the researcher takes part in.
- Journal writing allows participants in a research project to write in an active voice.
- Journal writing provides an additional data set to outline, describe, and explain. (Janesick, 1999, p. 522-523).

Journal writing of critical incidents/topics (Thomas, 1993, p. 234) on teachers' narratives on the process of transformation to sign bilingualism was selected in this study as an additional dataset that specifically gives participants the opportunity to write about their experiences from their point of view, as first person in a reflective and personal capacity. The private and uninterrupted nature of writing on focused topics makes this a form of communication that is more suitable for people who prefer to write rather than speak about topics. Writing about experiences is a reflective activity that contributes to deeper understanding of the topics through what and how the topic was written as the meta-cognitive revision of the entries are considered and re-considered by the writer before being submitted, in this way, writing is a potentially disruptive border-crossing activity.

From a post-modern perspective, writing of experiences is a literary practice that gives participants the space to narrate their own stories of critical incidents or around central themes (Pratt, 1992). In addition, in writing about critical incidents for others (the researcher and the reader) the writer learns about himself or herself (Tripp, 2012: 44) which fuels further transformation. As Sackville reminds journals focus on intersection between issues of teachers as a means of becoming more aware of the teacher,'s 'communities of practice' (CoP) (Sackville, 2002, p. 58) and the embedded power relations that hinder or support their transformation (Sackville, 2002).

## 3.11 Research Procedure

### *3.11.1. Introduction*

The pragmatics involved in collection of the data from the above mentioned research instruments is described next along with the a blank sample of the central questions used in each instrument and trends from the pilot Survey. The logic behind the procedure that was used as well as technology and use of interpreter where necessary is included.

### *3.11.2 Pilot Survey*

The purpose of the pilot survey was to provide essential preliminary contextual information about the background and current understanding that the teachers at De La

Bat School have concerning the change to SASL and sign bilingualism. Thirty-three teachers out of the cohort of 37 teachers completed the survey. The survey asked 16 questions with five possible, Likert-style options or answers and an open-ended question for additional comments at the end of the Survey (see Survey in Appendix E). The survey was conducted at the first visit on 29 August 2013 prior to meeting the Focus Groups, Interviews and Journal participants. Thematic cluster analysis of the information from the pilot Survey, revealed four trends as presented in 3.12.4. This information was subsequently used to inform the choice of research methodology and analysis of the data collected from the three research instruments: Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals.

### *3.11.3 Cluster Analysis of the pilot survey: Questions 1-16*

As a preliminary, pilot inquiry, the task of the survey was to gain an overview of the transformation of SMT and teachers at a school for the Deaf. The 16 questions were designed to be broad enough to generate an understanding of the context of the school from the perspective of these teachers. The survey was clustered around the following three broad thematic categories:

1. *What do teachers of the d/Deaf understand by sign bilingualism?* (Questions 1, 7, 8)
2. *What kind of changes do teachers see happening at their school?* (Questions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 16)
3. *How are teachers of the d/Deaf communicating in class?* (Questions: 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15)

### *3.11.4 Summary of the Survey into trends*

The survey shows that:

1. Teachers have a wide range of understanding of what constitutes sign bilingualism. There is no uniform, standard, up-to-date definition.
2. There is a discrepancy between what teachers say (define) and what they do (how they communicate) in their classes.
3. Despite the overall acceptance and support for the new pedagogy, there are practical concerns and reservations regarding how to implement sign

bilingualism in class that need to be discussed and addressed, especially in the FET phase.

4. The rate of change is satisfactory and this correlates with the trend that teachers are learning South African Sign Language and are becoming better communicators in South African Sign Language.

### *3.11.5 Focus Groups*

Focus groups interviews of four groups were held in the following order: firstly, the SMT group, then the 'Older Teachers' group the next day, then the 'Younger Teachers' group the day after and the 'wrap-up' session at the second visit three months later.

#### *3.11.5.1 Focus Group 1: 'SMT'*

The SMT group consisted of nine SMT members (one male and eight females) who ranged between 47 and 62 years of age with a mean age of 56 years. A SASL interpreter was present in the group and instructed prior to the session to sign throughout on camera, regardless of whether the interviewer was looking at her. The interpreter was explicitly given the freedom to move near to the speaker to ensure that she heard the speaker clearly. The interpreter complied with these points. The session lasted 57 minutes. It was filmed on two opposing Sony Handicam HD cameras recording simultaneously. The session began with a welcome, and an outline of the topic and the purpose of a focus group and an explanation that a Focus Group is a dialogue on the topic. The 'ground rules' for smooth running of the session were stated clearly and completed consent forms were collected.

The discussion was professionally transcribed offsite by a bilingual English/Afrikaans transcriber into 15 pages of English text. The transcripts were shown to the participants individually to check the accuracy of transcription and participants were invited to add any further comments. This transcript was circulated among the participants for verification.

In order to elicit information about the teachers' experiences of the transformation of the school to SASL and to stimulate teachers engagement in the focus group as a discussion focused on the following questions designed around the aims to understand first the school's transition and transformation to SASL and sign bilingualism, then what

and how teachers as individuals in this group see and understand their own pedagogical identity has changed as teachers of the Deaf as a consequence of their experiences of learning and using SASL. Then the questions returned to discussing teachers as cohorts and their successes and challenges and the way forward along with advice for other schools based on their transformation as a school and individually as teachers. The intention was not to lead teachers into denigrating oral education or oral teachers, or to use politically loaded/sensitive language such as 'colonialist, audist, or post-colonial', but to give teachers the floor in these focus groups to tell their own stories in their language of choice (SASL/English/Afrikaans) and with their own expressions (metaphors) using the above themes embedded in the questions. From this structure, the following questions were ready to be presented in the focus groups:

1. How did the school come to the point of making the decision to change to SASL and sign bilingualism?
2. What has changed with the switch to sign bilingualism?
3. What did you notice has changed about teachers?
4. What has encouraged you about sign bilingualism?
5. What were the challenges you had?
6. What still needs to change?
7. What is the next step?
8. What could other schools learn from your experiences of the change to sign language? [What have you learned from the transformation?]
9. Is there anything else you would like to add or mention?

Not all of the questions were expected to be asked in each of the focus groups. Questions 1 and 8 were constructed for the SMT in mind as this group had a broader scope of accountability, not only to their classes and subjects in their position as HoDs but also for their managerial perspective and associated management activities.

#### *3.11.5.2 Focus group 2: 'Older Teachers'*

The Focus Group agreed on the name: 'Older Teachers' the group consisted of five participants, (5 females) between the ages of 47 and 59 with a mean age of 53 years. Although the focus group was planned around eight participants, three participants did not attend. Normally, a focus group should contain more than five people, but due to the limited size of the target population of teachers in a school for the deaf, it made it

difficult to locate participants that meet the criteria of this group. Therefore, no statistical inferences can be made. The criteria for this group was the age, and numbers of years of teaching, either at this school or in their career and their post teacher training transition to sign language. An SASL interpreter was introduced to the grouped for the researcher's need to understand all the communication in the group, the group did not express any concerns about the session being interpreted nor the use of video camera to record the proceedings. Like the first session, two video cameras recorded the session simultaneously from opposing angles/fields of view. This also magnified the audio field of capture to assist the transcription. The session was run one day after the SMT Focus Group. The questions asked were:

1 Ttell me about your successes.

2 Tell me about your frustrations.

3 Tell me about the change to Sign Language for you, being at school, where the school policy is bilingualism. And about your signing in the past and now, and how has that changed you as a teacher.

*3.11.5.3 Focus Group 3: 'Younger Teachers'*

Initially, at the planning of the groups three days prior, 10 participants signed up for this group at this time. However, four of them could not attend for various reasons pertaining to school commitments. Two of the participants were deaf teachers. Because of the weight of their contribution on this topic, both deaf participants agreed to an interview in lieu of participating in a focus group. Neither of the deaf teachers needed much persuading to participate in an interview, and both felt more comfortable with having an individual interview rather than an on-camera session with both of them, which speaks to need for respecting the diversity of d/Deaf persons instead of seeing d/Deaf people as a homogeneous community.

The younger group consisted of four teachers aged between 24 and 61 years with an average age of 37.5 years even though the oldest person could have also joined the other focus group. This teacher explained in the session that she had recently joined the school and this has made a big change to her teaching and way of seeing deaf learners while she is learning SASL. Her rationale for inclusion in this group was accepted. If the age of the oldest teacher in this group were taken out, this would have

dropped the average age to 27 years. However, even with the inclusion of the outlier value of 61 years, this group was still considered to be the younger group compare to the SMT and the 'Older Teachers' group.

The focus group was conducted in the staff room on the day after the group of 'older teachers'. The cameras were positioned opposite each other. A SASL interpreter was also present and introduced to the group. The purpose of the session and the focus group format was explained to the group and ethical issues were covered to help put participant's minds at ease and to set the space for dialogue on the topic. The focus questions for this group focussed on management issues first, then the SMT's experiences as a group and an individuals and returned to the SMT in general, the questions were:

1 How did you respond when you came here? How did you make the change to sign bilingualism? When you made the change, if you weren't here already, how did that have on impact on you?
2 What do you mean you adjusted to it? What changed?
3 What are some of the successes you have had in class?
4 What are some of the challenges you have?
5 What do you think the School Management Team (SMT) can do or should do to help you?
6 What do you think other schools for the deaf can do or can learn from here, or learn from you? What would you say to your colleagues that you've learned here?
7 Anything we haven't talked about that you can think of?

The session lasted 48 minutes.

Field notes were made immediately after the session and later as a reflection on the session and day's events. See the blog entries v, vii, xv in Chapter 8.

*3.11.5.4 Focus group: 'Wrap-up session'*

This session was held *on 13 September 2013* in the staff room and introduced to the staff as a wrap-up session to the focus groups and interviews plus other data that had been collected with the purpose of giving the teachers an opportunity to add to the topic or change anything, or to elaborate on something. Twenty-five out of thirty-five

teachers were present. The session was announced by the principal a week in advance at the weekly Monday morning staff meeting as a special *ad hoc* session during scheduled mid-morning Break for teachers to add any comments they wished to make in the 30-minute meeting at break time. The teachers were told the purpose of the meeting and the informal nature of this meeting was stressed so that this would afford them an opportunity to add or elaborate on the themes of the topic and anything that they wanted to comment on generally without breaking confidentiality of their Focus Group. This session was also recorded on camera and lasted 12 minutes. Five teachers, including two deaf teachers, made comments and this lead the discussion. More comments were added later during the transcript verification stage and these contributions fleshed out the discussion in more detail.

### *3.11.6 Interviews*

The interview is a useful tool in case studies that complements Focus Groups in particular. Merriam emphasises that 'the interview is useful for probing things that cannot be observed, such as feelings, thoughts, intentions, past experiences and the meanings that a person attaches to an event' (1998, p. 72). However, interviews have limitations that need to be taken into account. The primary limitation is that the data is presented only from the participant's perspective. In an interview, there is the all-too-human tendency to represent oneself in a positive light and choose the material that is to be disclosed accordingly. Therefore, due to its selective and subjective nature, the interview cannot be taken on face value as telling the full story. Nonetheless, the interview tells a person's story. For this reason, interviews were used to complement the data from the Focus Group discussions and Journals.

Interviews with the principal and two Deaf teachers were conducted. The interview with the principal focused on the narrative theme of school transformation from a management perspective and teachers' transformation from a principal's perspective and experiences. The interviews of the Deaf teachers followed the narrative themes of identity transformation as a [Deaf] teacher and the individual & institutional impact of the transformation. The three interviews followed the guiding questions:

1. With the change to South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism, what is does it mean to be a teacher of the Deaf?

2. How is the change to South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism having an impact on you and the school?

The interview schedule is included in the Interview Analysis chapter. The interview was done prior to the SMT Focus Group later that day, and some overlap of information was found. The interviews with the deaf teachers were filmed in their classrooms individually and on separate days.

### *3.11.7 Journals*

The teachers' journals provided a narrative insight into the process of change from their perspective of critical events or experiences that may not have been accessible in the other research tools. Journals were chosen as a means for tapping into the minds of teachers who are more introverted and of those who preferred to write about their experiences rather than participate in a group session with their colleagues, or on camera in an interview. The journal has the limitation which became apparent in that by writing instead of participating in a group session, the power relations between teachers was not made visible within an open groups session. Nevertheless, for pragmatic reasons, such as time clashes with school activities or personal reasons, teachers could participate in the journal in their own time, under the expectation that their responses would be authentic and add value to the pool of data.

After the survey was conducted, all of the teaching staff was given a 192-page hardcover A5 Journal book and a Journal Activity sheet to complete. Again, their participation in journal writing was stressed as a voluntary activity, and that the journal is designed to complement the Survey and the Focus Group sessions and Interviews.

The journal activity is a collection of 14 pre-set reflective writings from the participants on themes relating to the topic of the school's change to Sign Language and the sign bilingual pedagogy and curriculum. The topics given to the teachers are displayed in Appendix X. Participants are encouraged to add their own entries in their journal book, on what they think is relevant and appropriate and in the language they felt most comfortable writing/typing, for example, in Afrikaans or English. To maximise the benefit of the journal, the Journal Activity ran for the duration of the other activities, from the end of the Survey to the Focus Group sessions for a period of twelve months,

starting September 2012 until September 2013. The Journal books were collected at the end of the twelve-month period.

### *3.11.8 Auto-ethnographic texts: research blogs*

Typically, auto-ethnography is written in the first-person narrative (Denshire, 2013, p. 4) which is the decision made here. In writing blogs, by sharing my world as a deaf researcher, I am taking emotional and professional risks with its struggles, secrets and successes. I have purposefully taken this path of telling my story in this way to allow you to walk alongside me in this journey. The content that I have selected is fragmentary rather than a metronomic recording of events along the journey. The journey is also incomplete. Telling the story, with its open-ness is in itself sufficient evidence for a reflective inquiry into the world of the researcher. This section charts the narrative arc of confidence and criticality (Stanley, 2015, p. 158) discovered in the metaphorical journey from the commencement of doctoral study in 2013 to completion in March 2017. This makes up a chapter of this thesis as a parallel identity pathway of the researcher as a co-participant and co-subject (2010, Stanley, 2015) of this interpretivist case study.

The goal is to make visible, in written form, the invisible world of research on deaf people by deaf persons. This auto-ethnographic account takes place at the nexus of my background in anthropology, my identity as a bilingual deaf person, a doctoral candidate, and as an academic writer.

The auto-ethnographic focus questions are: what is the gap in our knowledge of being a deaf researcher? How is the identity of a bilingual deaf researcher being imagined? What does the narrative of a bilingual deaf researcher as an insider make visible about an invisible world of doing research?

During the last five years from January 2012 to February 2017, I compiled a running ‘Research Blog’ to record the doctoral journey. The purpose was to capture my own story as a researcher and for the reader to relate to the researcher’s story. This was not intended to replace field notes. After each visit, field notes were written and these are looked at in a separate section for this purpose. Where appropriate, I pulled out significant points from the field notes in order to blog about this experience in more detail and to show where I was going and to understand my thoughts and struggles.

The research blogs are a sequential record of events, what I saw as significant and personal observations of becoming a researcher. Mixed in with these blogs is my personal journey as a deaf researcher and this is evidenced in the 'bilingual blogs' which give a more personal blog about being a bilingual deaf person. These items are inseparable and had an impact on each other throughout. It also needs to be stressed that this is a two-part research story. The site visits have been completed and the data has been collected and preliminary analysis has been down, the presentation paper: *Teachers' talking about their transformation'* for the International Congress of Education of the Deaf (ICED), held in Athens, Greece in June 2015. Together with this paper, an unpublished auto-ethnographic article was written: '*Making the invisible visible'*. What follows is the research journey up to the final draft of this thesis.

#### *3.11.8.1 Auto-ethnographic methodology*

As a language-rich, bilingual discourse, I have taken the concept that 'language is constitutive' from Lakoff and Johnson (1980). In other words, power is either created or negated by the words that we choose or omit to use. In this case, what is made visible and what is left out or made invisible in the narratives.

Writing auto-ethnography requires a shift from positivist and post-positivist paradigms to the interpretivist and critical paradigms. This link with interpretivism echoes with the post-audism lens of seeing the world as connected.

From the beginning of this research journey, I have been writing blogs on my experiences as a researcher that also blends in with the journey into my deaf identity. In 2013, I set up a blog site on 'Blogger' under the user name of 'DeaFGuy' as a platform to write about my experiences and to step back and respond to these from the distance of a reader. By writing, I found that this helped me to develop as a more observant and reflective writer and to explore my voice as a research blogger. These blogs are premised on the notion of 'writing as healing' and a means of making myself visible to the world (Lazar, 2012, p. 73), especially in the domain of Deaf Education research.

Over the past three years, I added blogs on a fairly regular basis. Once this blog site got started, I became more encouraged to build on this by adding a separate path dedicated to the PhD journey. In total, over this period, there are 70 blogs (of 136 pages) and of these 42 were Research blogs and 28 deaf Bilingual blogs. The total number of blogs does not mean that all of these have been posted, but refers to the

blogs that have been written. I found out along the way that some blogs are too context-specific and would carry too much of a professional risk to be posted because their content could have a negative comeback from readers for breaking confidentiality with them. I have deliberately chosen a selection of extracts from the Research and Bilingual blogs that fall within the narrative arc of research writing that captured interesting small stories of significant events along the journey that I want to share with readers through a reflective and interpretive dialogue with the reader.

To ensure rigour in analysing the autoethnographic blogs, three methodology steps are used to analyse the texts: 'exposing' or vulnerability as a researcher-as-bricoleur to use the term from Berry & Patti (2015) to select narratives texts that have significance even when the texts are difficult or reveal unpleasant or unflattering parts of the narrator. Then the texts are critically 'reflected' upon individually from my current position as a doctoral scholar by taking a step back and look at the blogs and theorising about the texts from the ontological and conceptual metaphors as a whole as identity narratives (Berry & Patti, 2015) but also by sharing the blogs and the interpretations with my supervisor as a critical academic reader. This feedback provided vital rigour and criticality to the narrative of being a deaf academic. Writing for someone in mind, in this case, my doctoral supervisor is a safeguard against uncritical, unexamined monologue-ing. The third step is convey the story of the epiphany that has been achieved (Muncey, 2010). Empathy with the autoethnographer is key indicator of reflective rigour to make sense of the researcher's story. Similarly, the lack of empathy with the researcher is an indicator of a lack of 'nearness' (Jansen, 2016). This iterative process of exposing (writing vulnerable texts) the researcher and reflecting critically on the coloniality (Grech, 2015) of texts and theorising his identity and deaf epistemology continues until intimacy (empathy) emerges as an honest and authentic narrative of the self (Ellis & Bochner, 2000).

### 3.12 Ethics

Ethically, the position of the researcher as an insider needs to be made explicit. Traditional practice in the Humanities was for the researcher to write research in the third-person. Increasingly, due to the qualitative nature of social and educational research and the 'interpretive turn' (Rabinow & Sullivan, 1979) there has been a shift into foregrounding the writer with the first-person. The 'interpretive turn' went against everything that I was taught as an empirical researcher-writer. But increasingly it made sense to use the first-person pronoun. I realised that by omitting myself from the

research that the epistemic authority that I have as a deaf researcher and writer would have been lost. Moreover, the auto-ethnographic input would have remained dormant and the researcher's parallel journey with the teachers would be left unsaid. To use the phrase found in feminist theory, 'the epistemology of insider-ness (Reinharz, 1992, p. 260) where 'life and work [of the researcher] are intertwined' would also go unheard.

### *3.12.1 Insider?*

Would it be accurate to say that I am an insider, as declared earlier? As a deaf mainstreamed researcher, I am an 'insider' by virtue of being deaf, but not as an ex-De La Bat learner. I did not attend this school. Although that may be seen as a disadvantage, I see that since this school was 'oral' like most other schools, I would not have been exposed to Sign Language in the classrooms. I would have had an oral education. I have learned that the status of an 'insider' needs to be verified and earned, and not automatically assumed by the participants and the reader. For clarity introduced myself as a bilingual deaf researcher who uses SASL and English, gave teachers information about my background, and let them decide and attribute status as an insider. Being d/Deaf is not sufficient grounds for being an 'insider'. What seemed to count more was how I conducted myself as a deaf researcher who can communicate in SASL, English, and read Afrikaans and whether I follow the interpreter at staff meetings or not. Therefore, this raises the question of which language I use with whom and when as this choice is an identity-marker that people see and will respond to me accordingly. These 'border crossings' (Ladd, 2003) that I make or do not make are scrutinised by the teaching staff until an identity becomes settled around a central stable identity (Gauntless, 2007, p. 188-189) that signifies that clarity about the researcher's identity has occurred.

There is a potential bias that needs to be declared and refuted. From 2013-2014, I served on the DBE CAPS SASL curriculum writing team. This position has nothing to do with influencing the school to make the transition to SASL and CAPS SASL since the De La Bat School had already, and independently, made the decision in 2012. Thus, this deep knowledge of SASL and CAPS SASL curriculum provided the researcher with emic and etic knowledge of the complexity of the transformation and implementation.

### *3.12.2 Languages*

On the point about languages, the transcripts were written in English. This is the expected practice for preparing data for analysis. As Young (2014, p.138-150) mentions, transcribing into written English is not unproblematic. Except for the Focus Groups, transcripts of the interviews with the two deaf teachers were taken from South African Sign Language/GVT and signed English into the transcribed form. Having the interview in a different modality, presented a different issue with transcribing than would normally be the case. With an audio (English) transcription of an interview into a written (English), the process is straightforward. However, two different scenarios played out here: first, the interviews with the deaf teachers were not in English but South African Sign Language, as the choice and preference of the interviewees. Since SASL does not have a written form, the interviews were transcribed into English to generate a transcript for analysis that is comparable with the other transcripts. Young (2014, p. 150) sagely warns researchers to be aware of the 'politics of transcription' of video recordings of deaf participants/interviewees with sign language and spoken languages. From a critical literacy perspective, Janks (2013, p. 228) reminds researchers of the interconnectedness of language, power and identity. Hence, where multiple languages are used, there are multiple ways of producing and reading texts as post-colonial transformative agents (Freiere, 1972a, Janks, 2013, p. 229). For example, where and how and with whom Deaf participants use SASL and also when they do not use SASL, thus prioritizing the spoken languages of Afrikaans or English and why Afrikaans over English adds another layer to the politics of transglossia (Garcia & Cole, 2014, p. 106), is significant information about how the audist, de-audist and post-audist discourses operate from participants languaging practices (Humphries, 2013, Garcia & Cole, 2014). With this critical literacy perspective in mind, I crosschecked the transcripts with both of the participants for comprehension and accuracy in transcribing the meaning across the languages, (SASL, contact signing, GVT, English and Afrikaans) and flagged the switching between languages with notes before proceeding with Step 2 of the analysis.

Secondly, the transcripts of the three focus groups were transcribed by local, Cape Town-based company of transcription professionals (Way With Words) who were chosen for their competence in Afrikaans and English and for their familiarity with the local dialects and culture in the Western Cape. The transcription company has strict confidentiality policy and the transcribers signed confidentiality clauses in the agreement prior to transcription. Although I can read Afrikaans fairly well, I decided

early on it would be an unethical practice for me to trust my second-language competency in Afrikaans. Therefore, for ensuring rigour, all of the transcripts were cross-checked with what the SASL interpreter signed herself and with another independent off-site SASL interpreter and re-verified by the researcher as a signer) to ensure accuracy in transcription across the three languages where there used. The transcription service provided Afrikaans to English translation of the verbatim texts as instructed. Where text had been transcribed from Afrikaans into English, the English translation appeared below the original Afrikaans in italics so that the translation stood out and could be compared with the original text to ensure 'goodness of fit' in the translation, especially when metaphorical or local idiomatic language or expressions are used. This step safeguards against missing important information in the colourful expressions used by the participants, typically in their first language, which is a more powerful communicator of the nuances, and meaning that the participant wants to convey. This translanguaging practice (Garcia, 2016) applies equally to English and SASL users to mark the shifts made between languages for later analysis. Understandably, being an audio to written transcription service provider, as arranged prior to transcription, transcribers were requested to leave the gaps in the written text where SASL or signs were used since sign language and video transcription is not their area of competency. The missing information in SASL/signs were then added to the written transcript in gloss format [to make it clear where SASL/signs are used] to complete the languaging that happened in the Interviews and three Focus Group sessions for the next step (Step 2) of analysis. Shifts and discrepancies in language use were noted and flagged on the transcripts prior to analysis and for analysis. Lastly, the participants verified the written transcripts during a follow-up face-to-face visit with each of them and their corrections and comments were noted for analysis.

### *3.12.3 Inclusion/exclusion*

This issue raised the question of whom the researcher was including and excluding. At first, the inclusion of all the teachers at this school seemed self-explanatory. The first step at the school was to make the point that all teachers are invited and expected to participate. That included all the grades from Grade R-12. However, the reality was somewhat different. Grade R-3s are housed in a separate section of the school and so are Inter/SEN (Grades 4-7 and 7-9 and FET (Grades 10-12) phases for logical reasons. Each phase has its own language history and expectations with the new SASL curriculum starting in Grade R and working its way up through the school. In

effect, this gives the older teachers in FET phase extra time to adjust and adapt to the rise of SASL through the school. Who has been excluded? It is entirely possible that there were teachers who did not want to be in a Focus Group, and did not participate in these. There may also have been teachers who were absent and therefore missed out on the opportunity to participate. A closer examination of these possibilities has been conducted.

### *3.12.4 Anonymity*

While it is ethically desirable to remove any references to the identity of the school, in this instance, the disclosure of the name of the school was made as this school stands out in the Deaf Education terrain in South Africa by its public declaration of its school language policy of sign bilingualism. Permission to disclose the name of the school was been included in the letter sent to the principal on 8 June 2012. This is at one and the same time a characteristic of a pioneer case study as it makes the case stand out as an easily recognised entity. The same rationale applies to the principal whose name cannot be anonymised. Once the name of the school is known, then the identity of principal leader is easy to ascertain from public documents and information in the public domain. Nonetheless, the principal has requested that his name not be used and instead, the prefix of the 'principal' was accepted as a way forward.

Similarly, research design traditionally stipulates that the identity of the participants be disguised due to the sensitive nature of the data from the study (Yin, 2009: 181). This applies to participants and people both within this school's context and in the wider educational community to avoid any negative backlash against them. Privacy and anonymity of participants is often difficult to guarantee in a small community and especially so when the community is a small signing community where many people know the people in the De la Bat school community. This important consideration was addressed in the consent letter (see Appendix B).

A concern has been raised by Young & Temple (2014, p. 90) concerning the traditional methodological construction of qualitative research around anonymity. When it comes to research sites that involve d/Deaf learners, teachers, and schools for the Deaf, then the previously agreed upon ethics for conducting research need to be re-visited. The concern over anonymity revolves around the issue of representivity of the community. In this case, the teachers comprise a 'community of practice' (CoP) of teaching staff

and a unit that represents the teaching profession. Therefore, they are not necessarily representing themselves in a personal private capacity in this study. Instead, as a cohort, what they say/sign is of interest to the whole group of teachers at the school. Their needs and struggles will also interest other teachers of the deaf in South Africa, and possibly globally.

The structure of the two Focus Groups into 'younger' and 'older' groups is a reflection of the different language histories (Young & Temple, 2014, p. 94) of the two groups. The younger group self-assigned themselves to this group according to their previous knowledge, training and exposure to SASL. Meanwhile, the 'older group' self-affiliated themselves around their oralist knowledge, background and training as oral teachers. The teachers sorted themselves into the two Focus Groups in a good-humoured way, as all teachers knew and several commented on the position of the school as a Sign Language school. Prior to the Focus Group sessions starting, one of the older teachers said it the other way around:

> *"If they did not want to change and accept SASL, then they can leave, this is a signing school from now on".*

The teachers at the school agreed on the ethical principle of anonymity in the survey, and journals. When it comes to the focus group data, for some, there was the preference to remain anonymous and the use of a pseudonym or marker (e.g.: FG1A) is a suitable solution. This strategy was also applied to the two focus groups of the older and younger teachers solely. Their request for anonymity was respected as this was about the group's discussion and the participant's preference for protection of their identity both inside and outside the school community.

However, the SMT Focus Group and the wrap-up session, and the interviews have a different perspective on the issue of anonymity. The SMT focus group is the largest, and by virtue of being the management group of the school, the identity of the members can be easily ascertained from their utterances. Although the group is a publically constituted group of school leadership, the right to privacy is still respected where requested. Some members did not want to be easily identified. Consequently, the transcript and way that the participants are presented is in keeping with the generic use of markers in line with standard ethical protocol. The difficulty comes when viewing the videos of the Focus Groups as the identity of the participants will be breeched. It is

easy to see whom the speaker is and how the group responds, except in the case of the younger focus group due to a camera malfunction resulted in an audio-only recording of the session.

The ‘wrap-up’ session held in the staffroom was a public meeting, although it was restricted to the teaching staff of this school only, it nonetheless was constructed to provide an open platform for teaching staff members to add, amend or clarify anything that had been said or needed to be said in this space. This meant that while it was being filmed for research purpose, anyone could express their thoughts and opinions in this forum. As with the closed focus groups, some of the people made the most comments while others listened. Not everyone present there made a comment, nor was it the intention to elicit comments from everyone. Again, the identity of the contributors is both clear and obvious on the video. It was agreed by each of the contributors that their identity as ‘older/younger teacher X’ can be used provided that the video is not used directly and for research purposes only. At the third visit, the participants signed off the transcripts as a fair and accurate reflection of their comments.

The interviews presented a different scenario to the Focus Groups. Here the three interviewees could not hide behind a pseudonym. As mentioned already, the principal was one of the interviewees and known as the ‘principal’. The school has two deaf teachers, and obviously, their identity is difficult to hide. In fact, while both deaf teachers explicitly chose not to participate in a focus group session, both expressed their preference for an on-camera interview. This ethical issue arose because they were the only deaf teachers at the school, and were assigned the titles: ‘female deaf teacher’ and ‘male deaf teacher’ would not necessarily grant anonymity. Both deaf teachers were asked separately about the use of their real name or a pseudonym in the transcripts. It is interesting that both agreed for the use of their real name. On reflection, this aligns with Young’s (2014, p. 48) observation that their representivity as members of the local d/Deaf community and their identity at the school as deaf teachers has been granted. Despite being different, they ‘place high value on being candid and of sharing information and showing their allegiance as members of the Deaf community’. For this reason, the use of the real names was adopted with the caveat that their comments are still their private comments and do not necessarily represent the views of the school.

### *3.12.5 Confidentiality*

#### 3.12.5.1Video Recording

Due to the nature of the research within a sign language community, it was explained that it will be necessary to video-record the dialogues for later analysis (Harris, et al. 2009, p. 113-114). To this end, additional separate video consent letters clearly conveyed the purpose, how it may be disseminated and who has access to this video data in order to protect the privacy of participants. All of the video recordings have a non-disclosure clause that requires written permission for use of the video with the participant/s outside of the study.

Nevertheless, video-ing of participants for research is a sensitive issue (Harris, Holmnes & Mertens, 2009, p. 120). This is an ethical area that needs due attention when filming Sign Language. For this reason, the five principals set out in the Research Ethics in Sign Language Communities (Harris, et al. 2009) serves as a guideline. In particular, Principal Four states:

> Investigators should recognise the diverse experiences, understandings and way of life (in sign language communities) that reflect contemporary sign language cultures in the application of sign Language terms of reference (2009, p. 120).

This principle applies more or hearing researchers on sign language participants. Instead, this study while taking in the above principal into consideration as good ethical practice, with a Deaf/Hard-of-Hearing researcher with a diverse range of deaf and hearing participants (teachers) adds a layer of complexity and opens up data collection beyond the spoken interviews to include videoing of participants and a sign language interpreter for the researcher's accessibility to information in English, and South African Sign Language, during and after the filmed sessions,

#### 3.12.5.2 SASL Interpreter

As a Deaf researcher, the services of a SASL Interpreter were required in the interview conducted with the principal and in the three focus groups. The SASL Interpreter was filmed in these sessions to assist the researcher with understanding the dialogues,

both during the sessions and later during analysis. The SASL interpreter (Esme) was sourced from NID College and vetted by the interviewer prior to the sessions for proficiency in SASL, Afrikaans, and English so that each language could be used freely in the session. The researcher/interviewer met with SASL interpreter in advance and an understanding of what was needed, and the expectations of the interpreter, along with signed consent to interpret and maintain confidentiality according interpreter's Code of Conduct was done. Thereafter, a practice run with the interpreter was conducted to see how everything looked and worked. Once the interviewer/researcher was satisfied that the interpreter needed to interpret continually on camera during the session regardless of whether the researcher was looking at the interpreter or not for later viewing by the researcher, the interview with the principal and the three focus groups were conducted.

Prior to each of the sessions, the SASL interpreter was introduced to the participant/s to ensure that the role of the interpreter was clear and that everyone know why this outsider was present and was professionally bound to maintain confidentiality outside of the session. Also added to the consent letter were the names of the researcher, the supervisor, and SASL interpreter who have the right to access the data. Only when that had been done, did filming and interpreting of the session begin. No conflicts of interests or objection to a SASL interpreter or to this particular interpreter were raised at any time.

### 3.13 Conclusion

Chapter Three presented and discussed the methodological concepts, structure and the ethical considerations pertinent to this study. This qualitative study was premised on the methodological foundation of interpretivism. From there, the rationale behind the use of phenomenography was discussed along with the key features that aligned this research approach to the narrative focus of this study. This led to the broad structure and features of phenomenographic analysis and the five steps of analysis. After which, the key attributes of a case study were explored and focussed around the methodological concepts of case stories and analysis of research narratives.

With regards to the pragmatic methodological issues, the research site as a unit of analysis was contextualized and delineated as case study bounded around school leadership and teachers. The principles behind the sampling of the participants were

given and the research instruments rationale for selection of each research instrument was explained. Then the procedures used to collect the data from the survey, Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals were detailed.

As a study by a deaf bilingual researcher on the experiences of teachers, both hearing and deaf, at a school for the Deaf, this introduced several unusual ethical issues that needed to be addressed and clarified. Unlike the standard quantitative section on ethics that deals with the reliability, validity, and triangulation of data. As a consequence of being a qualitative phenomenographic study, the ethical issues section focused on the following issues for ensuring research rigour and providing ethical safeguards. This included clarifying the position of the researcher as an insider, the languages used in this multilingual site by a multilingual researcher; and the issue of inclusion/exclusion of people, anonymity and confidentiality where videos were used as the accepted means of recording data in a sign language setting to match with the unique research needs in the field of Deaf Studies. The above ethical issues were discussed with regard to safeguarding and establishing the trustworthiness and verisimilitude (Clandinin & Connelly, 2006) of the qualitative data.

Chapter Four presents the data and analyses (Steps 1-3) of the first research instrument, the three Focus Groups. Chapter Five presents and analyses the three key informant interviews (Steps 1-3). Chapter Six presents and analyses the Journals of the participants (Steps1-3).

# CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS: FOCUS GROUPS

## 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the initial analysis of the three Focus Groups. The focus groups are presented and analysed in chronological order; first, the SMT, and then the 'Older Teachers' Focus Group and then the 'Younger Teachers' Focus Group. The analysis focuses on Steps Two and Three of the analysis procedure for each focus group as a separate unit, then they are taken together.

Step 2: Re-reading/re-viewing the transcripts individually as separate units of variation. Examining each transcript as a whole through an interpretive lens of post-audism (Mcilroy, 2015) and looking for un-voiced, non-dominant ways of understanding (Larson & Holmström, 2007, p. 57);

Step 3: Drawing together a preliminary list of categories how each of the teachers articulates and understands the change to South African Sign Language. The similarities and differences in the experiences of the participants are interpreted through the lens of post-audism.

## 4.2 Focus Group 1: School Management Team (SMT)

*1 Tell me about the background leading up to the point of making the decision to implement bilingualism?*

The group started with the background to the school. In the past, the school was an 'oral school' with a language policy that focused on speech. South African Sign Language was not included in the policy as an official language in the classroom. What teachers at the time found was that there were some children who were *'brilliant*' and were placed in a special class with sign-supported Afrikaans (GVT) to help them. In the meantime, the school recognised that along with the reality that South Africa is about 10 years behind the rest of the developed world; the oral method was not giving children access to the curriculum. '[A]*nd so the realisation came and we moved to sign-supported Afrikaans'* (SMT1). From that, the Sign Language Project started up and *'things went at great speed'* (SMT1). Another member (SMT2) who expressed the concern that children were not going to make it in high school because they had

difficulty in understanding supports this view. In this sense, GVT (*Gebare Versterkte Afrikaans)* was seen as an essential step in the process of moving towards bilingualism. According to SMT3, it seemed that GVT laid the groundwork for the *'the big change in the school'* which led to this 'mind-shift'.

The principal added by way of clarification that '*the school had already adjusted its language policy to make provision for bilingualism*'. GVT does not ensure bilingualism therefore a change of policy was considered necessary so that sign language could take its proper place. '*At the moment, the school is getting closer to what is meeting the obligations in the school language policy, and that 'we are not there yet. But a lot of changes have taken place and I think that people have come on board and people have really started embracing the concept*' (Principal). SMT3 expanded on this '*…up to Grade 1, I think it is in place. From there upwards, I think that people haven't made the head switch and this includes the whole top half [Grades 10-12]. But there are classes that have transformed already and are using bilingualism.'*

Through the recent change of the language policy to establish South African Sign Language, the school has made a fundamental and systemic change to its pedagogy, in adopting sign bilingualism, and this requires a corresponding shift by teachers in all phases to implement the policy. But the change-over is not uniform across all the phases or teachers. Typically, the Foundation Phase, with its cohort of young teachers who have training in Deaf Education as specialist teachers and/or South African Sign Language competency, are more ready for this new pedagogy.

On the other hand, older teachers in the FET Phase (Grades 10-12) are struggling to make the shift away from past practices to embracing the new language and pedagogy, thus they lack South African Sign Language skills for teaching FET. The new SASL CAPS curriculum offers curriculum content but teachers need to be able to communicate in Sign Language and that is a challenge for many of the older teachers in FET, and Intersen/Intermediate (Grades 7-9) teachers to a lesser extent. There is a diverse range of teachers at the school, but they are united in their commitment to sign bilingualism, even though their reskilling is required, it has not yet been completed.

*2 What do you mean by switch/change, what does that mean here?*

When teachers realised the importance of South African Sign Language to many of the learners, they began to make the change to sign language. At that moment, in the session, there was much laughter of teachers laughing at themselves. Being an older group of teachers generally, this provided a glimpse of insight into their struggles as they have travelled a long way with the school. There seemed to be recognition of the change in themselves as incomplete but also a celebration that they are making the change together. There was a jovial atmosphere on this point instead of feelings of shame and regret.

Initially, the school was unsure about where to start, but found at crèche, the little ones were reading, writing and speaking quicker than before with oralism. At the same time (SMT1), *'the diversity of learners makes it a difficult process for all of us to master'* because there are two broad groups: one group that is not sign-dependant and the other group of learners that is sign-dependant. The principal explained that sign bilingualism needs to be flexible and structured around the needs of the learners; at the same time, the principal praised the teachers for making adjustments (changes) to accommodate the diversity of learners, along with making the change to using sign language more extensively.

A change of attitude towards 'oral' learners was brought up. SMT2 said that teachers need to understand that oral deaf learners are disadvantaged when speech is used. As as a result, signing helps to fill in the gaps for these learners.

SMT1 noted that another change has been the increase in the number of English speaking learners who are strengthened by the availability of texts in written English and a sign language interpreter.

At the same time, SMT4 identified that there is the time pressure in the FET phase to complete the curriculum. By adding South African Sign Language into the class, especially in the Mathematics class, valuable teaching time is lost. This point concerns the difficulty that teachers have experienced in trying to keep spoken and signed languages apart, as separate languages.

On that point, the principal stepped in with the comment: '*we need to explore our thoughts and actions, which should include conducting research on what works for a specific class and why, since the dynamics differ from class to class'*. This implies that

teachers also teach differently, and use different languages differently and in different ways. Despite the obligations/expectations of the language policy of the school, how teachers teach and how they use South African Sign Language and Afrikaans and English is a recognised unknown.

Moving on, the principal then commented that he is aware of two essential components in educating d/Deaf learners: *'we do not fully accommodate the culture of the children because we probably do not necessarily understand it ourselves'*. The principal seems to be speaking for the teachers and voicing an awareness of the teacher's lack of understanding of Deaf culture as it exists among the deaf learners of the school. The previous knowledge of deaf learners is insufficient, and teachers should change their knowledge system about modern d/Deaf learners, especially in the light of learners as sign bilinguals. The second component the principal outlined was that teachers need to know and develop South African Sign Language in the school for sign-dependent children. The principal stressed that while the oral/speech part has been well established; South African Sign Language has not yet been sufficiently developed or resourced. There has been a marked change from the inequality of oral to sign language, but the principal stressed that there needs to be a balance and this will happen best when it is not imposed on teachers or learners. '*This happens when the mind shift that we spoke of takes place'.* This implies that the change of minds of teachers is not necessarily complete, but that it will happen given time.

Another teacher (SMT5) confessed that she used speech with signs, but *'during our language periods then it's separate'*. A different teacher (SMT6) commented that she had learned Sign Language on a course at this school with the assistance of the learners. This suggests that teachers have gained confidence in their signing and are using more signing in class once they understand the different structure of Sign Language. In other words, teachers made the shift/change when their confidence reached a threshold of understanding Sign Language sufficiently to allow them to use it in class.

*3 What about the teachers? What have you noticed about them, how confident are they?*

SMT2 noticed that *'Preschool, Foundation Phase and teachers involved with the Red Star and SASL Pilot Project are far more proficient than those in the High School who*

*have not been exposed [to SASL and sign bilingualism] yet.'* In addition, this teacher included herself by saying that without the [SASL] skills she does not have the self-confidence in using it. It seems that part of the learning process for teachers in the High School is for them to realize their own mistakes and over time for them to ask their learners if they are signing it correctly or using the right sign. Teachers found that they had to unlearn their outdated signs for the new, more correct signs. The principal also added that *'younger and newly-appointed teachers moved quickly into the program relatively easily as the learning process happened more quickly [for them]. Staff who have been here many years and have established habits and vocabulary possibly found the transition more difficult, and as well as some experiencing some resistance.'* There was a chorus of laughter from the group on this point. This session had tapped into the paradoxical feelings and struggles of older teachers. The SMT focus group was predominantly populated by older teachers who were identified with this point of view. The laughter provided a moment of catharsis for their pent-up feelings of struggling with Sign Language, without being victimised as 'weak or resistant' to the change. The principal noticed that *'personal empowerment and the level of confidence increases as long as teachers do not remain a 'spectator".* At the same time, the principal understands the feeling of being intimidated by others who use another language, of being 'self-critical' because others sign better than you so it is easier not to use the language for fear of looking incompetent. But the principal stressed that *'we need to move beyond that point because that is precisely where the children are and we [as teachers] are transferring knowledge that they have to learn*.' On occasions, this is a unique situation where hearing teachers are learning South African Sign Language at the same time as their learners, in a dialogue of learning. Hence, the roles in the classroom are reversed when teachers become learners and learners are the teachers of South African Sign Language to their teachers.

The principal then commended the teaching staff generally for making the required effort to cope with the '*revolution of bilingualism'.*

An intermediate phase teacher (SMT7) added her story of how she is learning new vocabulary along with the learners. This story highlighted the issue of the lack of SASL learning materials available.

The discussion returned to the topic of resistance. In addition to older teachers' resistance, there was surprise at the unexpected resistance from deaf parents of deaf

learners who want their children, and some deaf learners who want to acquire spoken language skills [reading and writing and where possible spoken English]. Another example came to light from the principal of an oral parent whose child was proficient in sign and spoken language. The principal elaborated on this by way of an analogy: '*it's like a person from another country or culture coming here and telling us how Afrikaans works, while we don't know how ourselves, we can sign but we don't know how that works'.* This point is important because learners should influence their parents through what they learn at school, especially about and through South African Sign Language. And indeed, this is happening as a teacher retold the story of a learner who was teaching his father new signs so, *'there are some of them who are open' (SMT3).*

*4 What has encouraged you about bilingualism and Sign Language?*

One of the success stories mentioned the diversity of the learners as strength. An older teacher (SMT2) expressed her surprise at the number of learners who want to learn to speak, but she also admitted that *'there are children for whom South African Sign Language is essential'*. This suggests that successful transitioning to South African Sign Language is taking place in this teacher's mind and throughout the school, especially in the pre-school where the teacher averred, *'with SASL that is how they learn and thrive, I am convinced. They are able to relate and communicate better, and that is a positive.'*

This point is taken further by the SASL project leader (SMT3): *'with sign bilingualism, the seed of sign language is planted and together with pure Afrikaans, everyone wins'*. While watching the video, there was no disagreement or dissent on this comment. And the phrase: 'everyone wins' self-evidently applies to learners and teachers as the primary educational dyad. In fact, the principal picked up the narrative with a different slant to the meaning of stories. '*This is important because what we are seeing in the children is that they are 'full' in that they have stories to tell, but did not know how to do that in a spoken language, so they empty themselves [of their stories] in sign language, as they are able to actually express themselves.*' From this, it follows that previously, without South African Sign Language, young children were seen as 'empty' by teachers. They were frustrated by the lack of language skills and were consequently unable to understand what teachers were communicating and express themselves. '*I think this process is important for children to discover that what is inside them, [individually] has meaning and worth and now we need to link this to literacy'*

*(Principal).* From that scenario, children have lacked the literacy skills to access the curriculum but Sign Language brings about a sense of self-worth and competence to the teaching and learning space. The principal added that bilingualism is not only about communication, but also about '*being able to reason logically'* which has in itself been another barrier to learning in the classroom until now.

Two of the teachers relayed their story of what they do in class. In the first story, without divulging the subject taught by the teacher, SMT5 explained that although she does not sign much, she uses what she called a '*double bilingualism of using both English and Afrikaans'*. But she found that when she used Afrikaans the English children could not lipread her at all. In contrast, another teacher, SMT7, found that once she learned the sign vocabulary along with the class, then *'their knowledge is enriched and with the language, they could talk about it'* and the teacher was '*right there as well'.* This is an exciting moment for a teacher to share her joy when the mystery and wonder of learning happened.

The principal picked up on the recommendation by Penn (1992) for the development and standardisation of South African Sign Language vocabulary as being an essential part of the process of establishing South African Sign Language. |To this end, the Sign Language Project has therefore been instrumental into documenting signs and collating stories in SASL for learners across different grades.

Following on from the last point, another teacher (SMT8) who had not said anything previously, added that the subtitled DVDs are a valuable resource. What she noticed was that learners were reading the subtitled words then signing the words. That reversal of language use fascinated her.

Another teacher (SMT2) excitedly added her story of success of a learner's theory paper results. She had been dissatisfied with a learner's test performance and took the learner's paper to a Sign Language Project teacher because she believed strongly that this learner knew more than that. '*The South African Sign Language teacher put it in to him in SASL and he could respond in SASL or in writing, and his score nearly doubled to within the 60% range which is where I would place him, not in the 30% range like before, so you cannot do without SASL.*' The teacher concluded, '*we'll be keeping an eye on him in the future,'* this suggests that that the teacher's assessment of the learner's potential was correct in that the learner exhibited a deeper potential than was

apparent before with an oral approach. Also, it appears that the learner has found a means of understanding and expressing the subject material and the school has a means of tapping into his learning on his level through South African Sign Language and sign bilingual pedagogy. He was assisted with writing his answers after he understood the content in South African Sign Language first, instead of keeping in the oral language which he could not access. Thus, sign language operates as the bridge to learning for learners and teachers.

*5* W*hat are some of the challenges that you've found and what sort of challenges are you facing at the moment?*

The Grade 12s write the same external examinations as hearing learners in the language presented to them. This means that sign language is not part of the exam format and therefore the grade 12 learners are at a disadvantage: '*our biggest challenge is to equip Grade 12s to handle that' (SMT4).*

The second challenge expressed by SMT3 was '*to convince [trans. A.: swaai] the Department of Education to do an assessment*'. Possibly the Department is not yet fully aware of what is happening in the school despite its knowledge of the school's transformation and its consent to the change to sign bilingualism. It seemed that the SMT3 felt that the support from their Department of Education should be greater. While explaining this, the sign [*swaai*/change] was used parallel to the spoken comment. I interpreted that as the same mental switch that was shown earlier regarding the necessity for teachers to make the mental switch or shift to accept sign language in their school and classroom. It would seem that teachers have moved forward with this change and are somewhat proud and confident enough to say that they have made the shift although they now feel that the Department of Education has not made the mind-set shift as they have done. Consequently, the teachers and DoE are out of step, with the teachers leading and the DoE lagging behind.

The discussion reverted to unpacking the teacher's shift in mind-set which was seen as the biggest challenge. The big challenge is as SMT3 explained: *'To break down the children's as well as the teacher's sense of spoken Afrikaans and GVT (Sign Supported Afrikaans) to break that wall down then start [to establish/build] Sign Language.* This image of a wall is a metaphor with two directions: *'it is more difficult to break down a wall after it has been built than when there is nothing [signs; NOTHING].*

*The small ones [learners] are easy to build quickly till they are big. With the big ones [older learners] you first had to break down [signs: BREAK, BREAK, BREAK] then build up [signs: BUILD, BUILD, BUILD] because this is for the Deaf not the hearing'.* This appears to also apply to teachers whom she implies need to go through the same process to be compatible with the learners as signers.

The principal pointed out that another challenge was that of keeping the momentum of the transition going through the appointment of suitably qualified teaching staff to sustain the sign bilingual programme in the future.

SMT1 pointed out that the reality of the South Africa's multilingual context was challenging. For her, the reality is that the professional world beyond school requires that learners master English. The focus on Afrikaans is not nearly as useful for school leavers, but the paradox is that understandably, teachers want to impart their Afrikaner cultural knowledge and values although this is less valued than previously. She closed her point with: *'and in Deaf Education we would need to carefully consider which spoken language to teach with Sign Language because that makes for more challenges in the classroom as well.'* This challenge seemed to have struck a chord with another teacher (SMT3), who picked up the point by adding that across the country schools for the deaf are always in Sign Language with English as it is far easier to get books in English than Afrikaans, or any other language. SMT are proud of their Afrikaans but they are also aware of 'the importance of giving deaf learners access to the bigger world'.

6 *What do you think needs to change and what's the next step?*

The first item was the need for more well trained deaf teachers as *'exemplary role models of the language*' (SMT1) since the speaker freely acknowledged that '*we are not good language models to our children*'. What stands out is the sense of ownership of responsibility to be a good language role model by signing better. She foregrounds the corpus of teachers who need to do this and by doing so, includes herself as one of those who needs to do better. This is a mature insight into her own vulnerability as an 'older teacher' who makes a positive statement of her intent to improve rather than admit defeat.

Adding to this, another teacher (SMT3) suggested that more well trained deaf-teaching assistants, who can sign and teach well, need to be put in classes. Furthermore, deaf-teaching assistants should be more involved in signing the stories as this has proven to be a *'brilliant and memorable resource'* (SMT6) in class. The principal added that *'when stories are signed by deaf teachers, teacher-assistants or hearing teachers who sign fluently, and then children won't forget the story'.*

7 *What do you think other schools can learn from your experiences, if you had to tell other schools what you've learnt, what you've been through so far? What would you say they that should do or not do?*

SMT3 made several heuristic points: *'[D]on't employ a teacher if he/she has not done a Sign Language course'*. Secondly, *'do not expose the teacher to the wrong signs or incorrect Sign Language, such as in Afrikaans, examinations, and Total Communication. Expose him/her to the correct Sign Language immediately and from there take him/her to a class'*. Thirdly, SMT3 added in jest (but there is an element of truth and usefulness in this) '*we advise the teacher to visit this school*'. Hence, an open invitation to build a network of partnerships with other teachers of the deaf beyond this school was issued.

The SMT3 continued: *'don't let every, or any, teacher be the Sign Language teacher. Choose one teacher to be the Sign Language teacher, and let two teachers work together in a bilingual way.*' In doing so, there would be a Sign Language teacher and class teacher partnership in the school. Also appoint a deaf teaching assistant for every class., with an emphasis on having 'deaf' assistants, not hearing assistants as natural, fluent language and cultural models.

The principal interjected magnanimously: *'[G]et a deaf principal!'* which created a lot of laughter. This good-natured response seemed to indicate that the school is comfortable with itself and aware that having a deaf principal in the future is a possibility. This is a remarkable comment as it displays how far the school has progressed into being a sign language institution, which is in itself a reversal of the previous oral-centric school policy.

SMT1 concluded this point by saying that *'nothing succeeds like success, so document and tell your stories and bring examples of the difference that it [sign language] makes*

*in the children's performance'*. By way of reminder, the teacher added that teaching staff need to be 'kept on-board all the time' with the programme. For example, *'ever since I saw the DVD you made of the children in Grade 1 reading, I saw the success and I think that is important.'* Thus, it is paramount for teaching staff to see the successes for themselves. These documented case studies are powerful windows into the success of sign bilingualism.

On a pragmatic note, the principal added that a national conference with the key people being there to share and discuss the practicalities of implementing the model of sign bilingualism would be a valuable forum and that having a meeting with the MEC and the decision-makers together, would ensure that implementation of this programme.

Without prompting, the theme of the conference was put forward: '*The Long Walk to ….Bilingualism''* (SMT1). SMT3 reminded the group of the original ending: *'…Freedom'.* This tagline alludes to the book by the late President Nelson Mandela, '*The Long Walk to Freedom'*. The theme expresses the heart of the school's story metaphorically as a long journey of struggling to achieve the vision of educational freedom for deaf learners.

8 *Anything else we should have talked about or should've mentioned that you haven't said yet?*

To conclude, the principal stressed in English: *'it is imperative to have a golden thread running through the school We should not have fragmentations, one going this way, another going that way. And you can only have that if management is in unison and this cascades among the staff. As a leader, you might have the opportunity to see the bigger picture, but when it comes to implementation, the principal cannot be everywhere. So the management structure is important to make sure that your implementation is continuously monitored. The inclusion of a forum for staff to engage on positive and challenging issues [is an imperative].'* This speaks to the need for visionary leadership. There is also the management side where the principal *'needs to have a strong stomach to hear the things you do not want to hear, but you need to hear these things in order to make adjustments'.* This is the dialogue of managing a school. The principal wrapped up in Afrikaans to the SMT members with a rhetorical question to the SMT members: *'Who are the beneficiaries? The children'.* Taking the theme of

the conference as a starting point, the metaphor of the road in English is deliberately continued: *'…so if you do not go down that road, what road would you like to walk on? Because you [as principal] might find yourself walking alone'.* This implies creating partnerships through dialogue. The principal switched to *Afrikaans:* '*and then transformation in education would not be possible. I am not talking about 'revolution', I am talking about 'unity' [trans. A.: saamvasheid]'.* The intentional privileging of '*unity'* over 'revolution' may have been to de-politicize the language of leadership away from the potentially destructive discourse of revolution.

### 4.3 Categories of Description (Focus Group 1: SMT)

This focus group generated the category of the 'mental/attitudinal transformation' of the school, and in particular changing the minds of teachers (a 'mind shift'*)*. This category emanated from the belief expressed in this group that they had reached the point where they admitted publically that TC/GVT was not enough. Literacy of Deaf learners was still below par (compared to hearing learners) and the prior focus on oral language development had not produced the results expected. Therefore, the school had reached the point where it was ready to embark on the adoption of SASL and the fundamental and systematic change that this would entail for teachers to cross the SASL ('voice-off') threshold.

As much as this is a revolutionary change, the language of this category revolved around the stability of *'unity through dialogue'* with all components of the school. In other words, all teachers need to be moving in the same direction by keeping the positive momentum of change running through the school and in their own transformation where necessary.

For older teachers, this systematic change brings a greater need for transformation away from their prior audist knowledge and practices to the acquisition of a new language, culture, identity and pedagogy. But inasmuch as the role of older teachers has become inverted from the teacher in charge, to that of a learner, the SMT provided overt support for the process of change. For younger teachers with South African Sign Language skills already in place, this process was much more easily accomplished. However, for older teachers, this mind shift would be a far more traumatic but necessary experience. At the same time, the SMT group acknowledged that with the

transformation of their school, their understanding of Deaf culture is incomplete and in addition, the changes to the school have an unknown effect on Deaf culture.

In Grades R-3 the implementation of SASL had already begun at the time of the Focus Group discussion and feedback was being received on the experiences of the Foundation Phase teachers. There was overwhelming evidence emerging of the success of SASL in this phase. The stories from these teachers needed to be heard, shared and documented. However, SASL had not yet reached the Intermediate Phase and these teachers are concerned about their lack of competency in SASL and the sign bilingual pedagogy. In the FET Phase, a different scenario is unfolding. The older teachers with years of subject teaching experience in a spoken language and only some Sign Language skills are struggling with their classes. The lack of subject specific vocabulary in SASL is problematic for teachers and learners. Also, the lack of a foundation of SASL from Foundation Phase is problematic for FET learners. Assessment is another area of concern for FET teachers and learners, and DoE needs to be aware of the specific assessment needs of SASL learners.

This group highlighted that sign bilingualism needs to be implemented flexibly in classes. This indicates a shift away from the rigid and time-consuming separation of languages.

The theme of ‘resistance’ from parents is an issue that needs to addressed, as well as resistance from learners who may have to work harder.

The value of setting up ‘connections’ through networks with educational professionals emerged through the SMT group. The group outlined that there are various platforms for connecting with other schools, organisations, government departments, and professionals in the field of Deaf Education.

The principal reminded the SMT that the leadership role of a principal is different to that of the managerial role of the SMT. Each member has its place and tasks.

### 4.4 Focus group 2: ‘Older Teachers’

*1 Tell me about your successes*

The stories of success are presented in the order that these appeared in the session, starting with FGO5. She came to the school years earlier and coming from a 'normal' [hearing] school with classes of 40+ she thought teaching a class of 12 was '*heaven on earth. However, the initial problem was that you did not have any training when you came here. You knew nothing about sign language.'* For her, communication was difficult. She wrote the words on the blackboard and explained the meaning to the class using lots of fingerspelling. Despite the communication barrier, she discovered that the children were '*unbelievably sharp and proficient in language.*' But she has noticed a change in the current cohort of children who are less proficient in any language. FGO5 attributed her success with deaf children to them being *'unbelievably inquisitive and very lovable.'*

Similarly, a language teacher, FGO1 added that her success and what she enjoyed the most was '*the children, the communication in the classroom and when children understand me.*' Her greatest achievement is when the Grade 4s begin to read in their third language. However, her comments do not reveal specifically which language was used of how.

For FGO2, claimed to enjoy teaching the most when '*I touched a child's soul or built a relationship with the children. I still talk to these children and their parents even though they (the children) have left the school. That is what I love'.*

FGO3 added her success story: '*I really love smaller children, young, from kindergarten up till about seven, eight, nine years old, because smaller children are still so uncomplicated and spontaneous and they are very observant. Hearing children absorb a lot through their hearing and deaf children absorb a lot through signing. So they observe, and if you observe, it means you put one and one together and then you put it away.'*

Picking up on the Foundation Phase learners, FGO4 said, '*When they arrive here, they have no speech, they cannot talk to you, there's nothing, and how they start picking up signs and begin communicating [is interesting]. That means so much for me. That is my biggest passion. It's just fantastic to get that out of them, and to see after a year how they communicate with each other. That is most important for me.'* This success was echoed by the bittersweet story of FGO1: *'a huge success I experienced was when a child came in, and I had time to spend with each child and take them to the*

*bookshelves and ask what do they enjoy, plus my recommendation, and that they came back and having read the books'.* But her frustration now is that she misses this interaction with children and their development as readers. It is also unclear why she no longer has the interaction. Is it because of South African Sign Language?

FGO5 presented a different story of success that harkened back to the past way of teaching and past cohort of learners: '[*M]y biggest gratification is making the child realise that they can achieve anything, to motivate the child so that they can see the results. The success that we had was when a child starts working and that their starting salary is higher than yours. So it was possible for them to open a door into the world of business, and they grabbed it. It's so unbelievable to see how self-assured they become there, and they have a full life as grown ups'.* The outlier story of the two learners (*cf*. p. 405) was held up by FGO5 as an exemplar of excellence to motivate teachers and learners academically. However, FG05 had not yet been convinced that Sign Language would bring academic success.

FGO5 recounted a story of a learner who burst into tears in her class. '*If you let the child believe that he/she can do it then it changes. So teaching is about encouraging the child the whole time that he/she can do it. It is actually sneaky. Then the child feels that they can achieve success.*'

*2 Tell me about your frustrations*

FGO2 identified her biggest frustration as 'the *walls in people's minds. When people are set in their ways, and me too sometimes, I also had to open up and to go over walls, or around walls, but there is something preventing this in some teacher's minds and this makes it difficult to reach the kids. These are the walls they build to stop you'.* This image describes how people are resistant to change, and in particular, how some teachers struggle or refuse to change. This is her insight into herself, as she understands the natural instinct to protect oneself with 'walls'.

As a teacher of Intermediate Phase leaners, FGO1 mentioned that '*children don't have a learning culture in our school.*' Yet, FGO1 explained that her role is 'to make them see that I believe in them'. Her frustration stems from '*As a teacher you inspire them and put a lot of effort into preparing them for a test, but the test shows that the children have not learned the content. Sometimes, that rattles me*.' Similarly, FGO5 confirmed

that many of the Grade 8, 9 10 children tend to 'slack off'. At the same time, FGO5 is also frustrated with her subject*: 'for many years I have struggled with the technical terms in my subjects, so I made up my own signs for these terms. Now it is really difficult for me to chuck out these ingrained 'signs' and learn the new signs. I feel that it is too much for me to change everything'.*

A Foundation Phase teacher (FGO4) added her frustration. In her view, *'pparents feel sorry for their children because they're deaf, so they only send them to school when they are seven or eight years old, and these children have no language at all. That is really difficult for me in my class.'* FGO3 had a similar experience and added '*A deaf child doesn't hear language for so many years through his ears, and sometimes it is the first time in his life that he not only hears that word, but sees it, and then there hasn't been Sign Language to explain it properly, so how must he/she understand the words?* Taking this further, FGO3 proposed that deaf children remain in school for a few extra years *'to have the time to master the (sign) language.'* Consequently, FGO3's greatest frustration is with the Department of Education which she sees as an enemy*: 'I get angry with the DoE because none of them have ever been in a classroom with deaf learners. They don't know what happens here. They don't understand the world of a deaf child.'* Her frustration with DoE stems from the misunderstanding of assessment of deaf learners. FGO3 gave the group an example of how deaf learners think to illustrate her point, and concluded that *'the teacher-learner dialogue on learning and thinking things through is not necessary with hearing learners, but with deaf learners it is not there and has to be developed.'* She said that she is *'moedeleloos'* [trans. A.: frustrated] because the DoE does not see that.

FGO2 focused on the extra time issue where *'they need time to do the same amount of things as hearing children.'* By extension, FGO2 conceded that metaphorically '*we still need to walk down that road'*, with sign language.

On a contradictory note, FGO5 remembered that in the past 'the children were so sharp and clever [with oralism in place]. They had an extra year: sometimes they had three years in Grade 8.

Likewise, FGO2 remembered having overage children in her classes and initially this scenario upset her. On top of that, she recalled how '*children did well because their parents practised with them and did things with them that the children of today do not*

*do. Todays' parents are not involved with their children at all. The children are neglected.*' This is an unforeseen consequence of the shift to sign language where parents are disconnected linguistically and not able to communicate with their deaf child extensively from the beginning. Furthermore, *'it is a traumatic experience for a deaf child to be separated from their parents from the age of three to be placed in the school at such an early age.'* Although not a mental healthcare professional, FGO2 is acutely aware of the lack of emotional stability and development among deaf children. For FGO2, the core frustration is that *'the Department of Education prefers to push a learner through even though the learner is intelligent but is not ready emotionally nor has the learner had sufficient time to master the [sign] language.'* FGO2 issued an open invitation to the DoE to come and see for themselves what is happening in the classrooms.

FGO5 summed up the experience of Intermediate Phase learners in the words '*it's terrible. It means that the child will never be able to reach their full potential because the foundation is not laid properly.*

Leading on from that, FGO5 asked a Grade 1 teacher in the group if she managed to get through the work. Despite teaching in Sign Language from the beginning of their school career, not all the learners were ready for the next grade. The Grade 1 teacher emphasised '*it is not that they are not clever, it is just because they need more time with language learning. They are still busy catching up [on the missing incidental learning that is absent from their early years].'*

A similar scenario played out in the higher grades (Grades 10, 11, 12) with behavioural problems on top of the language difficulties. In addition, assessments are done in English or Afrikaans. The poor marks result in learners being 'transferred to vocational classes to learn a trade.' (FGO1). Nonetheless, as FGO2 explained, *'that the core content must already have been established in Grades 4, 5, 6, but there is not time.'* Presumably this also applies with teaching this content in Grades 4, 5, 6 and when trying to fast-track learners in order to acquire core vocational skills competencies.

3 *Tell me about your change to Sign Language, being at school, where the school policy is bilingualism. And about your signing in the past and now, and how has that changed you as a teacher?*

The first response came from FGO1*: 'South African Sign Language is always a good way of dispensing knowledge'.* She freely admitted that *'I use a lot of vocabulary. I'm not fluent in signing'.* This seemed odd coming from a sign bilingual language teacher, but she is well aware of her own skills and limitations as a signer. FGO1 made her position clear to the group: *'I am trying visually [to communicate and teach]. But Sign Language is really something that is essential. It's the only way you're going to communicate with the [deaf] child and convey the information. Therefore, 'the change has been a good thing'.* Yet she confessed that *'I am still having difficulty with pure signing especially when I have to teach English or Afrikaans and with hard-of-hearing children who can access some spoken English and/or Afrikaans.'* FGO1 expressly mentioned that she used GVT in class to communicate and asked FGO3 to advise her on the implementation of sign bilingualism as FGO1 felt that she did not have time to do everything [to communicate separately in SASL and spoken English/Afrikaans].

The question was addressed by FGO1 with a detailed and empathic answer: *'I understand what you mean when you say that you don't have time.'* And for that reason, FGO1 repeated her earlier antagonism towards the DoE for not understanding what teachers need to do in a school of the Deaf with sign language. FGO1 elaborated on a strategy that she used: *'I learned how the older children communicated and took this back into the classroom so that I could communicate with them on a higher level. With children who had sufficient residual hearing to hear speech with hearing-aids, 'I said the sentence out aloud in English/Afrikaans and immediately I signed it so that nobody missed on the information.'* FGO1 said that she had difficulty a little while back as there was a limited vocabulary for the English/Afrikaans words. Once FGO1 understood the structure of SASL and realised that. *'I must learn the rules, but I am still battling to get rid of the old and learn the new [rules]. It is so much better. I have been doing this for years and I have seen how children read better now that they have the structure [of SASL] in place.'* FGO1 recounted her experience to the group: '*I had this amazing experience last term where I built a sentence with them, and they are learning about commas and full stops, …and when they understood the structure of sign, when they said: "Oh, we must swop it around in Sign". So, the children are very aware about language structure and the difference between the two languages. So, I am very excited about South African Sign Language. I really see big changes and progress.'*

Another teacher, FGO2, attended the SASL course and reported a similar success with learners and her own signing skills: '*I can see a big change in my children's knowledge*

*in my class since signing. Every day they have a South African Sign Language period, and the fact that I also did a course with Dr Akach, means that my signing has improved. So I can see a big difference in the knowledge that the children in my class have'.* FGO2 takes the success a step further to say *'I think it has made a huge difference, because many of them are so deaf and would never have coped with the oral method.'*

I return now to one of the more experienced teachers in terms of number of years at the school, FG03 She found that when the vocabulary for her subject was put together that *'now I know it is the right signing. So when we 'talk' in class we are all on the same wavelength.'*

In contrast, FGO1, who had made the shift to sign language, brought up several pragmatic concerns. As a teacher, FGO1 asked the question '*children are not taught how to lipread, and in the workplace that is an important skill to have with people who do not sign, and if it is not in bi-bi, where must they learn it?*' FGO1 used the old term for sign bilingualism of 'bi-bi' but in this case, the term meant a purely manual approach where the focus was purely on sign language and everything to do with oral was discarded, including lipreading.

Another pragmatic concern was articulated by FGO1 as '[t]h*e children tell me, "Teacher, use your voice"". They don't want me to keep quiet. So it's a terrible thing inside me about what is really the correct thing to do? I always felt when it comes to grades 11 and 12, you mustn't use signing anymore. Then I want them to be able to lip read and follow my instructions. I direct them; I am like a robot* [traffic cop]*.'* Intrinsic in this description of her difficulty is the image that FGO1 has of herself as a language traffic cop. '*Then a hearing child would say but "Miss, you must sign", and then the deaf child would say "No, I understand the teacher, leave her alone".* These contradictory messages from the FET learners are the cause of her inner battle. *'It's like a wall I have up against myself.'* For FGO1, it is evident that teaching the current FET learners is a complex task made more difficult with the diversity of learners in her class and her inner conflict regarding whether or not to use her voice. Her turmoil revolves around the problem of *'when the older children come back to me, the deaf children, then they say to me: "We must learn more English. You must teach us how to speak. We are battling in the world. People don't understand us. We must be able to speak". So it's a terrible thing for me.'*

FGO1 raised another language dilemma: *'I understand fully that if a child is deaf that signing is a wonderful way of communicating. But I am not fluent, and I need to ask them so much, because now there is new terminology and they also don't have a clue what the sign is, and a lot of the signing is still being formed. This year we created signs, and it's a difficult path to walk. I think it's because from the beginning it was difficult. I think that even if I had a few more years to continue and to be totally fluent, I don't think I would be able to sign like a deaf child.'* Although FGO1 sees herself as needing more time to learn SASL, she is also aware that she would probably never sign as fluently as a first language user and so her frustration with being in that place was expressed. The argument of FGO1's comes to the conclusion: '*when it comes to teaching, then it mustn't be about how fluent the teacher is in the subject, it must be about what's good for the child'.*

*FGO2 takes an open view when teaching language. 'I want them to be able to follow me. I speak English or Afrikaans with them in class as much as possible so that they learn the languages so they can read and lipread. And signing is important to help explain the information.'*

For FGO1, the consequence of not having this language repertoire and dexterity is that *'children are isolated [from the outside world] because both sides don't understand each other'.* The session closed with the need to build bridges of communication between deaf and hearing worlds where there is much ignorance about d/Deaf people.

### 4.5 Categories of Description (Focus Group 2: 'Older Teachers')

This focus group focused on their experiences and produced the following categories:

Firstly, their stories of the 'power of Sign Language' and how they have seen a difference in deaf learners lives. In particular, how SASL breaks down the language and communication barrier in class and improves reading. This could be termed the category of *'then and now'.*

But there are also '*language dilemmas'* that reflects the inner turmoil of some teachers arising from when or whether or not to use their voice with FET learners. Another language dilemma is that there is not enough time given for deaf learners to acquire

the language and to learn the content at the same time. This is a dilemma of time in Intermediate Phase. Ironically, it seems that parental involvement has dropped with the use of Sign Language. Parents are being left out of the education of their child because parents cannot communicate with them in Sign Language. The difficulty is their child is ahead of them in this area.

The metaphor of '*walls'* became a category used by these older teachers to explain the difficulty of learning Sign Language as a new language. Sometimes, walls are indicative that it is too late to change and that the mental walls serve to protect the person from the forces of change. However, it was also mentioned that walls can be broken down.

The category *'the role and identity of teachers'* was clustered around the description of being an 'encourager/inspirer/touch their soul/confidant/'on the same wavelength' in order to help learners to believe in themselves.

Older teachers said that they need plenty of time to acquire the knowledge and skills of Sign Language. Time was also seen as an issue for learners as the language foundation of learners has to be put in place. The teachers were resentful of the DoE when deaf learners were 'condoned' to the next grade when they had not acquired the language skills to cope with the higher grade, nor were they emotionally ready. Extra time for d/Deaf learners is not a luxury; but an educational necessity given the work required in building a strong language, knowledge and emotional foundation.

### 4.6 Focus Group 3 (Younger Teachers)

*1 How did you make the change to Sign Language and sign bilingualism? When did you make the change, if you weren't here already, how did that have an on impact on you?*

Once the group had sorted itself out according to who had been here the longest, the teacher with the longest service started the conversation. FGY1 reflected on her experience of the change. '*It was bad, I had some resistance, but I tried'.* This is not to say that she had resistance from outside, but from herself towards the changeover to sign language. Nonetheless, she made an effort to learn the difference in language structures even though this was fundamentally different from what she had done

previously. In the past, she had been comfortable with using spoken language with signs added for clarity. She elaborated on her difficulty by adding that *'it was difficult for me to help children learn English because the structure is totally different, so that is an obstacle for me. I know that I cannot change it: that is how it is'.* This indicates a sense of reluctant acceptance of the change, and that she is perhaps not where she would like to be in terms of communicating in South African Sign Language with her learners.

One of the SASL teachers, (FGY3) introduced herself through her experience at the school. Although she had already started learning signs, a moment of epiphany came *'it was an eye-opener for me to see the difference in structure between South African Sign Language and English and Afrikaans. I did not know that before. When I did the course with Dr Akach, on South African Sign Language only then did I realise the big difference. So I adjusted my teaching.'* The Sign Language course changed her thinking and her practice of South African Sign Language despite having been at the school for years and slowly absorbing signs along the way.

*2 What do you mean you adjusted to it? What changed?*

For FGY3, the paradigm shift manifested itself when she decided '*I don't mix the languages.'* Even though she conceded that she is not yet completely fluent as a signer, at least she makes a conscious effort not to do what she used to do.

The conversation shifted to FGY2's story of herself and her change into becoming a SASL teacher, despite knowing no South African Sign Language. When she arrived three years prior to the focus group session, she also struggled at the beginning, but she complied with the school's policy of using the correct structure for each language and not using both languages at the same time. Having Intermediate Phase classes, she said that she found: *'I tried to do that in class and some of the children did not like it, they told me to speak, it is a problem for them,'* (sic) nevertheless she insisted and persisted with keeping signing and speaking separate. For her, the course with Dr Akach created an awareness of Deaf culture and Deaf rights and associated history, and this shifted her thinking away from seeing deaf as 'disabled'. This was a major change in her way of seeing Deaf people, as a cultural group even if this awareness of her past perspective was an emotionally painful experience and difficult to relinquish.

FGY3 concurred with FGY2 in that she saw that the earlier learners were struggling because she started with them in preschool where '*we only used simple signs'*. She saw a big difference between the preschool learners of a few years back with today's classes that are far more proficient signers.

Another young teacher (FGY4) introduced himself to the group. A similar story emerged: He came to the school without South African Sign Language skills and much knowledge of Deaf Education. As the bilingual language policy was already in place, he accepted that he had to *'fall in the deep end'* as it were. He found that the learners were helpful and taught him a lot of the signs, but for himself, '*it was difficult for me to just sign and just speak, it was much easier to mix the two. I know the structure is quite different so you should not do that, but it just feels more natural, I suppose.'* This indicates that learning South African Sign Language in the classroom is an enormous and difficult task for teachers who struggle to relinquish the practice of speaking and signing before they are proficient in signing that enables them to let go of speaking and signing simultaneously.

One of the SASL teachers at preschool interjected *that, 'we are teaching South African Sign Language'*. Her point seems to be that teachers who teach Sign Language have to make this mental shift straight away and sign with voice-off in order to complete this linguistic switch-over. FGY1 commented in Afrikaans: '*that is the problem.'* FGY3 continued and concluded with: *'So we have to make that switch, we have to!'*

In unpacking the 'switch/change,' FGY2 expanded on her opinion that *'…for me, because last year, and the year before, I decided that I am not going to mix it [languages] from the beginning'.* For her, this decision was rooted in her identity that as a Sign Language teacher she needed to be a good model of Sign Language by using the correct structure. However, she added that this was not always the case when communicating with learners with different linguistic needs and abilities. FGY2 maintained a bilingual position reflected in the statement: '*it is much easier to teach in one language and then in the other language.'*

FGY1 responded by saying that when teaching a language it is a different situation. This is possibly a concession on FGY1's part that FGY2 has a valid point. However, FGY1 added that the difficulties she experienced relate to not knowing signs for abstract concepts in her language classes and that the older learners also did not have

signs for these abstract concepts. In addition, for her, the diversity of learners in class made it very difficult. While on the theme of 'difficulties', FGY1 added in Afrikaans '*but I think that the whole thing with the language teachers is that they [SMT] have forced* the signing onto us. It is not that it should not be there, but it's just that it was forced onto us. A strong sense of resentment with being coerced comes from her. FGY1 continued with an example*: 'when we all had to do the lessons. It was voluntary, but some of us were not there. But they [pointing to the sign language teachers] decided to do it and now they are like a group on their own.'* This emotional response indicated her frustration and resistance on account of her perception that she was forced into doing more South African Sign Language than she was comfortable with forcing her out of her comfort zone. She added that her difficulties have not been heard or addressed by the SMT. FGY1 elected not to participate in the South African Sign Language training sessions, because of the above grievance. As a result, FGY1 found herself becoming an outsider and resentful of the teachers who attended. There is a growing split between teachers whose signing is improving and those who are not. FGY4 picked up on FGY1's point of compliance with SMT's instructions, and agreed that this is necessary *'but it is forced down our throats all day long, it makes you resistant.* FGY4 then switched to English*: 'if you don't do it that way, then you are out, that is the message you get.'* Even though both FGY1 and FGY4 know that this is the principal's and SMT's line on this, they feel unhappy.

FGY3 responded that in South African Sign Language classes everyone signs and understands*. 'But in English, they must get the words, and South African Sign Language helps'*. FGY1 lamented that her classes do not do as much oral language work as in the past, before bilingualism: *'[w]e mostly do written English, some speak actually, but that is not what we focus on, it is written English, so that is it.'* As far as FGY1 was concerned, this discussion was now closed.

*3 What are some of the successes you have had in class?*

Even though FGY4 did not specifically attribute the success of a weaker class to any anything specific, there was an acknowledgement that '*Wow, we are doing something right'. And t*hat moment of success brings with it motivation in learners, and the realisation that they are capable. The teacher is justified in declaring: *'we're going to stay in the Top 5.'*

Alluding to the Preschool, FGY3 said that *'[E]veryday is a success story one way or another. Yes, you get your days when the children sign well and you have days when you don't understand them, but tomorrow will be a good day when everything works out as planned. Today was a success story, but yesterday was not.'* FGY3 highlighted the variability of success and failure of teaching that also exists in South African Sign Language classes. Yet this extract shows that the teacher has an expectation of positive outcomes in the long term, and that sustains her as a teacher. Returning to her experience of the previous day that was not '*a success'*, FGY3 elaborated that although the class signed poorly the previous day, when she signed the story again, she found that everyone understood. *'They could retell the story to me, that's it'.* It appears that the teacher's persistence with the class created a successful outcome.

By contrast, FGY1 commented that her role as a teacher is '*to model their lives for them. When I see how the child has matured, that is success for me.'* And to do that, FGY1 explained that '*mostly I am preaching in class a lot because I am like a parent, trying to get them to think "what do you think is the right thing to do?", because we are like parents to them.'* FGY1 has explicitly revealed that her identity as a teacher is akin to that of *'a parent'*. At the same time, this shapes the communication platform. She is caring, though didactic. Her classroom discourse is predominantly a one-way communication with learners, with the aim of getting them to think independently, like adults. For her, independent thinking of learners is the mark of success.

A light-hearted moment arose from the reversal of roles where the younger sign language teacher (FGY3) took on the role of 'parent' to teach FGY1 the new (for FGY1) sign for 'parents'.

Returning to the topic of success stories, FGY2 contributed her story of teaching SASL to Grade 1-3: '*I have seen a lot of great things, especially because of South African Sign Language. It is wonderful to see the little ones coming from preschool and how they can start reading by using SASL to bridge Afrikaans and English. You see a lot of understanding.'* By way of contrast, FGY2 added that '*the older ones miss it, they are struggling'*. In particular, she mentioned that '*the older learners find it difficult to change their sentence structure to South African Sign Language when they read something, but these little ones are already doing that.'* Another success is '…*with the children that have learning difficulties, problems with reading, and with Maths, but in the South African Sign Language class they can tell you a story, that is so nice to see with the*

*little ones.'* From this story of success, it is clear that the learners who come to Grade 1 from preschool have a linguistic and cognitive advantage. From this teacher's perspective, there is a clear improvement in reading and understanding over the previous cohort of learners from preschool, and she attributed the success to having South African Sign Language in the classroom.

The other SASL teacher, FGY3, recounted another success story. She said that when children came back from their holidays, in the first week, she could not teach her normal lessons '*…because everyone wants to sign their story. For most of them, mommy and daddy don't sign so they don't understand. So they want to get back to school and tell someone what happened at home. There is so much excitement in the little ones when they realise that they can say something.'*

By way of contrast, FGY2 added another story of a child who came to Grade 1 without language, and was fitted with hearing-aids. The child's parents did not want South African Sign Language, Now this child *'has started to hear things and the eyes are bright, and she can now tell a story. It is beautiful to see.'* This suggests that language acquisition is central to the Sign Language teacher's open-minded philosophy and that she is not against children learning to speak.

FGY2 reiterated that *'[T]hose are the things that they don't see'.* Hence, it seems that there are many stories of success from learners and teachers that go unseen and unsaid. Later, when FGY3 added '*it makes me excited to see the little ones start to realise that 'I have a voice and I can say something', it is a big thing.*' And she deliberately directed her attention to FGY1 with 'you don't see that'. FGY1 agreed. FGY3 closed the point with: *'[a]nd that is sad, because I think everyone [especially older teachers like her] needs to see that.'*

*4 What are some of the challenges you have?*

The first challenge mentioned was from FGY1 who said that '*the language barrier is the biggest one. For learners to understand us [older, less sign-capable teachers], and for us to understand them [learners].* More specifically, FGY1 explained that '*for children to get the abstract meaning and to explain it', reading is a very big problem. They are not interested, and we [teachers] know that for them to read is the path to success'.* The need to develop a culture of reading and literacy was emphasised as the core reason

for the switch from the Oral and TC policy of the school to South African Sign Language. However, she was not yet seeing an improvement in reading in her classroom. Language is still a barrier in her classroom, and she was aware of the impact that her not being a fluent signer has on the [older] learners, *'who have missed the chance'* to build a strong language foundation earlier.

FGY4 picked up two teaching related issues. The first was the need to bridge between the visuals for a learner with limited language and the theory which is written. For learners exposed to South African Sign Language late, their practical marks are good but the theory parts are poor due to limited receptive skills in the languages. In addition, these learners find the productive part of the language, such as writing to be a difficult task. This is compounded by the teacher's self-awareness that '*I can't sign back fluently although I understand South African Sign Language'*. Hence, with each learner there an attempt to keep it within the same language that the learner knows and uses. With d/Deaf learners this is a challenge for this teacher to provide the required level of support. At the time, there were no deaf teaching-assistants to assist teachers in the GET and FET classes. Whether Deaf Teaching-Assistants are still needed or should be provided is a moot point as there is the temptation for teachers to depend on their DTAs in class for signing which keeps teachers in their linguistic comfort zone and their Sign Language skills are not challenged to improve. This is available in the Foundation Phase classes. As a result, FGY4 identified the reality of teaching a range of different learners that might include: hearing with learning problem; hard-of-hearing; oral deaf and signing Deaf and Hard of Hearing as well as learners of different ages in the class. Consequently, FGY4 explained that '*after one period you are tired because you are signing, speaking English, and Afrikaans. It's like doing three lessons in one period, and that is difficult'*.

The SASL teachers added their challenges. FGY3 said that '*for the little ones, a big problem is that they do not get exposed to sign language as a language at home.'* A point was made by FGY2 about the difference between the younger children and the older [high school] learners where '*the older children are still signing in the structure of the spoken language [TC] and then when our little ones mix with other teachers and especially with older children, they see a different structure being used which is not correct South African Sign Language. Also, the little ones forget the structure when they do assessments because they go back to the way that they see everyone else in school doing it.*' FGY1 interjected in Afrikaans that the older deaf learners in this school

use the correct structure. FGY3 responded that she did not know about that being true, and that this is complicated by the practice that '*a lot of deaf people also don't use* [correct SASL structure]. *'But we are trying to change it.' (FGY3).* From FGY1's perspective*, 'Total Communication worked'.* FGY2 disagreed categorically: *'No, because the problem is that children cannot read.'* FGY1 responded with *'but you will have to wait ten years at least to see if this is going to work, you don't know.'* FGY2 retaliated *'You can see it in the little ones, I promise you.'* This dialogue closed with FGY1's concession that *'you will have to give it time to see if it carries on in the high school. If it goes on, it's wonderful.'* FGY2 agreed with this point and added that *'just looking at the little ones I have now when they read stories that they have not seen before, they can figure out what is going on because they put it into Sign Language and it makes sense [to them]. However, give a text to an older child and he/she can read the whole paragraph but they don't have a clue what is going on. They may know it word by word but they don't really know what it means. It is the same with tests, so they don't want to read. But the little ones just want to read new stuff, because they can understand it and they want more to read. So that is a positive just from seeing that. We don't know what will happen in ten years, maybe, but for the moment it is positive.'* The group noted these heartfelt challenges. In addition, this extensive excerpt demonstrates how the thinking behind teacher's experiences has an impact on how they see the present. For some older teachers think it is too early to claim that South African Sign Language and bilingual pedagogy is a success. However, they are willing to give South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism plenty of time have an positive impact in the long term thus, for now they give South African Sign Language the benefit of the doubt.

After agreeing that South African Sign Language will improve the school, FGY4 raised the question '*but what happens to the kids who are not part of the Sign Language project [prior to the school's implementation of CAPS SASL]?'* This referred to the older learners who struggled with reading. FGY1 responded to this question and said that '*it is the Deaf children that have a problem, the hard-of-hearing children are ok, and they read and can go on.'* This indicates that Sign Language is important for literacy and that the earlier this is done the better. But the older children *'have missed that chance' (FGY2) with Sign Language that the younger children are getting now*. FGY1 returned to what happened in the past when she had been here*. 'But they were very good long ago. They were quite well educated. The children we get now are weaker. The type of child you get comes from a worse home environment, they don't get stimulation, and*

*meningitis and Foetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) are big problems.'* FGY2 concurred with FGY1 on the FAS problem: *'a lot of kids have FAS, so one day you have miracles happening in your class and the next day you are back to 'square one', and so it varies.'*

5 *What do you think the School Management Team (SMT) can do or should do to help you?*

FGY3 offered the opinion that interpreters or deaf teaching-assistants for higher grades are needed to support the teachers in the higher grades. The FET teacher, FGY1, responded *'I don't think we need assistants, only when the class is more than ten children. More assistants are needed to help with special needs children.'*

FGY4 said that having an interpreter in class would be valuable to help him express himself clearly through Sign Language until he could sign on his own. FGY2 cautioned on having an interpreter in class: 'after *a couple of years these teachers are still not signing.'* FGY1 asked FGY3 on why this is a necessity. FGY3's responded that '*you must be forced to sign, sort of.'* Unless teachers have to sign then there is the possibility of teachers relying on the interpreter in class indefinitely and without accomplishing any change to South African Sign Language from the teacher's side unless they are prompted to change by the SMT.

*6 What do you think other schools for the deaf can do or can learn from here, or learn from you? What would you say to your colleagues that you've learned here?*

FGY4 mentioned that *'other schools can learn from our systems and the support that we have for one another.*' The Focus Group members included of members of the support team: a school sister (FGY3), a psychologist (FGY1), occupational therapist (FGY2), and social worker (FGY1). FGY3 summed it up as 'Y*es, it is a team. I don't think all of the other schools for the Deaf have a support system like this.*' Despite being fairly new to the school, FGY4 observed that *'I feel like we are always reaching out to other schools for the Deaf, but they never seem to be reaching out to us. We are always trying to help them, but it is like they have some secrets things they are doing.*' This sense of distrust among schools emanates from the lack of sharing. FGY1 elaborated on this: *'No, it is not that schools don't want to work together, it's a political*

*thing.'* This is the first year that learners from the nearby school have attended this school, but as FGY1 continued '*those learners are very weak when they came here because their language skills were very weak.*' In other words, they could not sign at all, according to FGY3. This disparity of communication and academic levels is a challenge that both schools need to address. FGY1 explained that *'we must be careful not to scare the new learners otherwise there will be no more learners from that school. The two principals must saamwerk [*work together*], and they are working on it. We can help each other.*' FGY2 expanded on this '*we are getting better with this new programme of sign bilingualism and the principal now goes to other schools and the teachers there are very enthusiastic about the new material and the help they are getting because of South African Sign Language. Before they felt lost, but now the contacts [among teachers] will develop.'* Instead of listing what schools should do, the focus group focused on sharing of information and building relationships across a common platform of sign language.

7 *Anything we haven't talked about that you can think of?*

FGY4 wanted to record the point that *'I know that we are focussing on sign Language, but we also need to focus on 'oral'. I think that is what is missing from this school.'* More specifically, 'we are not focussing on lipreading, because at the end of the day, when the kids leave here, who is going to understand them if they only have South African Sign Language?' FGY1 added that this is what happened in the past, and has been phased out now completely. Even FGY3 recalled the school's oral legacy *'before I started in the South African Sign Language group, every single morning we did our mouth exercises',* with each learner. From her prior experience, FGY3 commented: *'it is important to start at pre-school; it doesn't help to start [oral] at high school.'* This observation mirrors the earlier discussion on the necessity of starting South African Sign Language at Preschool and how difficult it is for high school learners to acquire the language.

In reflecting on her past, FGY1 shared that: *'thirty years ago signing was not allowed. When I started here it was only oral. And teachers punished them when they used their hands. It was bad. But we made a mistake. I understand that, but that was those [height of oralism] years. However, they concentrated on a lot on talking, and those deaf children are now grown-ups who speak quite well. But their literacy was not really developed. Most of them now work in sheltered employment. They cannot find work in*

*the outside world. So perhaps we made many mistakes then. That is how I found it when I came here.'* This was a cathartic moment of a teacher expressing the emotional baggage of the past. The moment was recognised by FGY3 and a sense of absolution was offered *'I think everything has its place. There is room for speech development, lipreading.'*

FGY1 agreed, and from her side as a Sign Language teacher, emphasized that South African Sign Language has a place too. FGY3 continued to say that, *'this room is important because children outside must see that the person is deaf.'* By implication, they need to be able to understand each other somehow*. 'I think with South African Sign Language, we are hoping to improve children's literacy. If they go outside they can write and they can read whatever they want. If they can lipread, it will help. And I think that there are children who are never going to speak, but at the end of the day, they have to be able to see what the other person is trying to say even if they cannot speak [back]. So I think that should also have a place.'* The session closed with agreement on this point.

### 4.7 Categories of Description (Focus Group 3: Younger Teachers)

The first category is the moment of 'epiphany' that teachers experienced that led to the change-over to South African Sign Language, and this typically occurred at a SASL training course. This change-over occurred when teachers discovered for themselves the difference in structure from spoken languages which resulted in them 'letting go' of their previous practice of mixing the languages. This decision was seen as an essential point that starts the change. It was acknowledged that it takes a long time to achieve fluency, but the linguistic foundation of South African Sign Language has been laid.

Simultaneously, seeing the impact of South African Sign Language on the lives of d all the deaf learners, especially in the preschool learners was equally mind-changing. These teachers felt that they had become 'insiders' in the lives of their learners through acquiring SASL as a shared language. Associated with this category is the positioning of teacher's identity as educational agents with the role of 'developing' learners into becoming fully functioning and contributing adult citizens. This marks a shift away from the benevolent audist educational outlook of deaf learners as 'disabled children'.

However, the theme of ‘resistance and reluctance’ occurred among teachers who had not yet made the mental shift from TC/GVT to SASL. Consequently, these teachers felt like ‘outsiders’ because they had missed the chance (such as training) and there was a sense of resistance to learning SASL because they felt that there was pressure from SMT to conform. Another group of outsiders was the intermediate and FET learners who had ‘missed the chance’ to acquire SASL. These learners bore the legacy of an oral-centric education without an officially sanctioned foundation in South African Sign Language. Consequently, this group of teachers saw these learners as a generation that had *‘missed the chance’* and who struggle to communicate with the more advanced but younger cohort of signers. Directly from this comment came an unsolicited apology to the group for the error of audism on behalf on the older generation of teachers. Absolution was granted from the younger teachers, with the reply that *‘everything has its place’.* With wisdom, the group included lipreading, speech, writing and Sign Language in this language space. This reflected the theme of teacher’s reaching out and supporting each other on the journey of learning South African Sign Language.

The ‘success’ of South African Sign Language was shared among the group where preschool learners were showing off their communication skills and being able to tell stories in SASL. Although there are ‘good days and bad days’, teachers took delight in learners’ developing language and literacy. However, the lack of signing at learners’ homes is a concern. Another category of concern is the change to a weaker academic profile of learners compared to the past.

There is a sense of ‘distrust’ between schools regarding educational practices. The group called for open collaboration and building of networks across schools to break down this distrust.

### 4.8 ‘Wrap-up’ session

There were 20 teachers present in the staff room for this pre-arranged session, which was announced as an open session for teachers during a midmorning break (30 minutes). Of the attendees, 11 had participated in a focus group session. Nine were not involved in a focus group, but completed the survey and eight (out of 16) of them submitted a journal and were welcome to be a part of this discussion. The aim of the session was to provide a platform for dialogue on the focus groups. In particular, it

offered an opportunity to share comments on the change to sign language and any of their experiences that had not been covered so far. The session was filmed and teachers were made aware beforehand that this would be the case. Several of their peers interpreted the session for the deaf teachers. The interpretation of the session into Sign Language also provided access for the researcher both during and after the session.

The psychologist opened with a rhetorical question: *'We were just wondering the other day; we talked a bit about the history of Deaf Education and so I was wondering. For some of us are asking the question: "Is history going to repeat itself, and will this phase of bilingual education go by and we will go full circle and then start all over again?"'*

That was an astute observation from a teacher who had already seen the shift from one method of instruction and its associated language policy to the change-over to the opposing pedagogy and language policy. The implication was that the sequence of events might be repeated again in reverse in the future. This wry comment was made in good humour and received as such by the staff present.

Continuing on in a more personal vein, the speaker uncovered an essential dilemma of language choices: '*I always feel torn between what parents want for their children, either to speak or to sign, or whoever is with me (a speaker or a signer) so there is politics of using each. I am always torn between both sides* [laughs].' To which one of the deaf teachers responded in Afrikaans and to the speaker directly and broadly to the teachers present that '*But I feel that we need to explain to parents that these are the methods that work and let them decide for themselves. If my child was deaf, actually, I am deaf too, I would find out what is out there and combine. I think that there is room for both methods, understand?'* For this teacher, it is not about which method is right or wrong, but what is needed and what works best for each child. As a Deaf person, she is an 'insider' and her thoughts on what she would do carry considerable authority as an insider.

By way of explanation, the Deaf teacher then added that: *'I feel that I belong here, I have a place here: as a deaf person, and now as a signer. 'There is a big change right now for Sign Language. I have nothing against South African Sign Language, but I believe in GVT. It made me think if I leave here and go to another school, [I could cope].That is how I feel.'* Her focus is not on making this school a sign language-only

school to the detriment of learners when they leave school, but that she endorses sign-supported English/Afrikaans/'GVT'. From her experience, she believes that she would cope in another school with this way of communicating. Although it was not made clear whether this meant at another school for the d/Deaf or to a mainstream school based on her experience and strengths, it would be reasonable to presume that it meant at a school for the deaf rather than a sign language-oriented school for the Deaf. This is both how she sees herself as a teacher and her feeling of pride in herself as a deaf person who can communicate with a range of people. Observation of the group indicated that this view was not unanimously supported.

The other deaf teacher added *'As the previous teacher said, she uses sign-supported speech (GVT) where both are used at the same time or only signs with no mouthing of the words and sometimes only mouthing but no signs. What I feel is that, for sure, we have to Sign, but we also have children who are depending on lipreading, we have hard-of-hearing children who need signs to support lipreading. It feels like a fight with yourself (myself): "What do we use?" From my side, it depends on the class. If I have hard-of-hearing learners in my class then I will use South African Sign Language with oral (both) but if I have deaf children in class then I use Sign Language. I need clarity: if you use South African Sign Language do you have to use 'no mouthing' or can you use mouthing with sign Language "structure"? An example in South African Sign Language is: 'DOG THERE' Do we use mouthing of 'dog' or no mouthing and only use the sign for 'dog'?* The deaf teacher expressed his confusion and raised the question with the staff: *'What is the bilingual, bicultural meaning [position] about 'mouthing' along with South African Sign Language, for teachers, learners and parents?"* This indicates a need for clarity on how to use the languages, even among Deaf teachers, as both were more vocal in expressing their concerns and difficulties among their hearing peers in the staffroom.

Returning to the first Deaf teacher, who offered her strategy and understanding of the South African Deaf Education context in Afrikaans: *'I want to add, it is true that people here feel confused in themselves, and I am also. I don't know what I can say. But when a deaf child says that he does not understand, then I let the class go on ahead then I explain to that deaf child/learner in full South African Sign Language to try and assist him. But the ideal is to have a separate class for learners where everyone is strong in SASL and another class for hard-of-hearing children. But unfortunately, our country is too poor and so we cannot do that. That is the ideal. That is what I think.'*

The session ended at this point as the challenges and complexities of teaching d/Deaf and hard-of-hearing (hoh/HH) learners emerged from the teachers' comments and stories. There was the recognition that an open conversation on sign bilingualism among teachers has been started but is not complete. There is space for more dialogue on these concerns.

## 4.9 Variations (Step 3)

### *4.9.1 Similarities*

There was agreement within and across the three focus groups and the wrap-up session on the necessity for the change, as well as emphasis on fundamental cognitive and emotional support for the introduction and implementation of sign bilingualism as the language policy and pedagogy of the school in line with the SASL CAPS curriculum. Coupled with this point is the acknowledgement of the necessity for making the change and that the mental change does not come easily. It is a transition away from past knowledge, educational practices and attitudes to a foreign paradigm and language for most teachers. Once teachers started to apply their new knowledge and skills, their stories of struggle became populated with success events that justified their initiatives in exploring unknown territory. At the same time, the focus groups picked up that these moments of success and their challenges had largely been unheard of by other teachers. In fact, in each of the focus groups, this was the first time that teachers had had the opportunity to reveal something of their experiences of the change. Since the implementation of South African Sign Language started with the preschool (Grade R), the teachers in this phase spoke of the deep sense of satisfaction of seeing the 'little ones', as they call them, acquiring a language and consequently sharing their world with them through sign language. According to these teachers, this is the most significant result and this leads the way to developing literacy skills at a level that is unheard of in their experience at this school.

Another similarity across each of the focus groups is the awareness of the diversity of learners in the classes, from signers, to hard-of-hearing and multiple disabled learners. There is the need to match the SASL CAPS curriculum to the use of sign language in the class so that everyone is included.

### *4.9.2 Differences*

The SMT focus group understandably focused on the management side of having unity through the school in terms of development and standardisation of signing. To this end, the SMT reminded themselves of the vision of the school with the question *'who are beneficiaries?*' This was answered rhetorically: '*the learners'*. The primary focus is on delivery of the new curriculum and development of sign language among teachers to effect this position.

From the younger focus group, the issue of time came up, but in a different way to that of the older focus group. In the former group, there is the concern that there is not sufficient time for teaching in English, Afrikaans, and Sign Language. This is not an issue that came up from the South African Sign Language teachers in this group. For the latter focus group, time is an issue as there are pockets of resistance particularly where Sign Language is not yet being used in the intermediate and higher grades. The teachers of these phases voiced their concerns that this was on account of the fact that their signing is not at the same level as the Foundation Phase teachers who are signing continuously because the SASL CAPS is being used in their phase. The intermediate and FET teachers are not at the same level of competence and they may also feel anxious about when the learners progress upwards to their classes.

## 4.10 Conclusion

This chapter presented the initial level of analysis of the focus groups. The groups were analysed in chronological order; SMT, Older Teachers; Younger Teachers and the wrap-up session. By virtue of also being teachers, variations in the SMT Focus Group also overlapped with the discussion in the other focus groups.

Analysis focused on the first three steps of the analysis procedure of each focus group as a separate unit. In Step 2 of the analysis procedure, concepts/units of variation are clustered into themes. In Step 3, the similarities and differences of the focus groups are critically discussed through the interpretive lens of post-audism.

Steps 4-5 of the analysis will focus on the relationships, variations, and discussion of outcome spaces in terms of power relations and the use of language (English, Afrikaans, South African Sign Language and GVT will be critically addressed). Before

entering into this second level of analysis in Chapter 9, the next chapter examines at the interviews with the principal, a Deaf male teacher and a Deaf female teacher. This is followed by the analysis (steps 1-3) of the journals in Chapter 8.

# CHAPTER 5 ANALYSIS: INTERVIEWS

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the initial analysis of the three interviews. The interviews were analysed in chronological order; the principal, the deaf male teacher, then the female deaf teacher. Analysis focussed on the second and third steps of the analysis procedure of each focus group as a separate unit and then together.

Step 2: Re-viewing the transcripts individually as separate units of variation. Examining each transcript as a whole through an interpretive lens of post-audism (Mcilroy, 2015) and a looking for un-voiced and non-dominant ways of understanding (Larson & Holmström, 2007, p. 57);

Step 3: Drawing together a preliminary list of categories of how each of the teachers articulates and understands the change to Sign Language. The similarities and differences in the experiences of the participants are interpreted through the lens of post-audism.

## 5.2 Interview 1: Principal

*1 What led to the decision to shift to sign bilingualism?*

The principal explained that, at the time of this study, the school was a *'bilingual school in terms of its language policy but it had not been yet implemented'.* As the principal elaborated, that prior to his appointment the language policy of the school was an oral school for the deaf that supported the Total Communication approach and the school had a 'silent agreement' to allow a teacher to assist a deaf learner who was not progressing via oral means. For this reason, sign language was tolerated and it helped the learner to bridge from sign language to spoken language, in the written form. This '*exploratory approach'* resulted in the formulation of the current language policy of bringing in sign language for the first time in the school's history.

The second part is the integration of the Free State and the Western Cape curriculum documents into a more structured curriculum for SASL. The principal stated that the Sign Language curriculum team from the Free State had been instrumental in

designing a curriculum that should be brought in as they already had expertise in this and it was an opportunity to develop the curriculum for SASL further. During this time, the National SASL CAPS curriculum had not yet been written and rolled-out, although it was common knowledge at the school that this was imminent. The school sought to ensure that their SASL project was in line with what would be expected in the near future with a sign bilingual approach through resource development for the national SASL CAPS. Subsequently, the National Task Team completed the SASL CAPS curriculum in late 2013 for rollout and phased implementation in Grade R-3 and Grade 9 in 2014/5, and the first cohort of Grade 12s in 2018. The author was a member of this DBE SASL CAPS Curriculum Writing Team in 2012/3.

The principal outlined that the third part of the programme is to export their SASL curriculum model and knowledge of their successes to interested African countries, which preceded the national CAPS SASL implementation. On face value, this served to validate the success of the emerging sign bilingual program and encouraged the leadership to persevere with making this a mature programme for others to use.

The principal stressed the school's position '*coming back to bilingualism, there is no question whether it works, we know it works, we have seen the evidence.'* For the principal, personally, '*I have for many years believed that something was missing'* and the sign language curriculum leading up to the CAPS SASL provided the missing piece of the communication puzzle for the principal. In addition, the principal added empathically: '*it is important that sign language is used with spoken language but not simultaneously'*. This comment moves the definition of bilingualism away from the Total Communication misunderstanding of bilingualism where using a spoken language at the same time as signing, or in this context, as GVT. In addition, it moves away from the conceptualisation of bilingualism as two strictly autonomous languages. This falls within the post-modern view of languaging and translanguaging practices in the educational context. Furthermore, the training and empowerment of teachers was logically the next step in bringing Sign Language into the school.

This comment dovetails with the theme of change, starting with teachers. Since the school was already established as an 'oral school', *'[F]or the majority of teachers, it was a big change.'* To illustrate the point, the principal compared the change to getting married. This metaphor was teased out further: *'until you are married, you don't know what it is like to be married. You have to experience it for yourself.'* Similarly, teachers

need to experience sign language for themselves. '*You might think that you know what sign language is, because you can use some of it* [using GVT], *but you do not know how it really works.'* Therefore, when teachers attended the South African Sign Language training course, they found that '*teachers now understand the linguistics, and how the language works it is so much easier for them to understand the problems that the children are facing.'* Moreover, *'it is not only a theoretical thing, but it's a practical, hands-on thing.'* This involves teachers using the correct structure and correcting the language structure of the learners in class.

In summing up the question of sign bilingualism, the principal returned to the well-established and developed oral legacy of the school and stressed the need to counterbalance the historically undeveloped domain of South African Sign Language until both modes of languages (Afrikaans/English and South African Sign Language) are equally developed and supported.

*2 What successes have you had with sign bilingualism?*

A number of points were raised, and presented here in the order that these were mentioned. Firstly, *'the most important is an awareness of the environment in which we find ourselves'.* Although this is phrased in broad terms, it implied that intolerance from a lack of understanding has persisted in many people's minds, and in society in general, about Deaf and Hard of Hearing learners and schools for the Deaf and teachers of the Deaf, is being broken down. In its place, the principal sees that from the new awareness that there is a 'greater respect and tolerance' towards the school as a whole.

Secondly, a consequence of this better understanding (from the local community, presumably) has been '*the thinking and approach of the teaching staff that has become hopefully more relevant and effective.'* This comment makes a cautious step towards the future by recognising the value and need for sign language, without alienating the legacy (and the cohort of teachers with this background) of the past. By way of quantifying the success, the improvement in literacy skills is a key indicator of progress. More specifically: '*through the programme, children are able to read properly, there is understanding of what they have read.*' For the principal, this is a breakthrough. There is a hunger and interest in books, which was only rarely seen previously in deaf

children, as they struggled to understand the text. Now, through sign language, they are able to read.'

Thirdly, on top of that, the teachers can see that a sense of self-esteem or pride has emerged in this group of readers. This awareness of the learners' dignity in turn: '*encourages the teachers by showing that all their hard work is not for nothing.'* This has cascaded into the teachers' perceptions where they are seeing *'definite signs of higher cognitive function/development through the children's ability to handle higher level questions.'* The significance of this success is that the methodology of teaching has now been able to shift away from the previous model of '*passive reception and regurgitation to more active and challenging learning at a higher level.'*

Fourthly, despite these successes, the principal added the caveat that although the school as a whole is progressing with this, it is not uniform throughout the phases as some of the phases, (such as Foundation Phase and Intermediate Phase: Grade 9) are more advanced with Sign Language and literacy than in the other phases.

*3 How far along this road do you feel the school has travelled, and how does it feel at the moment?*

In response to this question about the extent and rate of progress, the principal replied: '*That is a difficult one to answer, it varies.*' Firstly, the principal commented on the level of changes of teachers and concluded that: *'[I]t depends on individuals.'* From this, it would be fair for me to limit the making of broad summative statements about the teachers, except to say that each teacher has a unique, personal, intra-psychic journey of self-discovery of their revised place as a teacher of the deaf within the school as a sign language educational space.

From there, the principal moved onto the school as a collective, '*I would say that we have still got a long way to go.'* This suggests that within the larger educational community of practice, the principal sees that school has made progress, and that this progress is not yet complete. There is clearly more work to be done. At the time of this interview, the CAPS SASL curriculum had yet to be implemented. It was common knowledge that the CAPS implementation was imminent, and scheduled for implementation the following year, which was four months away. Nevertheless, the pilot project mirrored the first year of the implementation. In that sense, the school had

already had a taste of the SASL curriculum and had started changing in anticipation of the implementation of the long-awaited national curriculum. At the follow-up visit, the principal confirmed the literacy improvement in the Grade R and Grade 9 classes, which had fanned out into Grade 1 and Grade 10. The principal expressed his satisfaction in that there is no reason to doubt that the success achieved would continue and spread through each grade as the SASL CAPS curriculum is implemented.

5 *How has the sign language and bilingualism had an impact on literacy across the phases?*

By way of answering this question, the principal used a rhetorical question *'What do you want to achieve?'* and the response given to his own question was: '*if we want to see a transformation, then you will have to be patient'*. The difference between a transformation and a revolution is then made clear. 'A *revolution is usually destructive and costly, so one has to be careful not to destroy what you already have.'* Instead of a unilateral repudiation of the past, the principal seeks a middle path of transformation from the bottom up that preserves some of the legacy of the past. His policy is particularly aimed at pooling the existing experiences and resources of the older teachers so that these teachers are not alienated from the process of change. To do that, in the senior phases *'we have a programme where we are seriously building vocabulary [subject knowledge and content in SASL as well as spoken language].'*

Another example of building from the ground up, applies to learners. The introduction of SASL has not meant that learners have been able to explain or understand how sign language works, even though it is their language. To address this issue, teachers have become more knowledgeable about the linguistics of SASL and can use this knowledge and skills in the class. *'The picture is changing, learners can now talk about their own language, and how this is part of their identity and culture. This is part of the awareness that the school needs to keep in mind: of the two cultures (Deaf and hearing cultures) running in parallel.'* To emphasize this point, *'you cannot divorce hearing culture from Deaf culture or the other way around.'* The metaphor of a marriage is repeated here and makes a salient point about the inter-connectedness of the cultures co-existing within the school. By extension, both cultures also have their own literature and literacy aspects to nourish and pass onto the next generation. In the case of SASL, signacy is a unique feature that is now being given space to develop within a hearing

cultural space. According to the principal, the focus is on building both cultures and languages. It would therefore be counter-productive to dismantle everything that has been achieved so far. Implicitly, the principal is taking the position that neither oral nor sign language by itself was pedagogically sufficient for literacy development. Instead, it is argued that both teachers and learners can move forward where there is equality of languages.

The principal added an observation of how the concept of 'Deaf space' had emerged in the design of buildings that are deaf-friendly in ways that were not thought of twenty years ago. The concept of 'Deaf space' was used here to illustrate the progress made in technology and linguistics that *'we should look at these and use these advances where we can'.* Speaking on two levels, practically in terms of the physical structure of the school, *'these buildings are old and there's a culture and a history that never really considered the needs of the deaf completely. In some aspects, it has but I also think that with the changes that have come about one rethinks how things should be changed and then you put your resources towards that to modernise it.'* Simultaneously, on a metaphorical level, the teaching staff who have been at the school for many years is similar to the older structure and modernisation of their attitudes and practices is needed in establishing the new hybrid bilingual Deaf space.

The principal added a humorous aside '*some of the school's forefathers would probably turn in their graves!'* Under his leadership, the school has embarked on a radical change to embracing sign language that is in direct opposition to his oralist predecessors. Then, by way of vindicating the policy change, the principal recounted a story of a breakthrough with a Grade 1 learner who had no capability of developing speech. However, with the teacher signing to him, the learner is now understanding and communicating, despite coming to the school late and without language. '*Alongside this learner was a learner who had sufficient hearing and could speak. The teacher now has the skills to give both of the learners the linguistic access they need'.* The linguistic access through sign language and spoken and written language marks the school's shift away from the past of providing only an oral-centric education. The principal stated that *'the ideal would be to have a full-time interpreter to give the kind of access that we have in this interview [with an interpreter present]'.*

6 *Tell me about the adjustment that teachers have made with the change of the language policy.*

The first change that the principal noticed was that '[*I]t's very evident in their teaching practice'.* On top of that, the principal emphasised that for leading and managing the older teachers '*there is no sense in trying to force them into a particular direction.'* Despite this comment, the teachers know where the school is going and they are not forced to stay if they do not want to. However, it is a condition that teachers move in the same direction as the school is going. On this point, the principal has observed '*this is happening to a greater or lesser degree depending on the person, and that all of the teachers have embraced what is happening'.* The principal then elaborated on his role and philosophy behind teachers' transition: *'What makes sense is to continuously have discussions with them and to challenge their thinking and to place alternative ideas in front of them and to nudge them in a particular direction because that is how you ensure that there's accessibility to the information that is necessary for transformation'.* This respectful dialogue between principal and teachers aligns with transformative praxis and power of an empathetic 'servant leader' (Greenleaf, 1977, p.10).

The principal contributed a personal observation: '*what I have noticed without any exceptions is that to a greater and lesser degree depending on the person, teachers have all started to embrace what has happened.'* This indicates that the current cohort of teachers has made the requisite change to fit into the school's new language policy and practices of sign bilingualism and compliance with the CAPS SASL curriculum. For this reason, as the principal explained, school leadership '*needs to create a context. The change must not happen in a void. It is not a philosophical, intangible matter, teachers need to see the significance and understand it. Then they will 'buy into' the change*.' This indicates that from the principal's view that successful change happens when there is an intentional movement into a new system and not merely an abandonment of the past. To paraphrase the principal's view: coercion is not his principal's *modus operandi* for driving the change in teachers. Instead, the leadership model that has been adopted is to create understanding of the new system and its significance. When both of these aspects are grasped by the people who use it, then it can succeed. Again, the need for dialogue for understanding is underscored as a necessary condition of a successful transformation away from an old towards a new paradigm.

The principal introduced the metaphor of finding the right kind of vehicle for your needs, which brought the conversation back to the core focus of the school; *'we can never be*

*too proud to make the changes as it is not about us, it is about them, the children'*. The key concept of this metaphor of vehicle is on 'matching needs': '*if we agree on what the needs of the children are, and we need to understand what we are struggling with currently, then we need to make changes.'* Extrapolating from this comment it would seem that, school leadership has identified that sign language is a foundational communication and educational need of d/Deaf children. Similarly, teachers across the phases need to embrace the changes that will address this need.

The principal said that associated with making the changes *'is the challenge of leading teachers, and in particular, to take them out of their comfort zones.'* More specifically, '*maybe this sounds a bit drastic, but if people are not experiencing discomfort, then I am worried.'* In this context, the teachers who have been at the school for a long time and have been through the oral [audist] period need to be supported through their discomfort arising from with the transition to sign language. At the same time, the principal was both empathetic with teachers making the change and their concerns and struggles, as well as being emphatic that the direction of this change was neither negotiable nor reversible. The school has made the decision to adopt sign language. It is now up to teachers to make the necessary changes to fit in, with all the available support of the SMT. From the principal's perspective, teachers who do not make the kind of changes to their teaching to fit into the school's sign bilingual policy by staying within their established comfort zones will be challenged to make the necessary commitment to change and show clear evidence in their teaching that supports their transformation to fully supporting sign bilingualism, or they should leave.

*7 Where do you see the school going in the next year, five years and in the longer-term?*

The principal rephrased this question as '*the big picture?'* This is broadly what was expected from this question, in more colloquial terms. In addition to the 'mind-shift matter', the principal focused on the internal debate at the school on 'the extent to which literacy in English should be expanded, as up until now Afrikaans literacy has been the predominant literacy. However, along with the policy change to sign language, there is also a growing influx of deaf learners from English-speaking areas of the Cape Province. The school's residential facilities make the school an attractive locale for a greater range of learners. For the school, the struggle revolves around '*how*

*to transfer the bilingualism methodology and strategy that we are using in Afrikaans literacy to build English literacy.'*

A second point made was that *'[S]ome schools are making use of a phonological programme and it has its advantages, but it also has its disadvantages. I tend to think we need to be focusing more on morphological techniques'*. Diplomatically, the principal makes two points in this comment. Firstly, the decision to move to sign language has been made, and secondly, the stress is placed *'more on morphological techniques'.* This creates space for sign language and spoken languages to co-exist rather than enforcing a categorical shift to only having sign language.

Although this interview happened prior to the official roll-out of the CAPS SASL curriculum, the school had nonetheless mirrored the roll-out schedule of implementing SASL in the Foundation Phase and had planned to spread the curriculum through the higher phases in anticipation of the official CAPS SASL curriculum implementation.

The principal outlined that '*that in three to five years there will be an expansion of the bilingual program, by strengthening it, streamlining it and making it more effective.'* Bearing in mind that this observation was made one year prior to the official implementation of SASL CAPS, there is a strong sense of the bilingualism journey being the pedagogy of the school for the medium term.

Taking a longer-term view, the principal sees that sign language and bilingual pedagogy will expand: *'the marketing of the sign bilingualism programme/curriculum to the rest of Africa is going to happen. Africa is moving south, the deaf youth are moving south, they are saying there are opportunities here, so they want to be trained and they're coming here. So that's a very big picture I believe'*. Instead of a de-colonialist invasion of Sign Language, the principal endorses the view that the expansion of Sign Language is driven by the desire of others schools to have it. In short, the strength of this educational approach is that it is not imposed on people. Instead, sign bilingualism is there by invitation on account of having 'won the hearts and minds' of practitioners and learners with a consensual dialogical approach that builds both sides of the educational relationship (teachers and learners).

8 *What would you say that schools need to do, or not do, to implement the bilingualism approach? What would you suggest?*

The first suggestion that the principal makes is '*the key to success would be the staff: teachers.'* More specifically, teachers need to be skilled [as signers] and to have the required [pedagogical] knowledge.' To fit into a sign bilingual-oriented school, teachers would ideally also *'have uncontaminated experience'*. Some teachers may have been influenced and contaminated by other teachers prior to coming to this school. Consequently, '*these teachers first need to unlearn their current knowledge and beliefs* [epistemology] *so that they can learn something new.*' This observation connects with the i-PTSD model (Mcilroy, 2015) of the difficulty that is frequently the case with more experienced teachers who struggle to make the change by relinquishing their audist thinking and knowledge and adopting sign bilingualism later in their teaching career. By implication, teachers who are not affected by previous experience are preferred, and this applies to new teachers who have received teacher training in sign bilingualism and have not been influenced by audist approaches.

The principal lamented that: '*the tragedy [is] that [many] parents are far away and do not have easy access and this makes it difficult for them to become more involved.'* The principal revisited the point that the residential nature of the school has an early intervention benefit for boarders.

At the time of the interview, the SASL Project was under way and one of the priorities before the imminent rollout of CAPS SASL was to *'provide relevant teaching material and the standardisation of signs and subject terminology from a representative sample of signers who can assist with this process.'*

With regards to staffing, the principal recommended that '*all staff need to be skilled but you need to dedicate a post to South African Sign Language, as with other languages, as a subject.'* This indicates that Sign Language is given a clear position within the school as an official subject and therefore is taken seriously at all levels.

While on this point, the principal offered the advice*: 'do not assume that because a teacher knows (speaks/signs) the language that they can teach it. A Deaf person is not necessarily the best person to employ, but could be the best person if he/she knows the linguistics of the language.'*

From there, the principal added sagely: *'Be careful, you are working with people, they are not objects. When you talk about a language you're talking about an identity, a culture, a community, so one has to be careful, and respectful about it.'* This comment reinforces relationship building and respect for people as a core objective of the principal's function as a transformative leader.

Lastly, '*I think there's a lot of research necessary. Something that I would like to see undertaken as an integral part of the five-year programme is to acquire stories from deaf people: What's happened over a period of time in schools for the Deaf in South Africa? On Deaf people that were there, what kind of experiences, have they had? On the older generation grew up without TV, without cell phones, without Internet. Let's first document that because the generation coming through now have other stories to tell.'* It is imperative that the literature that is out there is documented because *'at the moment we are creating stuff which is fine, but if we have the biographies and real stories of real experiences from real Deaf people that will have a great impact on the learning process: it's all there.'* Schools for the Deaf need to record these stories so that these can be used as prescribed material in classes. Furthermore, it will be important during the next ten years of the bilingual project to document the stories of the current cohort of learners on '*their school experiences and how their teachers helped them.'*

The principal is already convinced that this school must be doing something right. He elaborated on this by saying metaphorically that: '*Deaf Education has been in the pot, the cooking pot for a long time where allegedly the things were all done wrongly. It is also time that people started looking at what has been done well, done correctly.' Hence, it is essential that changes be made, as the past Deaf Education approach has not generated the anticipated level of results, especially in literacy.* Having said the above, this is probably as close to an apology that the principal is in the position to offer to the past generations of learners. The principal explained that his actions, and those of the school as well as those of sign bilingualism *'will be judged by the results of the products - the children must be literate and function well,' as the core measurement of success.*

Associated with success is the area of mental health, *'[b]ut we cannot exclude that from any discussion when we talk about education, and, more specifically, in our case, Deaf Education. But that's another topic altogether.*' The principal highlighted the

importance of mental health on teaching and learning of deaf learners: '*What is his/her state of mind?"*

Moving further into the mental health issue, the principal described the lifestyle challenges on-campus, even though the principal was aware of commenting on camera: '*whether I am on-camera or not, it does not matter, bilingualism in the hostels is a greater challenge because it is not possible to have d/Deaf people only as supervisors. The risk is too high. You need to have some hearing people there to perform certain essential functions.'* This comment speaks of the multilingual complexity of bilingualism in hostels. Being a multilingual community is therefore essential for coping as an active [sign bilingual] deaf citizen.

The principal returned to outline what he saw as the central principle behind attaining success: '*you cannot take anybody where you are not able to go yourself. You cannot tell children you must go there and then you don't go there yourself- that is the crux to developing a higher level of thinking and communicating.' You need to go there and lead them there.'* This speaks of the scaffolding function inherent in the socio-constructivist mind-set of teachers of scaffolding (Vygotsky, 1978) that happens as a result of an emerging language base for thinking. This applies to learners, teachers, hostel parents, and deaf teaching-assistants where each is expected to '*get in line with the school's programme and languages'.* Having said that, the principal concluded with *'we try to select and retain teachers and deaf teaching-assistants with a particular aptitude and particular temperament as a language and educational role model and we've been fortunate with many of them. However, some of them, we had to let go because they didn't understand, they didn't develop into it. Possibly they had another agenda'.*

To sum up the principal's viewpoint, a school for the Deaf is a very intense environment to be in where much is expected of teachers in order to fit into the sign bilingual perspective. The metaphor of a marriage was invoked as a way of describing the kind of committed relationship that teachers need to have with the learners and the school.

*9 Anything else you would like to add that is related to the change that the school is going through?*

The principal closed with the reminder that '*the dialogue [of change] has to speak to the issue of continuity and the link from class to hostel, from hostel to social, from social to home like in a circular movement and it's fragmented for most of our children in many ways. It sounds very simplistic to speak about bilingualism [as a language programme] but it's a holistic issue. It is the essence of life, which you do not necessarily see when you are busy with a child. Education is a spiritual issue. You need to tread carefully, respectfully. A school is 'holy ground'; you're working with the future.'* Therefore, teachers, principal and the SMT have a sacrosanct responsibility of continuing the dialogue as d/Deaf learners lives are at stake.

### 5.3 Categories of Description (Interview 1: Principal)

One of the potential categories that emerges is that the validity and efficacy of sign language and the pedagogy of bilingualism are beyond dispute as this premised upon the earlier works of Reagan, Penn, and Ogilvy, (2006 p. 193) that validated the existence of SASL as a natural sign language. And thereafter, the development and spread of the bilingual model in educational policies (South African Constitution of 1996, School Act of 84 of 1996, Language in Education Act of 1997, and more recently the gazetted CAPS SASL policy statement of as the foundation for growth and protection of multilingualism in South Africa (2006, p. 196-8). What stands out here is that the principal confirms that this debate over SASL and sign bilingualism is over. From the principal's point of view, in the language of Fullan's change-agent (2002), as a critical thinker and visionary leader that sees beyond the immediate policy matters (Fullan, 2002). This leads to the focus of school leadership is on implementation of SASL and sign bilingualism for the moral purpose of developing deaf learners.

Two related but distinct themes emerged: the first is that the shift to South African Sign Language needs to be experienced. It is a personal journey for each teacher to embark upon with the support of the school leadership. Since teachers have been recognised here and placed in the foreground, this is key to the transformation. Teachers need to be out of their comfort zone, and moving along with the school is central to teachers becoming better signers and better teachers of the Deaf. This is a proof of their investment in the transformation of the school which is being rebuilt as a re-imagined sign bilingual Deaf space, both metaphorically and educationally through the teachers and physically through re-designing of the buildings to meet the new educational praxis of sign bilingualism.

Secondly, the success of the transformation will be measured objectively through the improvement in literacy, in Afrikaans, and in English. This target requires making space for both of the spoken languages to co-exist along with sign language. A balance is needed where there is respect for the languages and their associated cultures.

In the same way, developing and sustaining of respect for teachers and their 'state of mind' is propaedeutic to the transformation project of the school. Since, transformation is not about objects, but about people, their stories of this intense process of transformation need to be documented.

The theme of the school as a cohesive, holistic educational structure came through. To maintain this, the legacy and strengths of the past needs to be integrated into the present so that the school has a long term future with South African Sign Language and the sign bilingualism pedagogy.

Lastly, and possibly the keystone theme, is that of the sanctity of the education of deaf learners which imagines teachers as 'gatekeepers' of knowledge, values and learning, needs to be fostered and nurtured.

### 5.4 Interview 2: Male Deaf Teacher

The interview was conducted by arrangement on 3 August 2013 in his classroom. A HD video camera was set up to record the interviewee and the interviewer in the same frame. The interviewee was invited to use whatever language he preferred and by mutual consent, the interviewee used a mixture of GVT (*Gebare Versterkte Taal)* and 'contact signing' with sign language structure used and mouthing (silently) of Afrikaans words. Initially, GVT was used more [marked] frequently, but as the interview progressed and the interviewee relaxed and felt comfortable with the interviewer's signing and positionality as a signer, then more contact signing was used till the end. Also at beginning of the interviewer used more signed English for maximum communication accessibility and understanding and used contact signing with mouthing of English words. After the 31-minute interview, a professional South African Sign Language interpreter into written English transcribed the video. The transcript was checked by the interviewer and subsequently by the interviewee for accuracy and flow

of the written transcription. The teacher had 10 years of experience in teaching Intermediate Phase Maths and Science to Deaf and hard-of-hearing learners.

1 *The school is implementing South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism now, how do you feel about that?*

The teacher replied that he feels positive about the change from the past of oral approach to sign language. He was also pleased that more teachers are learning and using South African Sign Language. '*When I came here, I was already teaching in sign language. Most of the teachers did not know 'the language'. Now, on Fridays, I teach a South African Sign Language class.'*

Then, for clarity, the teacher explained his background and feeling towards Sign Language '*For me, sign language is special. I was born hard of hearing and my parents are deaf. Therefore, I grew up signing. I went to an oral school for the deaf, but back at home I learnt and used sign language fully at home.'* For him, South African Sign Language was his first language, although it is unclear whether his parents went to the same school as he did and were educated orally. Regardless, it was clear that his language at home was South African Sign Language. Despite this early exposure from his parents, he added *'however, I did not formally learn the rules of South African Sign Language, I did not know the rules, and I just signed.'* His knowledge of the linguistics of South African Sign Language was acquired during his involvement in the Sign Language Project prior to the implementation of CAPS SASL and the associated in-service training.

2. *When you came here in 2004, what did you see?*

The teacher noticed that '*there were teachers signing, or trying to sign, but they were dropping information as they did not know the sign for something so they were using oral language with signs added a lot'.*

3 *What has changed at the school?*

The first comment that the teacher made was that *'there is a lot of change'* and he attributed the change to 'South African *Sign Language' which is now more formal, I*

*mean that as teachers know more South African Sign Language, their understanding of South African Sign Language structure gets better.'*

Secondly, because of this change in language policy, '*if a teacher doesn't know a sign he/she would ask. There are books and DVDs to refer to and look up the signs and the materials are there.' Also,* when teachers who used signed Afrikaans, did not know the sign for a word, *'in the past they would call me, and sometimes I did not know the sign for the word and I had to say "Sorry, I don't know*"'. For a Deaf person, not knowing the signs put him in an awkward position, but also highlighted the problematic legacy of many deaf adults who had an oral education with the concomitant dearth of South African Sign Language knowledge that mirrors the socio-economic finding by Reagan, Penn and Ogilvy (2006 p. 190, 191). Hence, being deaf is not a necessary condition to being a fluent signer. Likewise, the teacher's parents despite being deaf also lacked the necessary knowledge of South African Sign Language as a language for education. But, he argues that *'the Sign Language Project focused on developing signs for words we didn't have signs for, and this becomes the material we use to teach in class. So far things have become better.'* There was a positive reaction to the change which this teacher hopes will continue. Whether this is the voice of a realist who does not want to have unrealistic expectations of the change to South African Sign Language, or of a cynical teacher who has been through the pain of isolation as a deaf person in a previously audist-focused school, is unknown at this stage.

The most recent change has been to introduce South African Sign Language, '*we did not have sign language in the past. We had an oral system where sign language was used for support only by hard-of-hearing learners*.' Signed Afrikaans/English (*Gebare Versterkte Taal)* and Total Communication (TC) were the ways that sign language was used. This accurate depiction from an insider [past learner at De La Bat during the oral period] matches with what was found by Reagan, Penn and Ogilvy (2006, p. 191). This appears to be a consequence of South African Sign Language was not fully accepted or permitted as a language in the school's language policy, nor was it fully used at that time. Up to now, GVT and TC has been used primarily as a bridge between hearing teachers and hard-of-hearing learners which is problematic in that it is a narrow practice that excludes others and runs counter to the school's current language policy of South African Sign Language and sign bilingual pedagogy.

The third change occurred when '*teachers realised that they needed to use correct South African Sign Language structure and switched off their voices and used only a little mouthing'. Now teachers teach using correct sign language structure to help learners understand things better.'* With the mouthing of Afrikaans and English words, there is an interesting inversion happening. As the teacher explained*: 'in the past, oral language preceded signing [as happened with GVT]. Now it is the case that sign language precedes the oral language.'*

*4 In your classes, has the level of literacy improved?*

Up until the introduction of the South African Sign Language, the teacher noticed that there had not been a marked swing in literacy either upwards or downwards. Instead, the teacher said the literacy level '*moved both ways. It hasn't really gone down but is rather going on at the same level with signs of improvement now and again. Now it is growing well.'* He attributed the growth spurt in literacy to *'teachers teaching learners V-O-C-A-B-U-L-A-R-Y in Sign Language'*.

Briefly, the teacher explained how he teaches: '*Usually I give them the words, and then I give them the signs so that learners get the meaning. Although, sometimes I start by signing then explain the written word if they cannot make the connection [between the word in print and the sign or vice versa]'.*

*5 With the introduction of South African Sign Language, how have hearing teachers changed?*

This question was answered in two parts, broadly, then more specifically about the school's language policy that recognises sign language in education*. 'Most of the hearing teachers here like learning South African Sign Language, but we have one or two who are against it.'* That may sound contradictory to the school policy of having sign language in place now (a controversial point). The teacher went on to clarify this situation: *'and that's normal because they have been here for years teaching orally. However, they like signing because even though they are more oral, they add signs here and there when they speak, meaning they use 'oral-supported Sign Language'*. So that is what they do here.' As a Deaf teacher, he sees that the majority of hearing teachers have a positive attitude towards the change to South African Sign Language. '*The majority [of hearing teachers] are fine. They want to learn South African Sign*

*Language so they are busy with learning South African Sign Language'*. From his perspective as a signer, he sees that *'when they speak faster they use spoken and signs meaning that they will use full spoken words with signs here and there. I don't think people fully understand that though'.*

This may be a part of the process of adapting to sign language and there is an uncomfortable phase of language mixing which is compromised by the teacher's incomplete and inadequate knowledge and skills in SASL at this stage. As a result, according to the Deaf teacher, as hearing teachers speak faster in class, they revert to using their speech and voice more and drop more signs. At the same time, the teacher added that each teacher is in a different place when it comes to signing. Some are more advanced and others are still reluctant to let go of speaking completely because their signing skills are not yet on par with their spoken language for them to enable them to sign with their voice-off.

The teacher acknowledged that learning South African Sign Language is difficult for the current teachers at the school, and added, "*when new teachers come they must be committed to South African Sign Language'*. As a Deaf teacher, for him, it is self-evident that new teachers should be fully committed to learning South African Sign Language. This does not mean that new teachers have to be fully fluent, but they need to have the necessary commitment to fully support their learning of South African Sign Language. He believes that South African Sign Language proficiency needs to be a criteria of the language policy and of teaching at this school and this needs to be enforced, because if they are coming to a Deaf School they must know South African Sign Language. Conversely, '*if they don't want to learn South African Sign Language then they shouldn't be here.'*

6 *There are two Deaf teachers at the school, how do you feel about that?*

To begin with, he described himself in the words: *"[F]or me, I am Hard-of-Hearing, when there are presentations I lip-read and listen, and that's fine.'* As a Hard-of-Hearing teacher with Deaf parents, he has been exposed to South African Sign Language as a home language and has access to spoken Afrikaans and English. It would be more accurate to describe him with his South African Sign Language background and spoken language skills as a sign bilingual Deaf person.

Introspectively, the teacher pondered on the point about how Deaf teachers would cope in the school: '*But I think other people, teachers or assistant teachers who are Deaf sometimes miss things, in meetings or round-table discussions, there is no signing there, it's in an oral language.'* This would be an area of concern and the staff meetings would have to be re-structured to fully integrate Deaf teachers who are completely reliant on South African Sign Language. Presently, he said that both deaf teachers can manage: '*But my colleague with cochlear implant and I can follow things fairly well. But if it [the meeting/conversation/discussion] is too fast, then we rely on the teacher who is signing [for us]. Sometimes, I listen and if I don't follow then I look at the interpreter.'* Fortunately, the principal helps as well "*when things are spoken too fast, he makes a special effort to make sure that we are ok'.* This arrangement works well, and demonstrates the respect and awareness of the principal and staff towards including both deaf teachers in everything, even though both teachers explained that they can hear a reasonable amount in meetings. Nevertheless, hearing teachers need to be mindful that even with assistive devices used by Deaf teachers their full grasp of the message should not be assumed. The Deaf teacher is aware of the high-visibility profile that both of them have among the teaching staff as deaf teachers among the predominantly hearing teaching staff.

*7 Do you want to see more Deaf teachers here?*

Without hesitation, he replied *'Yes they can come, it will be very good'.* Speaking metaphorically, '*the door is now open'.* In the same vein as with hearing teachers, the teacher emphasised that deaf teachers must also be '*people who want to be here.'* This response contains the tacit understanding that even the deaf teachers need to fit into the school as a South African Sign Language medium school. This is possibly a pragmatic response to the difficulty of sourcing Deaf teachers who can sign fluently given the legacy of the oral education that many may have been exposed to. Being deaf is not an automatic requirement for employment in the school as a Deaf teacher. He mentioned that he knows at least one potential candidate as a Deaf teacher who meets the criteria.

On the other hand, speaking on behalf of the other Deaf teacher and himself, having profoundly deaf teachers would significantly change the educational space of the school. The way this teacher sees it is '*it will be a challenge for both us, because there will always have to be an interpreter.'* In itself, this would bring a radical change to the

staff and the school and even for the Deaf teacher who commented that '*I like my hearing-aids'.*

*8 What are some of the challenges you have as a Deaf teacher?*

For the teacher, being a Deaf person makes teaching Deaf learners rewarding but also challenging: '*they do not look at me as their teacher but as their equal: like we are friends.'* Although this is a sign of connection as members of the Deaf community, it is a problematic relationship in the classroom. While he is not seen as the same as other (hearing) teachers, he expects the same level of respect and discipline where '*they should look up to me as a teacher. This is why I teach them to use my surname, and not my first name and I tell them repeatedly: "I am your teacher, not your friend".'*

This may appear to be a harsh response, but outside of school, it is acceptable to be friendly. However, within the school context, he holds the view that there needs to be a different kind of relationship between Deaf teachers and d/Deaf/HH learners where the teacher holds, by virtue of having earned it, their respect for his position of authority as their signing educator. For this reason, it is sometimes difficult to discipline some learners because he thinks they still see him as their [deaf] friend. On the other hand, '*it is also good for me because they [learners] are open with me. They are free to ask me anything, and sometimes this goes off topic in class.* This indicates that the identity of a Deaf teacher with d/Deaf/HH learners is a fluidly constructed, negotiated, emergent, and possibly unresolved or undefined deaf bilingual identity.

Another challenge for him is the administration tasks required of teachers. He felt that the training at teacher's college did not prepare him for these when he arrived in the classroom. While this is a typical challenge for all teachers, for deaf teachers an area needs attention during teacher education. This is where the legacy of under-preparedness of deaf adults for post-school work becomes apparent.

Another challenge raised was the issue of meetings; '*I miss out on discussions. But I have learnt that if I miss something I raise my hand and ask for clarity and the teaching staffs is good about explaining it again to me.'* Usually, there is someone at meetings who interprets for him and his deaf colleague. Often, a younger teacher who could sign well would step in to assist the deaf teachers, either by request or on a demand basis.

Frequently, a teacher would interpret for them without being asked to ensure that both deaf teachers were included in the meetings.

For him, a challenge particular to teaching was explained: '*when I explain something and some of the learners are not focussing. Ordinarily, I sign, so I expect them to watch so that they can understand. But some of them do not concentrate. They look all over the place so they miss things I have said.*' From his perspective, this problem is that: '*in the past they were taught orally so they were used to focussing.'* However, for deaf and hard-of-hearing learners this was a difficult, and tiring but an essential discipline to master. It seems that 'South African *Sign Language gives them access, but now they look around a lot and ignore me as a teacher. I don't know why!'* One possible explanation offered is that learners are revelling in the freedom from the chains of discipline of focussing on the teachers, but some have not yet shifted this discipline to sign language on the assumption that sign language is easy for them because it is 'their language'. However, the learners still need to focus on the signer and keep eye contact to follow the conversation.

Another challenge is when a class is disrupted by a learner who is unwilling to learn because of something that happened outside and they bring their problems into the class but refuse to focus on the work. When the teacher asks them what is the problem, then they open up because they know that he understand them and they respect him as a deaf adult. This is not a frequent event but rather an unusual event that only happens occasionally.

*9 What excited you about teaching?*

For this teacher the core reason for entering and enjoying teaching is that '*I am excited about teaching because both my parents are deaf, and because of that I don't think of this as just teaching but looking after them [Deaf learners] to ensure they improve and get a better life.'* Embedded in this comment is the metaphor of himself as a custodian or guardian of the next generation of deaf learners. This metaphor is developed further through his realisation of his vision as a Deaf *teacher 'because I have 'Sign Language' skills and I am a qualified teacher.'* The teacher recalled how he came into teaching at a [oral] school for the deaf, and '*I thought to myself "'I am a signer, why not teach sign language?" I remember when I was doing my Grade 12. There was a teacher here who asked me "Why don't you become a teacher?" Later on, when I was an [Deaf*

*Teaching] Assistant and I was supporting teachers in terms of South African Sign Language and so on, that was when I decided to become a teacher. That is why I became a teacher, to support the d/Deaf and help teach them so that they become better, so that when they move out into the hearing world so they know how to do things in life and to stand on the their own.'*

From his experience, as a Deaf person and as a teacher, he saw that d/Deaf learners have low expectations of their future. *'There needs to be a mind change and it's good to think bigger. Now they think like that because they understand what I am saying. That's why I am here as a Deaf teacher: to teach them to think bigger'.* The arrival of South African Sign Language at the school has brought in a fresh awareness of what d/Deaf learners can do and is expanding their future. Nevertheless, this teacher is facing the old-way of thinking that persists among d/Deaf learners, which is an underlying expectation of under-achievement. At the same time, learners are expected to work harder and there is a natural reluctance to do that unless the benefits are both tangible and viable.

10 *What are your thoughts on the school's shift to South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism?*

The teacher repeated the word 'bilingual' and asked for a pause for a moment to think about this question, even though the topic of the interview was introduced prior to the session. His position on being pro-sign language has already been made clear, and he used this as his starting point: '*the focus has been on sign language, but now on the other hand, we have some learners who are hard-of-hearing or 'oral' and these learners need to use their voices. On the other hand, Deaf learners do not need to use their voices when communicating [in SASL] so you [as teacher] have to 'voice-off' when signing to them.'* He summed it up as '*these are two different areas.'* From here, the teacher elaborated on the dilemma that Hard-of-Hearing learners face '*at home when they try to sign with their parents they are told, "No, I am hearing" by their parents. These kids say "But at school I am being taught to use South African Sign Language so I need to sign". Then how do these children communicate?'* Inasmuch as the teacher raised the problem, he also offered a solution: '*That means children are expected to be bilingual.'* And he stressed both the importance and the value of doing both languages '*because they use South African Sign Language to learn and communicate at school and they need an oral language to read and write [literacy] at*

*home and outside school. Both languages are important.'* This reiterates the necessity of having linguistic equality and re-defines sign bilingualism in line with this principle.

The current situation is the result, in his view, '*because in the past we didn't have sign language now we put more focus on South African Sign Language to bring it up on a par with Afrikaans/English.'* This insight into the current linguistic imbalance led the teacher to conclude that *'now we can have a balance in future, with South African Sign Language and an oral language [Afrikaans and/or English] for reading and writing on the other side, as equal [languages]'.*

The teacher is hopeful about the future of the school in that he sees that '*we will have both sign language and be bilingual'*. More specifically, *'in Foundation Phase they teach South African Sign Language and use South African Sign Language as a bridge into written language.'* This is the model that he supports and expects in time that this will be done in the High School (FET phase) too. '*The high school teachers need to learn how it works, the structure and so on. That is where we need to improve for the future.'* In the meantime, he hopes that: *'we can continue putting more focus on South African Sign Language teaching so that the teachers can improve their South African Sign Language [skills] and be even better.'* In this way, the successful implementation of Sign Language gains momentum.

In summary, this Deaf teacher thinks, *'for teachers to be effective bilingual teachers, they must learn South African Sign Language as well as teach learners how to read and write. For most hard-of-hearing, oral deaf learners, literacy [and signacy] is important, plus possibly contact signing.'*

### 5.5 Categories of Description (Interview 2: Male Deaf Teacher)

Despite being a deaf person with Deaf parents, the endorsement of sign language was not automatic, and the change to becoming a fluent sign language user and teacher took time, as it was not already in place already. As the school changed, the teacher undertook a journey of discovery involving the complexity of using South African Sign Language. One of the difficulties for this teacher was the issue of 'mouthing' of words so that everyone could follow, but there is a degree of doubt as this practice, when taken too far, reverts and supports the abolished Total Communication practice. Even for a Deaf person, the teacher discovered that old (audist) habits are persistent. This

teacher articulated the need for clarity on what constitutes good classroom communicative practices where there is a diversity of d/Deaf learners.

Being in the public eye as a Deaf teacher is a consequence of this change, and it has both positive and negative aspects, which were articulated.

Being seen as a teacher who signs are essential to his identity as a Deaf person. This marks a shift away from being seen by deaf learners 'as one of them' to that of being seen as a deaf teacher and as a 'professional'. Being a professional teacher means that it is imperative that as a teacher, he does not miss important things at meetings. Although the school shows an awareness of its deaf teachers as Deaf teachers, this is also new territory for both teachers and the staff. Consequently, the accommodation of Deaf teachers is in need of additional support, which cannot be assumed sufficient. Regarding Deaf teachers, this teacher is aware that his rights of access to Sign Language are being taken seriously here, but there is an acknowledgement that deaf teachers have to take the responsibility themselves for ensuring that communication with them is clear at all times.

The change of the language policy of the school to South African Sign Language has also resulted in this teacher's understanding that the interaction of the three languages into a matrix of languaging (Garcia & Cole, 2014, p. 104) that includes the diversity of sign bilingual deaf learners as well as taking into account the wide diversity of languages used at home. Key to this multilingual matrix is the reminder to have the languages on an equal level. This signifies a need for the school to avoid taking South African Sign Language to an extreme and thus making SASL an alienating force by reverting to monolingualism. Instead, bilingualism needs to promote equality and linguistic and cultural respect. This insight marries well with the dynamic sign/deaf bilingual model and pedagogy as outlined by Humphries (2013).

### 5.6 Interview 3: Female Deaf Teacher

The interview was conducted by arrangement on 2nd August 2013 in the female Deaf teacher's classroom. A HD video camera was set up to record the interviewee and the interviewer in the same shot. The interviewee was invited to use whatever language she preferred and by mutual consent, the interviewee used a mixture of GVT (*Gebare Versterkte Taal)* and 'contact signing' where the interviewer used more sign language

features than spoken language (predominantly Afrikaans) for maximum communication accessibility and understanding between interviewee and interviewer. Likewise, the interviewee shifted from initially using GVT to 'contact signing' with Afrikaans mouthing as the interview progressed as a likely consequence of increasing familiarity with the interviewer and her greater confidence with contact signing to express herself with vulnerability and with the kind of accuracy with she uses to communicate in class. The interview lasted fifteen minutes. The video was transcribed from Afrikaans and 'contact signing' into written English. The transcript was checked by the interviewer and later by interviewee on the third visit to the school.

*1 Tell me about your teaching experiences*

The teacher described her teaching load and the challenges she experiences as a maths teacher. For her, being a Mathematics teacher is challenging because: *'typically, learners hate Mathematics and by extension, they hate me a little too'*. However, she said she would not give up on them because she is a deaf person who can do Mathematics. She elaborated on that by saying that, *'the problem [for deaf learners] is that language is a big problem. Normally maths does not have much language, but in the FET Phase, there is a lot of reading and comprehension [in English/Afrikaans] required.* Despite this, she explained that she works around this now by recording the questions on video camera.

The teacher gave an example of her practice*: '[F]irst I sign, then I speak Afrikaans, then the English [text] is interpreted on the laptop into SASL, by then the learners are ready to write the local/district exams in maths. But I do not interpret for the Grade 9's because I have confidence that they can do it by themselves. But there are many learners who struggle with maths and I help them: I lift out the key words [English] for example: 'Calculate the circumference' and I go through what that means, and do it with them, and I use capitals, bold, underlining and examples until they catch, catch, catch the meaning.'* The teacher then used contact signing to explain her teaching method. The teacher explained that even though her way of teaching is to sign, talk and write, she was aware that: *'I don't explain it the full sign bilingual way*.' Her understanding of sign bilingualism is in line with the notion of maintaining language separation. But this teacher used contact signing frequently as a way of navigating between the languages as seen by Marschark and Lee (2014). There is a sense of guilt with not being a 'fully bilingual' teacher, heightened by being a Deaf teacher.

For her, the ideal class would have learners who are strong in Sign Language in one class and those who are strong in spoken Afrikaans in another class. But the teacher explained that this does not happen. There is a wide diversity of learners in her classes which complicates teaching and learning: '*there are children here who use 'full sign' but also those who come from 'hearing schools' are 'full oral', and can hear and speak, but not sign.'* Therefore, she concluded that she uses both languages as a means of communication to accommodate the diversity of learners, but with a difference. '*I don't speak full Afrikaans; sometimes I speak [Afrikaans] as I sign'.* In practice, the teacher used contact signing to meet each of the learner's needs according to their level of communication competence and preference.

Nevertheless, the teacher reflected on her languaging: *'I know that is not right, but I like to hear my voice'.* This seemed to uncover her preference and her self-awareness of her language choice, which was likely to have been borne from her own experience as a learner at this school during its oral-centric period. She feels strongly that children need to develop their hearing and lipreading skills in her class too. This point was elaborated upon later.

*2 What are your thoughts on how the school has changed?*

The teacher sees and understands the reasoning behind the school's change to becoming a sign bilingual school now, and used the metaphor of scales to explain the language imbalance of the past and the present. From her perspective, there needs to be a balance, an equal weighting of the languages, South African Sign Language and Afrikaans. '*It is a wonderful programme, but I believe that there is a place for sign language and spoken languages'*.

This teacher was not deriding the change to sign language, but somewhat surprisingly, neither was she fully behind the change despite her previous experience of being a past learner of this school during its oral period. In her final year of school 'when *things started changing; I was very excited about having sign language when it started but now we must find the balance'*. To clarify her point, she explicitly stated that she is a deaf person, and from a deaf person's perspective '*the ideal is to have full sign language everywhere but it must start when the child is small, … South African Sign Language is for information, but we must make time for speech development and*

*lipreading, for both* [languages].' Again, as with the Deaf male teacher, this narrative mirrors the findings in the study by Reagan, Penn and Ogilvy (2006) and extends this by adding the need for [early] bilingual education of deaf learners.

The teacher elaborated on this: '*But now there are children who can speak, and who can hear, but then refuse to use their voices and they sign fully. I've explained to them [in SASL] "Yes, in the [school] Hostel you can, and at Breaks you can sign too." I don't mind because I 'talk' [sign] like that as well. But they must also practice using their voices because our country is a Third World country and our country is twenty years behind America, England and Sweden when it comes to having interpreters and South African Sign Language.*' The way this teachers views the South African context, is her belief that South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism is more advanced technologies imported from First World countries, in which she depicts South Africa as lagging behind in Deaf Education by twenty years instead of developing our own solutions for the needs of South African Deaf Education. Nonetheless, the emerging concepts of translanguaging and dynamic bilingualism (Garcia & Cole, 2014) were not included in her understanding and classroom practices.

The teacher added empathically that when she is teaching when she needs to be clear, she signs to a child who does not understand: '*that is what I do!'* Her concern was that children do not wear their hearing aids and learn the speech skills they will need when they finish school. She has noticed that: *'Sign language makes the children a bit lazy because they do not practice speech reading because with sign language the mouth is not used as much. That is why I say that I am neutral about the programme'.* Turning her focus to teachers, she asked *'there are teachers here that talk and try to use South African Sign Language, but use speech more, why?* She explained that she has realised that when children do not understand the teacher, she will assist the learner in Sign Language or by using 'contact signing'. For her, *'the ideal is having full South African Sign Language everywhere.'* Her fear is that: *'when they [learners] leave school, they will be angry with us because we did not tell them to put their hearing-aids on and learn to use their voice.*' By way of comparison, she proffered the opinion that '*NID College are doing that now, but it is too late. Speech training has to start when the child is small.'*

At face value, this could be interpreted as a repudiation of South African Sign Language and a call to return to the oral practices of the past, but this is not what she

was trying to get across as she elaborated upon further. For her, being bilingual means '*there must be a balance, we [as teachers] must make time for speech development and lipreading skills. Both are important.'* Having South African Sign Language by itself does not automatically make the programme bilingual, which is an astute observation that revisits the caveat made by (Garcia, 2015) in which bilingual education is a monolingual practice of a dominant language. Hence, she expressed the concern is that the school has swung too far in the opposite direction and in doing so has lost the Afrikaans and English literacy and oral skills necessary for the deaf learner's survival in the post-school world among hearing people. She advises that this over-zealous implementation of South African Sign Language needs to be addressed in order to achieve balance between the languages. From her excerpts, she displayed anxiety about what it means to be a teacher of the deaf and uncertainty about what this means in the near future for herself. This moment of linguistic liminality between her audist past and the not yet post-audist present has unsettled and disrupted this teacher's state of mind and created an unsettled habitus (Bakhtin, 1998) and associated identity trauma of displacement as a deaf teacher of the Deaf. To use Ricoeur's terminology, refiguration (1985) of her identity narrative is needed.

3 *And how do you see yourself, as a teacher?*

The teacher told of her own struggles as a deaf person growing up and as a teacher. *'[B]ut I am not hard-of hearing. I have never been hard-of-hearing. I speak well, but I don't understand what people are saying because I am deaf. I was born deaf. I wore hearing aids for years. Then two years ago, my hearing went completely so I got cochlear implants. It was a very difficult time. When I studied, I did it without an interpreter. Later on, only one university assisted me with an interpreter.'* Her point was that '*our children must also obtain the oral skills to be able to stand amongst hearing people because the hearing world out there is hard.'*

The teacher used her brother to illustrate her point: *'my brother is also deaf and he signs fluently. He does not speak as well as me, but with the speech training lessons, which he hated, he is now grateful that most hearing people can understand him in the workplace where there is no interpreter to help him.'* To conclude her argument, she said, '*our country is at least twenty years behind in sign language, so if he could not lipread, what would have happened to him?* This comments refutes the evidence found by Reagan, Penn and Ogilvy, (2006, p. 201) of SASL being a developed language. It is

alarming to note the teacher's call to return to audist practices of lipreading, which emerged her. However, given that the interview was conducted with substantial mouthing, this implies good lipreading skills in English or Afrikaans; this comment can be largely ignored. It also indicates that even deaf teachers are unaware of key research articles and developments on South African Sign Language.

The Deaf teacher added that finding the money for having separate classes and/or interpreters is a challenge for the school. This implies that separate classes and interpreters is seen as a most effective solution for deaf and hearing teachers to cope with diverse learners. This common-sense position is at odds with the findings of Humphries (2013) that found support for inclusion of all learners through a translanguaging pedagogy. There seem sufficient grounds to conclude that the deaf teacher, among other teachers at the school is unaware of a different conception of bilingualism as an inclusive pedagogy.

*4 What about other teachers, hearing teachers?*

For herself, as a deaf member of staff, she explained that she finds it difficult to follow meetings and conversations in the staffroom, and relies on lipreading and another teacher to interpret for her at staff meetings. *'It's very difficult because sometimes they speak too fast. Even though I have [cochlear] implants, I struggle to hear. It's difficult because it is noisy in the staff room. Then they speak too fast and it's difficult to keep up. But sometimes they remember to speak one person at a time. 'However, she clarified 'but at least I have an interpreter. If I don't understand then, I look at the interpreter and that helps me a lot. And because of that, I don't sit with the hearing teachers in the staffroom. I sit here so that I lipread well and see the person signing. But most of the time, I lipread.'*

*5 What needs to change?*

The teacher mentioned that *'there are a lot of things that need to change. The intercom is not always so deaf friendly. The bells… Because many times when I am on duty at break times I can't hear the bell ringing So it's a lot that has to change, but there's no money*'. Ironically, *'long ago there were lights.* Instead of being a useful tool, the interactive smartboard is a source of frustration to her. She has since abandoned this resource, since it breaks eye contact with the class, in favour of using the 'old-

fashioned' technology of an overhead projector as this enables her to maintain eye contact with learners.

The language of children she sees in the middle grades is not good. However, '*I am eager to see the children who started with the programme at an early age, and to see the difference.'*

She ended with her summation of bilingualism in Afrikaans: '*Regtig, daar's 'n plek vir altwee. Moet saamwerk.* ["Really, there is space for both, by working together"]'.

## 5.7 Categories of Description (Interview 3: Female Deaf Teacher)

The Deaf female teacher displayed the kind of disappointment that teachers encounter regarding the implementation of sign language at the school. The initial excitement of having South African Sign Language in the school as an official language was tempered by the reality in which they are struggling to cope with the diversity of learners and languages in class.

At the same time, teachers need to have a range of diverse skills and that sign language on its own is not enough. There needs to be a balance. Lipreading, speech, sign language, literacy in English and other languages need to be given attention in order to create this communication balance in classes.

A culture of learning needs to be inculcated. As mentioned by this teacher, on its own, sign language does not necessarily make d/Deaf learners more effective learners. Similarly, there needs to be recognition that South African Sign Language cannot operate independently of other languages; hence, multilingual translanguaging is the norm. Learners need to have and use all forms of languaging practices (Garcia & Cole, 2014) to achieve academically that which was previously beyond them and this will require that learners put in the hard work that is necessary to reach these new, higher standards to become multilingual citizens. This interview revealed the necessity for teachers to understand and re-negotiate their positions in schools for the Deaf as sign bilingual spaces.

## 5.8 Variations (Step 3)

### *5.8.1 Similarities*

Each of the interviews placed emphasis on having a linguistic and cultural balance with neither sign language nor spoken languages (Afrikaans and English in this context) holding a dominant position. This indicates a shift of understanding away from the past audist hegemony and a rejection of the de-colonial shift to having sign language only. All three of the teachers who were interviewed agreed that such a move and positioning of South African Sign Language at the school would be a counter-productive move. In essence, for these teachers, transformation has the more expansive agenda of bringing educational progress through the range of languages being used in classes.

The following similarities between the two Deaf teachers were noticed. Both identify themselves as a 'deaf' person with a Deaf identity even though they had an oral schooling at a school for the deaf, but at different schools. Both have deaf parents and family members. Both deaf teachers use speech and sign to communicate and use both flexibly in class to match their learners' communication needs. With the formal introduction of South African Sign Language in the language policy and implementation of the CAPS SASL curriculum, both have shifted from the primary use of GVT/TC to being able to embrace South African Sign Language as the official language in education at this school. Consequently, as Deaf persons, both are positive about the impact that South African Sign Language has and will continue to have on d/Deaf and Hard of Hearing learners. They now have higher expectations of Deaf learners in class than was the case before the introduction of South African Sign Language, than when they were at an oral-centric school for the deaf. Both Deaf teachers emphasized that Deaf learners have the opportunity to achieve that which was never available before, but success will only be achieved through hard work on the part of the learners.

For both Deaf teachers, the implementation of South African Sign Language has brought them greater status as 'signers' among the teaching staff, especially those who are struggling with learning South African Sign Language. Both rely on a member of the teaching staff to interpret for them in staff meetings, but both are pleased to see that their place on the staff as Deaf teachers has grown in value.

Somewhat ironically, both Deaf teachers do not teach South African Sign Language, but they would welcome and support a fully Deaf teacher, who relies fully on SASL to teach SASL.

### *5.8.2 Differences*

The first observation to comment on is the interview with the principal was conducted first, as a matter of protocol and good research ethics. This interview also took substantially longer than the interview with both Deaf teachers. The interview with the principal generated data that followed from the pre-arranged interview questions as these were more aligned with finding out about the management side from the principal's perspective, and thus did not need to be addressed in the interviews with the Deaf teachers.

The second difference was of the language used in the interviews. With the principal, the interview was conducted in spoken English, which is the principal's second language. The use of English was agreed upon prior to the recording. As outlined earlier, a Sign Language interpreter was present throughout the interview and both the principal and the interpreter were filmed to assist the researcher with capturing the data in spoken and sign language. The interview with each of the deaf teachers was done in GVT/contact signing, respectively by mutual agreement. This proved to be the best mode for communication in each case and both interviews were recorded on camera.

The difference between the two Deaf teachers, apart from gender which did not generate any significant themes, is that one of them wants to continue using South African Sign Language and the other uses speech skills more. In the interviews, one of the Deaf teachers used more targeted South African Sign Language features and the other interview was conducted in contact signing and naturally used South African Sign Language in places that dictated such expression. Both Deaf teachers communicated in the interview in the manner that they perceived the interview should be done, and from their perceived platform of language competency and comfort. In neither interview was an interpreter present since there was a high degree of language parity between interviewer and interviewees, whether it was in SASL/contact signing or GVT, according to their preference and intentional or unintentional usage. It would be inaccurate to assume that the one teacher is more speech-focused than the other. Instead, a more accurate description would be that one teacher has a greater range of

communication strategies than the other and this operates in the realm of South African Sign Language more than the other deaf teacher. Nevertheless, both are skilful Deaf teachers with the aim of developing both sign language and spoken language competency and literacy in their classes across the diversity of d/Deaf and Hard of Hearing learners.

The interview with the principal differed in content and focus. Understandably, the content was geared towards the leadership and management issues of the school whereas the interviews with the Deaf teachers were focused more on their unique experiences as deaf teachers in this long-awaited moment of transformation.

## 5.9 Conclusion

This chapter covered the interviews of three key informants. The similarities and differences between the three interviews were analysed through the lens of post-audism. Steps 4-5 of the analysis will focus on the relationships and variations. A critical discussion of the outcome spaces in terms of power relations and the use of language (English, Afrikaans, South African Sign Language, contact signing and GVT) follows. Before entering into this second level of analysis in Chapter 8, the next chapter looks at the analysis (steps 1-3) of the Journals of 16 teachers.

# CHAPTER 6 ANALYSIS: JOURNALS

## 6.1 Introduction and Structure

The purpose of the journals was to give teachers the opportunity to write their thoughts on the key topics as a narrative. The journal task was taken up and completed by 16 teachers. There was an overlap with those who participated in the interviews and the focus groups where the voices of five other teachers were recorded in the journals. In view of the bilingual nature of the study, it was deemed appropriate that the teachers were offered the opportunity to write in Afrikaans or English as a narrative platform to reflect on the topics in their own time and in the language in which they are most comfortable. It is significant that both of the Deaf teachers completed the journal, and both wrote it in Afrikaans, which suggests that Afrikaans is their stronger written language. It may be a misnomer to call this a journal since the 13 topics were pre-determined and restricted to the teacher's experiences of the change to South African Sign Language. Nevertheless, the teachers were made aware at the beginning that the journal was a research instrument to capture their thoughts and experiences of their school's transformation and their personal transformation in another (written) format as a safeguard against errors and omissions inherent in the Focus Groups and Interviews.

The randomised list of topics given to the teachers was:

1 W*hat attracted me to teaching deaf children?*

2 *My most significant event at this school.*

3 *Deaf learners: How I see them.*

4 *Sign Language: my thoughts about SASL and using SASL in my class.*

5 *Three of my greatest joys/moments of teaching deaf learners*

6 *The challenges to the language policy of bilingualism.*

7 *If you were a parent of one of the learners, how would you want the teachers to treat my deaf child?*

8 *How I have changed as a teacher.*

9 *Changes that I will make tomorrow/next month/next year.*

10 *What d/Deaf learners have taught me?*

*11 Hearing teachers and Deaf teachers; my experiences and thoughts.*

*12 Being bilingual: what it means for teachers and deaf learners.*

*13 Deaf learners need…*

These topics were sorted into the four dominant thematic categories of:

1. 'Teacher of the Deaf and Teaching';
2. 'Sign Language and Sign Bilingualism';
3. 'Deaf learners',
4. 'Change'.

In line with the teacher-centric focus of this study, the first category is made up of Question 1: 'Teacher of the Deaf, what attracted me to teaching d/Deaf children'; Question 2: 'My most significant moment at the school'; Question 5: 'Three of my greatest joys/moments of teaching deaf learners'; Question 8: 'How I have changed as a teacher'; and Question 11: 'Hearing and Deaf teachers, my thoughts and experiences'.

Given the importance of the change to South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism, logically, it follows that the second category would be 'South African Sign Language and Sign Bilingualism'. This category is made up from Question 4: 'Sign Language, my thoughts about SASL and using SASL in class'; Question 6: 'Challenges to the language policy of Sign Bilingualism'; and Question 12: 'Being (Sign) Bilingual what it means for teachers and d/Deaf learners'.

The category of 'Deaf learners' followed on from the first two categories. This category encompassed Question 3: 'Deaf Learners, how I see them', Question 7: 'If you were a parent of one of the leaners, what would you want teachers to know about your child?' Question 13 'Deaf learners need…' and Question 10: 'What Deaf learners have taught me'.

The last category picked up the theme of 'Change' directly through Question 9: 'Changes that I will make'. Although the core categories were set out to capture these four specific themes, there was overlap between categories. The purpose of the journals as short narratives is to highlight critical incidents (Thomas, 1993, p. 234) relating to participant's experience of the transformation and implementation of SASL

and sign bilingualism. Since transformation is an overarching theme of the study ,for this reason, the theme of change' is explicitly made as a category that appears last as is designed to be read as an over-arching meta-category that dialogues across each of the other three categories.

The journal entries have been transcribed from the A5 journal books that were issued for this purpose. At the first visit on 23 July 2013 teachers were offered the option of writing about the topics in the journal books and submitting these at the next visit on 13 September 2013 (1½ months later), or submitting their journal via email. Fifteen submitted the journal by hand and one submitted it via email. Some teachers preferred to write and hand in the journal book while other teachers preferred to type and email their journals. Convenience and preference may have dictated which mode of writing and communication the participants chose.

In line with the five phenomenographic data analysis steps used in the Focus Groups and the Interviews were as follows:

Step One: The journals were first captured on Word, if hand-written in the Journal book, then transcribed into written English below the Afrikaans text and checked for translation errors. Each transcript was read through as independent, freestanding journals and notes were made on each participant's responses.

Step Two: Each journal was sorted into the 13 topics to generate the 15 participant's responses on each topic. The transcripts are available in the appendix. Each of the 13 topics was read as a unit to identify similarities and differences between the 16 teachers, including some SMT members.

Step Three: From this reading, each of the topics was re-read through with a post-colonial, post-audist lens for categories of description then sorted into pools of meaning as decontextualized outcome spaces.

Step Four: Create outcome spaces from an interpretive re-reading of the journals through the teacher's use of metaphors and the inverted-PTSD (i-PTSD) (Mcilroy, 2015) model of cognitive transformation.

Step Five: Discussion of the architecture of the relationship between the Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals.

## 6.2 Category 1: Teacher of the Deaf and Teaching. Step 2

### *6.2.1 Topic 1: 'What attracted me to teaching d/Deaf learners?'*

### *6.2.2 Variations*

To use the words from Teacher P*, 'It is a journey into a new world, a new language and a new culture that turned their world upside down"*. For the older teachers (B, F, H) the attraction originated from a passion to help the 'disabled' as deaf were then called. But once they saw sign language happening, they shared the same fascination that attracted younger teachers. In the meantime, the school had changed and younger teachers, especially those with prior knowledge and experience with disabled and deaf children had an advantage over the older teachers in learning sign language. The uniqueness of South African Sign Language for d/Deaf learners came through as a strong pull into Deaf Education. Once teachers saw that South African Sign Language is a language, and then they mentioned their commitment to learning South African Sign Language and that they wanted to honour this commitment and the journey into Sign Language had begun. This observation correlates with the 'direct hit' and 'near hit' experiences, which in turn revolutionized their understanding of Deaf learners and sign language. However, it was noticed that there is a latent reluctance to change (H, L) as revealed in their collective institutional audism (Eckhart & Rowley, 2013) that expressed itself as seeing deaf learners as 'disabled' (Humphries, 1975).

Both Deaf teachers commented that they were encouraged by their own teachers to become teachers and both responded to this call. For one of them, being a teacher of the Deaf is seen as a 'calling' that drives this teacher to prepare d/Deaf learners so that they can cope in the hearing world bilingually. This metaphor overlaps with the younger teacher's description of what being a teacher of the Deaf means to them: it is far more than gainful employment. Thus, sign language has expanded the place of teachers as a 'priest/ess of knowledge'.

### *6.2.3 Topic 2: 'My most significant event at this school'*

### *6.2.4 Variations*

For the teachers who went on the SASL course, this was identified as the event that changed their way of teaching and how they see SASL and deaf learners as Deaf learners. For the younger teacher E, being promoted to teaching the SASL was a breakthrough and this recognition of her SASL skills took her to another level in her teaching. Several pointed out that the shift of the school towards becoming bilingual in practice has improved literacy (in Afrikaans and English) has improved. A sense of wonder was felt by the teachers, both older and younger, when witnessing what deaf learners have achieved through sign language, in terms of communicating with them, and their peers.

More pragmatically, the school events, such as reunions (deaf teacher), sports events and the school plays were highlights. This organised place (Morgan, 2013) provides re-opportunity to re-negotiated the narratives of teachers and learner from within the new paradigm as spaces of connection and sociality (Claudinin, et al. 2006a, 481) between the two worlds: hearing and Deaf.

### *6.2.5 Topic 5: 'Three of my greatest joys/moments of teaching d/Deaf learners'*

### *6.2.6 Variations*

There is overlap with the previous question, and several responses commented on the impact of language acquisition on nursery school children and how this transforms their world. In the nursery school/Foundation Phase, South African Sign Language was seen to be making a major contribution to their academic development, literacy, achievements, social skills as they began communicating and helping each other. They also developed a sense of themselves as a deaf person with a Deaf culture. An offshoot of this linguistic access is the hunger of Deaf learners for more information. This has a pay-off for teachers who can communicate well with their learners thus giving the teachers a sense of worth as 'sharers of knowledge' and in seeing the difference they are making in Deaf learners lives.

At the end of learners' school career, the FET teachers mentioned the sense of appreciation they received from learners for the time and effort they had spent in

equipping them for life beyond school. There are still remnants of speech-focused activities and language work, but this was not spoken of negatively, but rather as a nostalgic moment of success, as a memory and reminder that there were good moments in the past. Nevertheless, there is an appreciation of the power of sign language in creating create bilingual learners.

The Deaf teachers commented on the impact that understanding has on learning. This marks a shift away from the previous pedagogy of passive or rote learning to active learning through understanding mediated through the languages used in class. For teacher I, this success can be directly attributed to the use of South African Sign Language and the sign bilingual practices.

### *6.2.7 Topic 8: 'How I have changed as a teacher'*

### *6.2.8 Variations*

The realisation of the validity of South African Sign Language as a language (Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy, 2006) among the older teachers came through as a theme that SASL is the driver of their self-transformation. These teachers realised for themselves through first-hand experience that South African Sign Language was not going to be ignored as it was in the past with an audist response of marginalising South African Sign Language as inferior (Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy, 2006, p. 193, Garcia, 2015). Instead, the time for SASL had come and they recognised that they needed to change immediately in order to fit in with the post-apartheid (Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy, 2006 p. 201) post-audist (Mcilroy, 2015) sign bilingual dispensation that fills their epistemology and ontological void (Eckart & Rowley, 2013, 107).

The increase in patience emerged as a strong key word and spoke of the developing wisdom that came with having emotional and cognitive nearness to Deaf learners. Patience runs through many of the different ages and experiences of teachers. It could be argued that 'patience' is a catchall term among educators that carries little axiological weight. However, given the range of different comments of how patience as a marker of change signals the teacher's acceptance of the d/Deaf learner on their terms, it would be foolish to concur with the first argument. Thus, the alternative hypothesis holds: 'patience' has become a metaphor for the cognitive maturity (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003) of reflexive and open-minded post-audist teachers that has sufficient

epistemic power (Makelala, 2015b) to pull together much of the change that has happened to the teachers.

Both the Deaf teachers have grown as teachers over time, with more self-awareness that comes from the 'direct hit' of nearness (Jansen, 2016) as signers that disrupted their audist epistemology. Their deep patience for their learners is emblematic of their narrative turn (Murris, 2010, Jansen, 2014) that centred on diversity (Humphries, 2013) and with sign bilingualism as a central conceptual foundation. To illustrate this, for one of the Deaf teachers, this narrative turn was as a result of being a parent which revised perceptions of what Deaf learners really need and the scarcity of time available to prepare Deaf learners for life beyond school. At the same time, Teacher I expressed the awareness that it is not up to deaf teachers to do all the work, but that everyone is involved in educating Deaf learners.

### *6.2.9 Topic 11: 'Hearing teachers and Deaf teachers: my experiences and thoughts'*

### *6.2.10 Variations*

Firstly, looking at older teachers' comments on Deaf teachers, it is clear that the deaf teachers have earned the respect of the hearing teachers. Deaf teachers are seen as the 'gold standard' for teaching Deaf learners on account of their innate fluency in Sign Language (Marschark, 1993). This is somewhat ironic as both Deaf teachers are products of an oral education where sign language was not the *linguae franca* in the school they attended. One of the teachers is an ex-learner from this school and oral language had precedence over Sign Language. Both Deaf teachers acquired their Deaf identity outside of their schooling context and are esteemed Deaf teachers within the Deaf community for their commitment to the Deaf community plus their skills in SASL.

As a result of their South African Sign Language competency, hearing teachers observed that the Deaf teachers also have a unique bond with the learners through their shared experience of being deaf, which made them the ideal role model for language learning and for passing on the values of Deaf culture (Humphries, 2013). While this attribute was valorised, it was simultaneously seen as a negative attribute in that deaf teachers struggled to communicate with hearing staff and they (deaf teachers) were marginalised, especially in staff meetings. It was the young teachers

that commented on the beneficial partnership of respect with the Deaf Teaching-Assistant (DTA). This serves to model the kind of relationship between the hearing teacher and the Deaf Teaching-Assistant where there is mutual respect and assistance that serves Deaf learners both linguistically and as a role model of the bilingual programme.

The Deaf teachers saw themselves as the vital link between hearing teachers and Deaf learners, yet acknowledged the need to share pedagogical and cultural space with hearing teachers as part of a diverse educational team. There is the perception that the school is not yet ready for Deaf teachers who are completely deaf and rely fully on South African Sign Language and written texts. In other words, where speech is not used to communicate. This was mentioned just prior to the school employing a Deaf teacher who does not use speech. As a post-script aside, the school is coping better with a Deaf teacher than these comments might suggest.

One of the hearing teachers (A) was refreshingly honesty about her embarrassment over her lack of fluency in South African Sign Language, which had cascaded into her reluctance to socialise with Deaf teachers because of the difficulty of communicating with the Deaf teachers in SASL.

## 6.3 Category 2: Sign Language and Bilingualism. Step 2

### *6.3.1 Topic 4: 'Sign Language: my thoughts about SASL and using SASL in my class'*

### *6.3.2 Variations*

The older teachers commented on how much of a positive impact sign language has had on the school despite some of their initial misgivings which correlates with findings of Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy (2006, p. 193, 195). At the same time, since many of these teachers are learning South African Sign Language, the theme of 'learning' and 'being a learner' came through strongly. For them, their discovery of the beauty and power of South African Sign Language as a full, natural, visual language (Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy, 2006, p. 196) is tempered by the need to put in considerable amount of hard work to become proficient signers in their classes. There is explicit determination to become as proficient as possible in SASL. In their minds, it seems that sign language,

and in this context, SASL, has now considered an educational necessity (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, Salamanca, 1999, section 21). This theme of 'essential' comes through across a range of participants, whether this is, and a response that participants wrote because they thought it was what the researcher wanted to know, or because this is, their true position is now difficult to unravel. Nevertheless, writing strong points of affirmation, this sets the tone of the response and may play a role in establishing a strong foundation against internal and external doubts. However, there are realistic concerns with the practice of teaching in South African Sign Language as this is new territory for these teachers.

The younger teachers who came to the school during this change and came equipped with South African Sign Language or were learning the language as expressed through their strong connection to learners through SASL. The theme of self-awareness also came through with the younger teachers commenting on how sign language has had an impact on them.

The two Deaf teachers add a different narrative. As a consequence of the oral-centric policy in place during their schooling, at this school for one of the teachers, both acquired South African Sign Language outside the class from their family. One teacher commented on how the training in SASL helped build his understanding of the linguistics, despite already being a fluent signer. This point provides first-hand evidence that knowing the language and teaching the language are two independent skills that teachers of the Deaf need to acquire (Martins, 2008). The other teacher wrote of the need to prepare deaf learners for the hearing world beyond school. Both Deaf teachers described their use of signing in class as being driven by the need to meet a range of learners' communication practices which connects with the transglossic languaging practices that Garcia and Cole (2014, 106) and Humphries (2013, 19) described earlier. For both teachers, learner's understanding is a key indicator of successful communication practices.

### *6.3.3 Topic 6: 'Challenges to the implementation of sign language and sign bilingual pedagogy'*

### *6.3.4 Variations*

There is a variety of challenges to South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism. For the older teachers, being bilingual is both time-consuming and difficult to navigate between two or more languages as a consequence of maintaining the ideology of siloing languages instead of adopting the inclusive category articulated by Humphries (2013, p. 18) of the 'language-learner' for themselves. Similarly, their lack of vocabulary and proficiency in South African Sign Language is their greatest self-proclaimed handicap. Even for younger teachers, applying the sign bilingual approach within a time-constrained CAPS curriculum in other subjects is difficult as there is the additional burden of extra preparation and limited class time to complete the lessons. However, this does not invalidate the bilingual approach for building quintessential comprehension through communication of the texts, either in SASL or written English/Afrikaans or through speech.

There was some concern on how sign bilingualism should be applied. Given that this comment was made at the early stage of the school's implementation, this is a concern that has been addressed by SMT with clear guidelines in the revised language policy that addressed the principles for having and implementing Sign Language together with Afrikaans and English. Teacher F added that the (sign bilingual) language policy needs to be in all schools (for the Deaf). This suggests that teachers perceive this school as a singularity and the success that South African Sign Language brings needs to spread out into as many schools for the Deaf as possible for networking on shared pedagogical matters.

Turning to deaf learners, a similar issue of implementation was raised particularly by the teachers learning SASL. What constitutes the first and second languages of deaf learners in the context where parents are seldom users of South African Sign Language? This predominance of spoken language at home South African context, as identified by Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy (2006) and Makelala, (2015a) is a feature of the South African Deaf Education context, which is compounded by multilingual context of eleven official (spoken) languages.

Also, several responses from older teachers picked up on the difficulty of teaching diverse learners. Ideally, sign bilingualism works best when sign language is used for communication with all the learners who are Deaf (Humphries, 2013). However, the inclusion of HoH learners whose South African Sign Language skills are less fluent (as L2) than the L1 users of South African Sign Language indicates that teachers need to

find ways to communicate with all learners and that some (Deaf and HH) are 'falling through the cracks' because of the lack of time and exposure to the language that they need. The school has emphatically stated in its revised language policy that GVT/TC is not a language, nor is TC in the official language policy document as a means of moving the school's language policy and practices away from its oralist (audist) past. However, for some teachers and learners this problem needs to be resolved. Both Deaf teachers noticed their own struggles with the issue of multilingual by juggling three languages in classes. This suggests that being Deaf does not necessarily make the transformation and implementation of SASL and SASL CAPS a simple or easy matter.

Somewhat ironically, two hearing teachers (H, N) commented on the lack of dignity of hearing teachers in general towards Deaf teachers and South African Sign Language was identified as an area of concern. This may well be the most important problem for the school to tackle as the lack of dignity is symptomatic of the lack of deep commitment to change that accepts that South African Sign Language underpins sign bilingualism in the revised language policy and in the SASL CAPS curriculum. While all the teachers are expected to use South African Sign Language, as per the school's language policy, some of the teachers have been exposed to South African Sign Language in the junior grades and have acquired a baseline of experience in the sign bilingual pedagogy and display dignity with Deaf teachers as a consequence of their lived experience of teaching Deaf learners in and through SASL. It is the older teachers in the higher grades who have displayed thoughts of insecurity and ambivalence towards the unknown but inevitable changes that will reach their grades in the near future. The Journals reflect that a call for support of teachers in the higher grades has been made.

### *6.3.5 Topic 12 'Being Bilingual: what it means for teachers and Deaf learners'*

### *6.3.6 Variations*

Instead of asking teachers for a textbook definition of sign bilingualism, this topic centred on what teachers understood by the terms 'sign language and sign bilingualism. A personal response was anticipated.

Descriptively, being bilingual means that the two languages are kept separate. There is consensus that this mind-shift needs to happen but there are teachers who have not yet made a full commitment to the new post-audist mind-shift. A SASL teacher (hearing) focused on the ability to switch easily between languages. Again, a strong proficiency in both languages is a prerequisite for being a sign bilingual teacher. Four of the older teachers expressed their growing confidence in themselves as teachers of the Deaf as they began to see the benefits of sign bilingualism in their class. Not only is bilingualism about two languages, but teachers made the link to expand it to living in two worlds and fitting into two cultures that Garcia and Cole (2014, p. 1 talked about as multiplier effect of tranculturation across Deaf and hearing cultures and the emergence of interactive model of 'dynamic bilingualism' (2014, p. 7). This is an exciting observation and narrative that needs to be followed upon.

One of the Deaf teachers did not respond with a comment but indicated doubt or misunderstanding of this topic. The other Deaf teacher added the observation that the mind-shift of older hearing teachers from the past oral practice to endorsing and using South African Sign Language is incomplete. In summary, they expressed a concern that some hearing teachers may revert to using what they know and have used for many years. Again, it is argued that if the exposure to SASL is deep and consistent (Booth, 2006, p. 136), then the risk of recidivism to audist practices is reduced.

## 6.4 Category 3: Deaf learners. Step 2

### *6.4.1 Topic 3: 'Deaf learners how I see them'*

### *6.4.2 Variations*

There are a number of variations in the ways that teachers see d/Deaf learners.

For older teachers, the word 'normal' was used by four out of nine teachers. This term was used in conjunction with the use of 'special' as a term of difference and a marker of the distance between deaf children and hearing children. There is a strong undercurrent of sympathy among older teachers, which mirrors the special education/remedial educational thrust of their era as professionalised 'caregivers' who try to restore deaf children to society (Branson & Miller, 2002, p. 199-200). The language of exclusion (cut-off) is used to describe how the deaf learners are not able to

participate and are cut-off. Extending this point, Teacher A sees deaf learners as ‘language-impaired’ which is creative use of the previously derogatory term of ‘hearing-impaired’. From this position, the introduction of South African Sign Language to the school has disrupted this state of impairment by bringing accessible language to deaf leaners. The role of educators is of secondary importance. This corresponds to the ‘remote hit’ and ‘near hit’ (Gladwell, 2009) previously used to describe these teachers. However, the perception of deaf has changed to acceptance of deaf as being equal to hearing. This is a transformational revision of their earlier view. When teachers witnessed deaf learners as capable learners (with the introduction of South African Sign Language), their view was open to being changed into Deaf learners. This is when two of the older teachers saw Deaf learners metaphorically as ‘dry sponges thirsty for knowledge’ (M, P) and acknowledged that teachers have a vital role to play in giving learners knowledge because it is now accessible to them through improved signacy and literacy and thus prepare them for when they leave school.

For the younger teachers, their experience of deaf learners is varied, but both were overwhelmed by how much the young deaf learners learned once language began to make sense to them. As a result, they now regard Deaf learners with awe, but also saw that there is a backlog of learning that needs to be addressed. However, the foundation for learning through acquiring a language that is accessible to Deaf learners has been established. The ‘direct hit’ (exposure) to South African Sign Language in their classes also brought a sense of guilt for one of the teachers who felt that it is an injustice to deny deaf learners the language that is most accessible to them. Rather than using this to belittle others, this is expressed as a reminder of the direction that teachers need to take forward, namely: signing is not a hindrance to learning; rather it is teachers who do not believe this that are a hindrance.

Deaf children are seen by Teacher J as ‘just deaf’, indicating that they are not seen as special or as victims. That implies that teachers must simply get on with teaching them, in the way that works best for them by making adaptations for deafness. At the same time, another teacher added that because of deafness, deaf children often have other problems: emotional, behavioural, social, and learning which need to be addressed with understanding ‘to enable them believe in themselves’, as identified by Scheetz and Marschark, 2015).

Deaf teachers: one of the Deaf teachers sees d/Deaf as visual learners who have potential, and focused on developing their independence in the world. The other Deaf teacher focuses on minimising the difference between hearing and deaf by emphasising that deaf can achieve the same, even if it is twice as hard to do, and requires strict discipline, from teachers and parents. In other words, Deaf learners are seen as not being different to hearing learners; therefore, using their deafness as an excuse is not tolerated and is supportive of a breakaway from the oppressive audist narrative of victimhood and disablement (Bretcher, 2007, Eckhart & Rowley, 2013, p. 107, Jansen, 2013).

### *6.4.3 Topic 7: 'If you were a parent of one of the deaf learners, how would you want teachers to treat your deaf child?'*

### *6.4.4 Variations*

One similarity is the frequent use of the phrase, 'like a normal child/learner'. Although this can be interpreted in two ways: for older teachers, it betrays the past binary of the audist discourse with the normal and its opposite partner: 'abnormal' (Bauman, 2004). Before the change to South African Sign Language, deaf children were seen as other than normal, viz. 'abnormal'. This classification persists, albeit with a different meaning in the post-audist discourse where there is emphasis placed on emancipating Deaf learners from this past term. With South African Sign Language in place, the teachers made an explicit point of using 'normal' in a reversed manner. Now the deaf are seen by their teachers (older and younger, and deaf teachers) as 'normal'. This is tantamount to saying that deaf learners are equal to hearing learners. This linguistic turn of phrase marks the mental shift of the 'second turn' of bilingual education that Garcia, (2015) noticed of languaging.

Another change is the inclusion of South African Sign Language and the broadening of the language options that these teachers would want for their Deaf/HH child. Significantly, SASL has not unilaterally replaced the well-established spoken languages, such as Afrikaans and English but has taken up a shared space alongside these languages with fluid boundaries between the languages (Hornberger, 2013, Garcia, 2014). This is demonstrated by asking teachers to change their perspective from being teachers, to that of a parent of a Deaf child, what would they now expect from teachers today, and conversely, what is now expected of them as teachers. Along

with the strong sign language component, eight of the sixteen teachers emphasized the need for the child to become a multilingual, multicultural citizen.

Despite both Deaf teachers being products of an oral educational upbringing, both responded with a bilingual focus. Both Deaf teachers see value in having sign language and spoken languages. This observation does not warrant making a claim that this is applicable to all Deaf teachers, but suggests that the experience and expectations of Deaf teachers needs to be heard and taken into account.

The assumed discordant voices are those of teachers who chose to remain silent on this topic.

### *6. 4.5 Topic 10: 'What Deaf learners have taught me?'*

### *6.4.6 Variations*

The older teachers said that they learned patience from the Deaf learners. This root of patience comes from the teacher's realisation that with a strong foundation in languages, Deaf learners can think for themselves. One older teacher commented on deaf learner's acceptance of themselves as 'Deaf' ties in with the observation of their strong bond of community and support among Deaf learners of all ages. At the same time, older teachers recognised the patience that learners have for them as learners of South African Sign Language. This can be interpreted as the teacher's realisation that the more they put into learning South African Sign Language and immersing themselves in Deaf culture, the more Deaf learners accepted and assisted them with learning sign language. This partnership of learning becomes an important post-audist pathway from sympathy to empathy and mutual respect through nearness (Jansen, 2016).

The younger teachers both noticed the theme of their increased self-awareness of themselves as 'teachers of the Deaf' from what they have learned from their interaction with their Deaf children in South African Sign Language. Making eye contact and making the time to be with them, leads to giving deaf 'little ones' the space they need to try. This is coupled with the teachers' belief in them ('little ones') as competent learners.

For three of the teachers, there was an awareness of the bond of Deaf learners through South African Sign Language, but these teachers remained distanced from the learners. This indicates that Sign Language was a 'remote hit' for them. Consequently, this identifies these teachers as 'older teachers' despite there being no names supplied. This is an area of concern as a connection with Deaf learners as equals and with nearness has yet to be established.

For the Deaf teachers, there was a difference in their responses. For one of the Deaf teachers, learning to have the patience for learners was an important lesson. At the same time, the stubbornness that learners sometimes exhibit was a reminder of the teacher's experience as a learner and that learning is hard and sometimes frustrating work. The other Deaf teacher added that learners teach her new signs, ostensibly to add to the repertoire of signs for the class and build the class as a 'community of learning' (CoL), to coin a term that includes the teacher as co-learner. This knowledge sharing disrupts the authoritarian teacher-learner power relations (Sackville, 2002, p. 58). Being deaf does not mean that Deaf teachers automatically know all the vocabulary of their subject, especially when taking their oral history into account. When both deaf teachers were learners 20-30 years ago, South African Sign Language was neither an approved language in the classroom, nor was South African Sign Language at a high level of the subject being taught in class (Reagan, 2008, p. 173).

#### *6.4.7 Topic 10: 'Deaf learners need…'*

#### *6.4.8 Variations*

It is self-evident that teachers would say that Deaf learners need good teachers and specifically strong Deaf teachers as role models to show sign bilingualism in action. What was not expected was the extent to which bilingualism came through over and above the need for South African Sign Language (the view of six of the teachers) which cuts across the older, younger teachers and includes a Deaf teacher's responses. In a similar vein, 3 (two older and one younger) teachers acknowledged that it is imperative for teachers to improve their signing in order to provide deaf learners with high level of bilingual education that echoes Grosjean's (2001, p. 114) call for action from teachers and educational re-structuring/organisation (Pickersgill & Gregory, 1998, 2).

Moreover, Deaf learners need to develop a ‘community of learning’ (CoL) with teachers and their peers through using the languages available to making connections to prepare them for the world beyond school (Swannick, 2010, 155). Central to building a ‘community of learning’ is the need for hearing teachers to have more respect for Deaf/HH learners. At the same time, the teachers commented on the need to expand the interaction opportunities outwards for a strengthened sign bilingual ‘community of learning’ to include parents, hostel parents, hearing learners, siblings, and their peers.

Both Deaf teachers emphasized the need for Deaf/HH learners to have a culture of learning to achieve the skills and knowledge necessary for post-school life. On a pragmatic note, sufficient time and visual materials were mentioned as important needs for teachers to properly teach Deaf learners.

However, since this topic was written from the teacher’s point of view, two of the older teachers added that structure and discipline needs to be in place and maintained. This suggests that older teachers are concerned about maintaining control in their multilingual classes, and expressed their desire to have safeguards of structure and discipline in place for this purpose.

## 6.5 Category 4: Change (Step 2)

### *6.5.1 Topic 9: Changes that I will make tomorrow/next month/next year.*

### *6.5.2 Variations*

The most significant change that almost all the hearing teachers would make is to improve their signing skills and vocabulary. This speaks of consolidation of the change to South African sign language. The mental shift to adopting South African Sign Language had been achieved but praxis is lagging behind. That may be an obvious and redundant statement to make since the teachers know that the school’s revised language policy dictates that they embrace South African Sign Language as the language of instruction and bilingualism as the pedagogical approach. Be that as it may, teachers have not yet reached the level of mastery of South African Sign Language to be fluent users in the classroom. Hence, the intention to improve signing indicates the next phase of their language learning, viz: to acquire the building blocks and tools (syntax, discourse, and vocabulary) of the language for use in class.

Consequently, there is a role reversal where teachers are now ‘learners’ (of South African Sign Language) and learners are in the position of being ‘teachers’ of South African Sign Language to their teachers. This peculiarity exists in Deaf Education when teachers make the mental and linguistic changeover from using spoken language to using sign language. However, this is not about teachers merely adding another language to their linguistic repertoire, as a second language, but making the post-apartheid ideological (Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy, 2006, 197) and pedagogical (Steyn, 2015) shift to using South African Sign Language as an equal language to English or Afrikaans as the majority spoken language. This observation applied to both older teachers and younger teachers who declared their willingness and the necessity for learning more South African Sign Language to be effective signers in class, as well as overcoming a high level of cognitive dissonance in order to master a language that is foreign to them. Since these teachers portrayed South African Sign Language as a challenge to be mastered, their attitude was geared towards learning more rather than adopting a defeatist attitude that they cannot learn South African Sign Language as dictated by earlier metaphysical audist beliefs (Eckhart & Rowley, 2013, p.106) that opposed learning sign language. In short, there is a growing respect for South African Sign Language among these teachers along with their honest appraisal of themselves as not being fluent. The issue is not whether they will be as fluent as a first language signer, or even a ‘balanced bilingual’ as Garcia (2014, 105) argued is an unrealistic goal. Instead, teachers have a positive attitude that allows for language learning and a high level of mastery in due course.

One of the Deaf teachers commented that change would firstly be focused on learners understanding the material well through various active learning strategies. The second area is the emphasis on practising language separation with HoH learners, as this is a challenge even for Deaf teachers to achieve. Rather than seeing this as a return to language separation model (Garate, 2012), this is posited by the teachers as a strategy for language learning of HoH learners to bridge their SASL skills as a platform for later translanguaging practices.

The other Deaf teacher provided a strong outlier comment worth noting. Despite being a deaf teacher of the Deaf, the change this teacher wanted to make was to leave the school and join a ‘hard-of-hearing’ school. This presents an ironic situation: despite being an advocate for South African Sign Language, and pleased with the introduction of SASL to the school, there was a residual memory (possibly of unresolved ‘bitter

knowledge' Jansen, 2012) of the school in the past which was privileged audism as a superior way to the current policy and pedagogy, hence a 'remote hit' is recorded. Whether this teacher is willing to let go of the oral past and adapt to the bilingual pedagogy or whether the teacher perceives sign bilingual in traditional terms as a failure, is not known. These are interpretive assumptions based on the teacher's other comments on the difficulty of teaching a range of learners and thus her classroom practice of resorting back to using GVT/TC to meet the highest number of learners, even if some learners are left out/behind when GVT/TC is used. To this teacher's credit, she always tries to go back to assist learners who were left behind by signing where necessary. During the July 2016 site visit, it was confirmed that this teacher had left the school and has been replaced by a hearing teacher with strong South African Sign Language skills. This teacher's comment repudiates the assumption that there is homogeneity of support for South African Sign Language among Deaf teachers. Instead, each Deaf teacher needs to be understood and evaluated on a case-by case basis.

There was another unusual comment on change that was noted. An anonymous teacher added that the 'learners use of languages needs to be limited' (L). This seems to indicate that less use of different languages in class needs to happen. In other words, there are too many languages being used and this is causing confusion. What is not clear is whether the confusion is with the teacher or the learners or both. This suggests that the previous language policy provided clear structure for language use in class: spoken language, and where necessary GVT/TC in this context. For this teacher, the addition of South African Sign Language has complicated classroom practice. The other languages have not ceased to exist, but as a hearing teacher, this is difficult to manage. In this case, it would appear that the traditional view of sign bilingualism is operating instead of the narrative shift being made to schooling in the sign language/deaf/sign bilingualism model with its translanguaging pedagogy (Humphries, 2013; Garcia & Cole, 2014).

## 6.6 Analysis of the topics 1-12 (transformation to South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism) (Step 3)

### *6.6.1 Category of Description 1: 'Teacher of the Deaf and Teaching'*

For the teachers who had been at the school for an extended period prior to the change to sign language, the introduction of South African Sign Language brought a new awareness of Deaf and HoH learners through being able to connect with them 'in their language'. At the same time, for older teachers, their past habits, particularly in communication, and ways of thinking, changed more slowly. This was evidenced in 'slips' of audist expressions when referring to deaf persons as 'disabled'. It may be that these teachers had not yet found suitable terms to replace the previously used terms, and no harm was intended, as the intention had been 'to fit in' although these teachers had found that they were 'out of their comfort zone'. Despite this, the older teachers have been profoundly affected by their encounter with South African Sign Language and they see the value of continuing with South African Sign Language even though they are at a disadvantage linguistically.

In addition, their greatest joys have been in seeing the literacy level of their Deaf/HH learners improve as a direct result of having South African Sign Language in the classroom, coupled with a greater hunger for knowledge. Likewise, older teachers have begun to find a place for sign language and spoken languages; English and Afrikaans and this has improved their position as bilingual/multilingual teachers. Once this place of teachers as post-audist teachers became clearer, the teachers saw the benefits more clearly and this further cemented their support of the bilingual programme. For these teachers, greater patience not only comes with age and experience, but in this case, from their new insight and awareness of the efficacy of sign language in the lives of deaf learners. They no longer see themselves as the 'maligned enemy' subject to the vitriol of frustrated Deaf learners against audist teachers. They have become aware of the magnitude of the change that becoming a signing teacher of the Deaf has brought about in them and in their classes. This is a result of the reversal of their previous prefix of 'oral' teacher of the deaf to taking on the new identity as signing teacher of the deaf.

In light of this change, older teachers have considerable respect for Deaf teachers as expert users of South African Sign Language by virtue of their experience of the struggles of being a deaf person and exposure to SASL and the Deaf community: 'attitudinal deafness' (Reagan, Penn Ogilvy, 2006 p. 189-190). While not applicable to all older teachers, there is a reluctance of older teachers to socialise with Deaf teachers because of their feeling of inferiority about their own signing when with Deaf teachers.

The cluster of younger teachers stated that their attraction to becoming a teacher for the Deaf arose from earlier exposure to disabled family members and to sign language. Although, it needs to be added that younger teachers also benefitted from attending a Sign Language course, by which time and their minds had already processed the place of sign language in positive terms (Bauman, 2014) rather than arriving at the school with an audist ideology for educating deaf learners (Lane, 1992, Dunn, 2013). These teachers arrived at the school as early adopters and early advocates of South African Sign Language based on their first-hand experience. This was important for supporting older teachers because they had direct experience or a 'direct hit' with sign language through the SASL course at the school and this provided a much-needed lead-in to fitting in with the new language paradigm as sign bilingual teachers. Within their world, the social acceptance of sign language had already taken hold. For younger teachers, their joy emanated from seeing the impact of South African Sign Language on their young deaf learners as they were acquiring language for the first time. Similarly, with older teachers, the younger teachers remarked on how their patience had increased dramatically when they found parity of communication with learners. Younger teachers have taken the relationship with Deaf teachers and deaf teaching-assistants (DTA) further and established strong working partnerships.

Inasmuch as the two Deaf teachers are aware of their oral education background, for them, being a teacher of the Deaf is seen as a way of ploughing back into the community of Deaf learners as a way to improve Deaf Education. Both were acutely aware of the challenges that deaf learners experienced without sign language or if their teachers could not sign. For this reason, they volunteered to step into the gap by becoming teachers as 'guides' so that Deaf/HH learners could achieve more than what was possible for Deaf/HH learners when they were at school. Central to their deaf education mission, is the building of understanding (Appendix F). For one of the teachers, sign language takes prominence in this, and for the other teacher, being a flexible communicator is key to building understanding and independent thinking skills. Over time, both Deaf teachers have acquired greater insight into what Deaf/HH learners need and how to meet their needs. This dynamic languaging (Garcia, 2015) is new territory for both Deaf teachers as they are considered to be the resident experts on South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism in the eyes of their hearing colleagues. Although Deaf teachers are esteemed at the school as being quintessential Deaf role models, there is an undercurrent of distrust of Deaf teachers amongst some

hearing teachers and that has surfaced as a lack of dignity afforded to Deaf teachers needs to be challenged. It is possible that this may be attributed to a sense of jealousy among the hearing teachers for the closeness of the bond that Deaf teachers have with Deaf learners. However, the Deaf teachers see themselves as being the vital link between hearing teachers and Deaf learners and that triadic cooperation is essential. To develop and mature this educational relationship, it is imperative that the school fully integrates Deaf and hearing teachers.

### *6.6.2 Category of Description 2: 'South African Sign Language and Sign Bilingualism'*

This cluster of topics explored the teachers' attitudes through their experiences of the sign language and the bilingual approach that is new to the school. On the one hand, the older teachers expressed their whole-hearted support of having South African Sign Language as they said that they see the necessity of South African Sign Language as an accessible mode of communication. In itself, for older teachers, this is a revolutionary change of perspective that has been a long time in coming. On the other hand, this initial excitement and positive support for South African Sign Language has been tempered by the reality of learning a new language and using it in class. For older teachers, this is the greatest challenge, not with the theoretical foundation of South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism, but their concerns about the practical side of signing in their classes. This is a reversal of roles where the teacher becomes a learner, of South African Sign Language, and the learner becomes the language teacher of the teacher. Central to this reversal is the connection between the teacher and learners and their roles and emergent partnership that assists the teacher in becoming more competent in South African Sign Language. The teachers were aware that their narrative and identity has changed and is in the process of settling into a new form with Sign Language now taking a central place. The inclusion of HH learners with Deaf learners was identified as a challenge to older teachers who were presumably still comfortable operating with small classes (of more or less homogenous learners) in contrast to Humphries' (2013) support for heterogenous/diverse classes where the practice of monological audism of spoken Afrikaans or spoken English dominates the classroom discourse. The introduction of South African Sign Language had profoundly and deliberately disrupted the audist praxis (Eckhart & Rowley, 2013). In their favour, these teachers have all accepted the change to South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism but there is discomfort with navigating between the multilingual languages

and there are unanswered questions about teaching heterogeneous/diverse classes with Deaf, deaf, hoh and HH learners spread across the hearing spectrum.

With regard to the younger teachers, they were clearer about the practicalities, had less anxiety with teaching in South African Sign Language, and were thus further along the process of transformation. Consequently, their connection with their d/Deaf and hoh/HH learners had reached a greater level of respect and cooperation. Yet, they did not consider their journey to be complete, and remarked on how much they were still learning about the language along with and from their diverse d/Deaf/HH learners. It seems that their open-mindedness to learning is an essential component to their continued progress, which comes from their critical self-reflection on their practices and learning that lead to their refigured post-audist narrative (Jansen, 2010, p. 132; Ricouer, 1992, p. 80; Mcilroy, 2015).

The Deaf teachers are insiders in the Deaf world, not only by virtue of being deaf but also by having considerable cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1988). Both have Deaf family members and went to a school for the deaf. One went to this particular school, which gives a rare insight into the past through the eyes of a deaf adult. Both responded to the invitation to be a teacher of the deaf, but it was not their first choice, possibly due to bitter memories of their own school experiences. However, with encouragement from their teachers, each accepted the challenge of becoming a teacher and being able to give back to the school community by using their unique insider position, knowledge and skills, for one of the Deaf teachers, the highlight was the regular school reunions where this teacher caught up with her old school friends. It is somewhat surprising that neither deaf teacher commented on their successes or on how sign language had changed their learners. This marked a difference between deaf and hearing teacher's perspectives and warrants further exploration. One of the Deaf teachers identified 'dignity' towards deaf teachers and sign language as a fundamental criterion for the success of sign language and bilingualism. The lack of dignity is a serious challenge and is symptomatic of the lack of committed change from an audism paradigm to a post-audist paradigm that truly respects sign language. There are pockets of incomplete change among hearing teachers that need attention and one of the deaf teachers while supportive of Sign Language reverts to using GVT to communicate in class, possibly as a result of the teacher's legacy (memory) of audist teaching practices from being a learner at this school. In this teacher's mind, the past practice of audism

worked and due to time constraints in teaching the curriculum, this teacher had decided to use what was familiar from the past.

### *6.6.3 Category of Description 3: 'Deaf Learners'*

This thematic space looks at how teachers see Deaf learners and if they were, a parent of a deaf child to reflect on what they would want teachers to do or not do based on their own knowledge and experience as teachers. It then asks teachers what they have learned from Deaf learners. Lastly, by looking to the future and what teachers think Deaf learners need. These responses reveal the perspective that shapes their pedagogy and pedagogical authority.

The fundamental lesson that hearing teachers learned was that of acquiring greater patience with deaf learners. Tied to the theme of patience is the change of the hearing teachers' understanding of deaf as 'normal' which marks a transformation away from the previous disabilist discourse and its attendant audist pedagogy. Yet, for older teachers, this change in perspective takes time to work through their thinking and practices as there are still teachers using the audist vocabulary to describe deaf learners. A post-audist vocabulary has yet to be integrated and used even though SASL has been adopted as the new *status quo*. Teachers have learned that connection with deaf learners is a key to creating a new space for sign language. The more teachers immerse themselves in the language and Deaf culture, the more their teaching and learning is improved through the new connections that South African Sign Language affords as a dialogue of learning. This is where patience becomes a key marker in the connection with deaf learners as learners with potential. There is also the need for hearing teachers to be patient with themselves as learners of South African Sign Language as this may be a new language to them. In turn, this offers teachers the opportunity to re-define deaf learners on their own terms rather than using past experience of deaf learners not meeting hearing standards as being labelled as inferior.

The scenario of having a deaf child brought out the point that hearing teachers would emphasise the use of sign language with their own child as an imperative for communication. By seeing deaf learners as an extension of their family, there is a strong desire to include and protect them as any parent would. By extension, the hearing teachers who took on the challenge of learning sign language for the sake of 'their child' found a deeper connection with their learners in class because of their

immersion in sign language and Deaf culture. Interestingly, teachers discovered that learning sign language did not imply that their spoken language was weakened. Conversely, they found that by taking on learning of Sign Language, their spoken languages were integrated into their practice as bilingual teachers and they were no longer seen as monolingual (incomplete second language) teachers who used sign language in class.

The Deaf teachers emphasised that being deaf should no longer be seen as a handicap to achieving success in the world, although there are differences in how this should be achieved. Despite their similar educational (in oral schools for the deaf) background, both deaf teachers are supportive of South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism, but differed on how it is to be used in class. One teacher was more strongly in favour of sign bilingualism and the other was more comfortable using GVT as a base for communication in class. Both Deaf teachers use SASL where appropriate. As a parent of a deaf child, both Deaf teachers emphasised the need to prioritise giving their deaf child both languages so that their child can cope in both worlds. This provides evidence of the Deaf teacher's support for being bilingual, although there are differences in how this would be done, as one teacher is more strongly oral-language focussed than the other as a way to develop a culture of learning.

### *6.6.4 Category of Description 4: 'Change'*

The hearing teachers wrote about their commitment to the change by learning to sign better. Some expressed this as a non-negotiable in order to connect deeply with their deaf learners and ties in with the post-audist ethos of developing connections through a shared language. In this case, sign language has been elevated to a position of equality. However, this positioning of South African Sign Language challenges the teachers to strive for a level of language competency that they have never achieved. As a direct consequence of being hit by sign language, the teachers were encouraged to make the sacrifice necessary to learn the language for the sake of their deaf learners. The older teachers, who have been at the school for 10-20 years, have seen first-hand the oral method used in the past and thus had a platform of experience and memories to tap into. Inasmuch as their past makes them who they are as teachers, their commitment to sign language has usurped the oral method. However, their comments revealed that despite their fervour in supporting South African Sign

Language, they have concerns about the level of their signing (as late learners of the language) as opposed to the younger teacher who was 'early adopters' of South African Sign Language. The younger teachers stressed their intention to stay immerse in South African Sign Language by learning more of the language. This was seen as an important way of bridging d/Deaf and hoh/HH learners to the hearing-dominated world outside through having higher expectations because of the greater literacy that has been afforded to them.

Two of the older teachers noticed the necessity of having the backing of the Department of Education through practical support of the school during this change. This emphasises the role of the SMT and the Department of Education to develop a robust professional educational network to support the school and the teachers.

However, there are pockets of resistance to the change, from an undisclosed teacher who did not want multilingualism, and from a Deaf teacher who despite supporting South African Sign Language prefers the way things were taught and frequently uses GVT to communicate in a classroom with diverse language abilities and needs. This may be less to do with a rejection of sign bilingualism and more about this teacher's need for clarity on how to teach from within a sign bilingual pedagogy that uses translanguaging to navigate between the languages.

## 6.7 Conclusion

The journals have been sorted and analysed in terms of the four thematic categories of description: 'Teacher of the Deaf', 'South African Sign Language and Sign Bilingualism', Deaf Learners' and 'Change'. Subsequently, the journal themes were interpreted through a post-audist lens. This completes Step 4 for the journals.

Chapter 7 explores and discusses the post-audism outcome spaces across each of the datasets: focus groups, interviews and the journals.

# CHAPTER 7: ANALYSIS OF POOLED OUTCOME SPACES – CATEGORIES OF VARIATION

## 7.1 Introduction

This chapter continues with Step 4 of the interpretative analysis by looking deeper into the four themes (pools of meaning) that emerged from the 'categories of description' of the three primary datasets: focus groups; interviews and journals.

## 7.2 Focus Groups

The themes that emerged from the three focus groups ('SMT', 'older teachers', 'younger teachers' plus the wrap-up session) were '*establishing sign language', 'revolution of the mind', 'balance', and 'unity'.*

### *7.2.1 Theme 1: Establishing sign language and revolution of the mind*

Regardless of the age and experience of teachers, the introduction of sign language brought a fundamental cognitive and epistemological revolution to the teachers both as a group and on an individual level. The teachers made use of the opportunity provided in the focus group to share with the members of the group their personal narrative of change. Their narratives included their past and their present struggles as emerging sign bilingual teachers (Garcia, 2014). The deeper the change that happens within teacher's minds, the greater the change that is evidenced in the classroom. By foregrounding sign language, their narratives had changed since sign language catalysed their mental shift to a post-audist epistemology. However, past audist practices and thinking were not easily relinquished. Hence, the legacy of audism (Eckhart & Rowley, 2013, 106) runs deep with hearing teachers, and much introspective work needs to be done to uncover and change old habits into new habits and thinking that becomes established classroom praxis. While teachers need to make the mind-shift to post-audism (through accepting and practicing South African Sign Language) on their own, there was growing support for each other in the SMT group in their transformation as a supportive network of peers as a 'community of management' (CoM), to coin a new term.

### *7.2.2 Theme 2: Balance*

The SMT Focus Group specifically picked up on literacy as a concrete measurement of the success of sign bilingualism. Literacy is a powerful instrument for measuring as it inherently measures both language modes when Sign Language is the first language. Building of literacy stems from the translanguaging practices that are now being encouraged in sign/deaf bilingual classes where South African Sign Language comes into contact with other languages, such as in the English or Afrikaans classes. The SMT Focus Group has noticed how literacy has improved significantly with the implementation of SASL in classes. In itself, this demonstrates that evidence in support of SASL and the sign bilingual paradigm is gathering momentum in the school and beyond. Another measurement of success mentioned by the SMT is the improvement in learners' thinking skills (logical thinking) as this reveals the depth of comprehension of texts in SASL, for the first time, and also serves as a bridge for developing learners English/Afrikaans literacy.

This comment was mirrored in the Older Teachers' Focus Group (FG2) where evidence of the success of sign language in driving up literacy was gathering and the consolidation of SASL is happening in teachers' minds and classroom interactions. FG3 emphasised the need to balance the use of languages once teachers had reached the first step of maintaining language separation. The next step entails teachers being open-minded and dynamic about the place and space of spoken languages (Garcia, 2011) as reformed, de-colonised (Jansen, 2016) post-audist teachers of the deaf. However, this focus group acknowledged that there is a lost generation of learners who have not been exposed to SASL in the earlier grades. This adds to the complexity of communicating with learners. Underneath this challenge of communicating is the growing awareness of the need to have a balanced approach in dealing with all the language options across all learners. Both FG2 and FG3 commented on the difficulty experienced with a diversity of language needs of learners.

### *7.2.3 Theme: 3: Unity*

From the SMT Focus Group, this theme was spoken about through the breaking down of barriers. In more specific terms, the barriers identified were the teachers' mental barriers to South African Sign Language as a result of the audist epistemology. Another barrier to be pulled down is that of poor communication with learners, and a lack of

confidence of teachers in their signing as was mentioned. Nevertheless, with experience, teachers' confidence in their signing grows as their skills improve. FG2 (older teachers) added the DoE's lack of awareness of South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism to the list of barriers. This statement was an open invitation to the DoE to visit the school in order to see first-hand what has changed and what teachers are dealing with. Teachers have the perception that DoE, despite being promoters of the SASL policy and SASL CAPS curriculum at a national level, appear not to be supportive of the transformation process. DoE are thus perceived, at best as a benign obstacle, and at worst, as an active inhibitor as a result of an apparent lack of post-audist networking, connection and transformation within the DoE whereas they should be working collaboratively in parallel with the school's transformation and implementation of Sign Language and the SASL CAPS curriculum. DoE needs to be working alongside schools for the Deaf through being fully conversant in the post-audism perspective that provides the theoretical foundation for sign/deaf bilingual schools and by listening to the teachers in such progressive schools.

Another way of looking at the theme of unity came from FG2 (older teachers) with the insight that breaking down the communication barrier allows teachers to 'touch their soul' through sign language. This signifies a new depth of connection and unity between teachers and Deaf learners as partners or co-learners.

Looking beyond the school, FG3 (younger teachers) added that there should be partnerships with other schools for the Deaf as a network (local, translocal, global) for sharing between teachers and Deaf learners as part of a unified system of bilingual Deaf Education.

## 7.3 Interviews

The themes that relate to post-audism were *'purpose'; 'comfort zone and deaf space '; 'balance, ambivalence, and connection.*

### *7.3.1 Theme 1: Purpose*

Although the principal commented on this at the end, it makes sense to take 'purpose' as the meta-theme of the interview, viz. to understand and meet the needs of the learners and teachers as people. The broad sweep of the purpose statement

encompasses not only learners, but includes teachers. In a post-audist context, teachers are partners in education and are learners too (Mcilroy, 2015). By changing the terms of reference of what it means to be a teacher of the Deaf, the principal opened up the possibilities of being and becoming a sign/deaf bilingual teacher, regardless of age and experience and history.

In another way, the principal's 'purpose' during the interview was to offer an invitation to teachers to specifically engage with the change that the school has embarked upon as a sacred purpose of educating Deaf learners. This marks a breakaway from the sense of pity and helplessness associated with the medical model, which undergirds the audist way of seeing deaf learners. Instead, as picked up by both of the Deaf teachers, their purpose as 'teachers of the deaf' is to equip deaf learners to build literacy, and higher thinking skills through the medium of sign language and other languages and become multilingual citizens who can compete in the marketplace on an equal footing. For the Deaf teachers, their awareness of this purpose has reshaped their teaching strategies and communication in class. In short, the bilingual 'Deaf Gain' (Bauman & Murray, 2014) mentality of Deaf teachers has raised their expectation of Deaf learners to a level higher than ever before (Pickersgill & Gregory, 1988).

### *7.3.2 Theme 2: Comfort zone and Deaf space*

The principal reiterated that SASL and sign bilingualism are the way forward even if this pushes teachers beyond their 'comfort zone'. This applies to hearing and Deaf teachers in different ways. Firstly, for hearing teachers the shift towards becoming signers in class is not an easy change to make. The principal prioritised the accessibility of sign language for Deaf and HoH learners, even though the majority of teachers were not fluent signers. For teachers, there needs to be a mental shift to accepting sign language and then becoming bilingual teachers. This is a long journey for teachers but the mental shift towards accepting sign language is central to their successful transformation as teachers and of the school too. There needs to be a willingness to engage with learning sign language diligently and to surrender their audist practices in class by moving beyond their comfort zone.

For the Deaf teachers, as ex-learners of oral schools for the deaf, there is a legacy of audism to be overcome in their thinking and practices. The principal summed it up neatly, 'change does not happen in a void'. Neither of the Deaf teachers are *de facto*

sign language experts simply because they are deaf. Instead, these Deaf teachers reflected critically upon themselves as deaf teachers of the Deaf. This introspective reflection led them to make changes, albeit in different ways to each other and to hearing teachers, in order to expose and discard their audist thinking and practices and learn new ways of thinking and teaching as deaf bilingual teachers.

The concept of 'Deaf space' as an extension of the concept proposed by Clandinin, 2006, Bauman, 2013) was raised by the principal as a new way of looking at the school. To illustrate the point, the principal explained that the school consists architecturally of old (colonial style) buildings that represent the audism era but it would not be beneficial to demolish all the old buildings/structures and be left with nothing. Instead, the school needs to take the old buildings and redesign the buildings into a new form as an amalgam of the old (audist) and the new (de-audist) buildings. This will transform the school metaphorically (Morgan, 2013) into a post-audist establishment that has connections with the past, as well as having a future with a dynamic hybrid bilingual structure in place (Wei, 2011).

For the Deaf teachers, the change to South African Sign Language brought unanticipated changes despite their initial excitement for this long-awaited change to SASL. Nevertheless, their place among hearing teachers, albeit at a school for the Deaf has not been a comfortable space. For them, fitting-in as teachers has until up until recently been on the terms of the audist mind-set of hearing teachers operating within the oral-centric pedagogy. With the concurrent change to South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism, their place as experts of sign language became openly acknowledged by hearing teachers even though they also had to invest in and go through the change of thinking in order to understand their past audist thinking and practices. In part, having deaf teachers go through this cleansing and rebuilding process through the South African Sign Language courses may have had the effect of encouraging hearing teachers to make the mental shift and to continue with the their own transformation to South African Sign Language and the sign bilingual pedagogy. By virtue of going through the transformation together, this created a sense of empathy in both deaf and hearing teachers and opened up new connections with each other as educational equals. This is a significant development that points to how the identity of teachers of the Deaf (both deaf and hearing) are being re-imagined as Jansen (2001, 2016) within this third space afforded by a post-audist epistemology of empathy.

### *7.3.3 Theme 3: Balance*

Fundamental to the theme of 'balance' is the recognition of the transforming power of bilingualism. The most explicit statement of balance came from one of the deaf teachers who saw the need to have a balance of languages by creating space for both modes of languages (signed language (SASL) and spoken languages (Afrikaans/English). In particular, there was a call to expose learners to languages earlier and intensively in order to build their languaging knowledge and skills in and across the languages (SASL, Afrikaans and English) and so create a strong foundation for communication. This point ties in with the principal's measure of success of the sign bilingual approach. Literacy is a key performance indicator of successful learning and is acquired through being a proficient bilingual learner. At the same time, this solidifies the need to have teachers who are not only able to use/understand sign language separately from spoken language (GVT/SE/TC) but can use both languages in class with a high level of proficiency.

Both Deaf teachers described their challenges in teaching within a diverse language class, while recognising the need to connect with learners. There is a realisation that there is no simple solution. However, Deaf teachers are a powerful and under-utilized resource as sign bilingual teachers because of their background and bilingual/multilingual competencies (Garcia & Cole, 2014; Humphries, 2013).

### *7.3.4 Theme 4: Ambivalence and Connection*

From the principal's perspective as school leader and manager, there is no ambivalence about the school's direction: South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism are the way forward for Deaf learners in the broad sense of sign bilinguals. However, there is a pragmatic observation that the school has a long way to go. Transformation from the past to a new way of thinking, being and doing (teaching) requires substantial investment in time and energy in the lives of teachers, and specifically in hearing teachers who need to engage with the transformation process. In order to form strong connections with teachers as the primary agents of change, there needs to be freedom to change without coercion, within the expectation that this is a school for the Deaf that uses South African Sign Language as a LOLT and has a sign bilingual approach to teaching. At the same time, SMT's patience with teachers is a necessary component to the change. Patience breeds connection and dignity between

people as equals, but there is a limitation to patience. From the principal's perspective, as school leader, teachers are expected to change within a reasonable period of time by virtue of committing themselves personally (Long, 2016) to changing their audist thinking and practices. It is therefore up to individual teachers themselves to make the necessary transformation and that introduces a state of ambivalence that needs to be managed by school leadership. To use the original anthropological terms that constitute a rite of passage 'marginality, liminality and reintegration' (Malinowski, 1960). Here, teachers found themselves being isolated (marginality) and between two worlds (liminality) but will not be a member of either until they found and lived out their new identity and achieve re-integration as a new person within a new space. This process of personal transformation requires entering the post-audist space where dialogue of their experiences is actively encouraged and given. What are teachers struggling with, and why; what support do they need, what needs to be changed to disrupt the colonial normativity (Grech, 2015, p. 10)? These are some of the questions around understanding ambivalence and developing connection. With the introduction of Sign Language, there is a radical transformation of the way things are done which needs to be voiced about the new ambivalent state brought about by the change needs to be articulated so that it is heard, understood and addressed. In short, within the fluidity of post-audism, a state of ambivalence becomes the new comfort zone of teachers and that needs to become a positive space of connection with others, far beyond what teachers had in their monolingual audist past. Again, like with the theme of Deaf space, this re-imagines the identity of the principal as a chief mediator/facilitator of change that breaks away from the audist identity of a principal as a paternal authority figure (Jansen, 1988, 2011; Fullan, 2004).

One of the Deaf teachers explicitly noticed the state of ambivalence and how to connect with Deaf/HH learners as the teacher-learner relationship is being transformed. For both deaf teachers, there is ambivalence about how to communicate in a multilingual classroom with a bilingual policy. Both have questions about how to navigate between the diversity of learners, such as with Hard-of-Hearing learners and with Deaf learners who need South African Sign Language or any variation of communication needs in the same class. Their connection with learners is unquestioned, but these teachers are finding that there are new questions about teaching that they need answers to, hence their state of ambivalence. At the same time, they are experimenting with 'mouthing', 'contact signing' and using a variety of translanguaging strategies to communicate with the diverse needs of Deaf and Hard-

of-Hearing learners in their classes which connects well with the schooling in American Sign Language recommendations made by Humphries (2013). It will be well worth examining their strategies and experiences as emerging sign bilingual deaf teachers within the fluid languaging interactions that occur in their classes as an inclusive deaf bilingual pedagogy (Garcia & Cole, 2014).

## 7.4 Journals

The themes that emerged from the cluster of journals were '*Teacher of the Deaf,' 'Sign Language and Bilingualism,' 'Deaf learners', and 'Change'.*

### *7.4.1 Theme 1: Teacher of the deaf: a new narrative of empathy*

The shift from a colonial discourse to a post-colonial, post-audist discourse is marked by the teachers' change of narrative from that of 'sympathy' to a narrative of 'empathy'. The stability, alternatively seen as the dogmatic monolingual control of the curriculum and pedagogy has been replaced by a fluid hybrid paradigm of sign bilingualism. However, as experienced teachers let go of their sympathy for deaf learners' disablement (Betcher, 2013) by immersing themselves in South African Sign Language, this encounter transformed the way that they saw deaf learners. This heuristic assumption, to borrow the term from Kahnemann (2011) indicates that a mental shift (to SASL) has occurred resulting in teachers establishing a strong connection with deaf learners as equals instead of as subjugated, marginalised disabled others (Grech, 2015 p. 7) from their experience of South African Sign Language. From here, belonging to both worlds, hearing and Deaf, was seen as definitive acceptance of South African Sign Language and Deaf learners and a shift to a post-audist sign bilingual paradigm.

The teachers' greatest joys were centred on the impact of South African Sign Language that they witnessed within their Deaf/HH learners that enabled them to make sense of the world and acquire knowledge. Witnessing how South African Sign Language improved the communication and literacy of their learners enabled teachers to let go of their audist heuristic coloniality (Grecht, 2015) against sign language. From this basis, teachers reported that learners were learning with understanding and were bridging between languages.

Teachers described the changes to their teaching as a tolerance of diversity of deaf learners and languages in class that emanated from the post-audist realisation that the previous inclusive education approach of 'one-size-fits-all' has failed. The concept of 'deaf' has changed into a broadened (inclusive) but somewhat illusive concept for hearing teachers of a multiplicity and complexity of ways of being deaf, including but not limited to Deaf, hard-of-hearing, HoH, sign bilinguals within this ambit. As insiders (being deaf), Deaf teachers are seen as role models for teachers and learners to disrupt the power of coloniality (Grech, 2015).

Hearing teachers perceive Deaf teachers as ideal role models on account of the connection deaf teachers have with deaf learners. However, this heuristic is being challenged: hearing teachers that can sign are elevated to the level of sign bilingual teachers while hearing teachers who do not persevere with developing fluency in South African Sign Language lack the foundation for developing translanguaging practices and this perpetuates the divide between hearing and Deaf teachers.

### *7.4.2 Theme 2: South African Sign Language and Sign Bilingualism: integrating new transformative languaging practices*

Although adopting the mental shift to South African Sign Language, the experienced teachers commented that this change had not happened fully in all of them. Rather than seeing this as an indictment of reluctance against experienced teachers, there seems to be a case to be made here for saying that the mental shift is incomplete and for seeing experienced teachers as 'recovering audists', to borrow and re-imagine the phrase used by Mapasa (2016), to describe those who have a long way to go with disrupting the metaphysical audism (Eckhard & Rowley, 2013) within themselves as teachers which is essential to disrupting the institutional audism Eckhard & Rowley, 2013). This implies that the changes that the school makes are in danger of being undermined by any latent audism within teachers. This is most evident in the FET teachers where sign language was used sparingly at the time of the study. Where South African Sign Language is embedded as the language of teaching and learning (LOLT) and used consistently and fluently in the Foundation and Inter/Sen phases, teachers are strong advocates of South African Sign Language and its future in their classes. In this way, South African Sign Language has also opened the eyes of teachers to the world of Deaf/HH learners. This connection is the by-product of being fully immersed in learning the language even when it meant a reversal of teacher and

learner roles where the teacher becomes a learner of South African Sign Language, and the learners become the South African Sign Language teacher to their teacher, and this is especially so in the higher grades (FET phase).

For some teachers, their cognitive dissonance with making a full commitment to SASL and sign bilingualism prevents them from relinquishing their pedagogical authority (Makalela, 2015a, p. 212) as teacher by switching roles (from a teacher to a learner of SASL) and reshaping their identity into a new pedagogical authority centred on the concept of *Ubuntu* (Makalela, 2015a, p. 212) with their learners and peers. In contrast, hearing teachers that have made the switch and use sign language regularly are adamant that South African Sign Language has to be used. Although there is recognition among teachers, especially the Deaf teachers of the danger of swinging too far to the other extreme and returning to a monolingual space where South African Sign Language becomes the *de facto* language to the exclusion of other languages and a denial of the multilingual aim of the school. The space in the middle is a multilingual zone and having a balance of languages was seen as important for the future. In addition, it aligns with the post-audist perspective of reclaiming one's voice (Reinharz, 1994) as post-colonial agents.

The challenges to sign language and bilingualism present hearing teachers' with the difficulty of learning a new language as they do not come equipped with South African Sign Language, but are typically learning the language of teaching and learning 'on site'. Despite early progress on creating awareness of SASL and its structure, unless it is supported, there is a high risk of recidivism to the audist practices of oral/TC/GVT among experienced teachers.

Another challenge is the limited parental take-up of South African Sign Language to support and consolidate learning at home. Teachers commented that many of the parents understandably prefer using an oral language at home. This indicates that the audist heuristic among parents needs to be addressed by creating awareness among parents of the school's sign bilingual focus and its goals.

Another characteristic of the post-audist perspective is the ability to cope with the high degree of uncertainty and ambivalence of the unknown world of multilingualism Makelala, 2015b). Hence, teachers who can move between languages and cultures/worlds find great satisfaction in teaching multilingual and diverse learners.

These teachers are the pathfinders in the uncharted territory of sign bilingualism. In addition to letting go of the audist past, sign bilingual teachers described themselves as being in alignment with the concept of language separation, which was a difficulty that has dogged the teachers who had not made the mind-shift but continued to mix the languages (TC/GVT) under the guise of bilingualism. Hence, there are teachers whose minds have not fully decolonised (Ngugi, 1994). Again, the goal of sign bilingual comes through for being a pedagogical pathway for providing deaf and hoh learners with a better life in a hearing-dominated world through literacy.

### *7.4.3 Theme 3: Deaf Learners: re-definition*

It was found that among the experienced teachers there is a persistence of the traditional 'disabilist' (Grech, 2015) vocabulary used to describing deaf learners, such as: 'normal', 'special', 'disabled', 'dependant' (Humphries, 2013, DoE, 2014). In contrast, younger teachers and a deaf teacher redefined deaf bilinguals/Deaf learners as 'capable', 'independent' learners where difference and diversity is the new 'normal': heteronormativity (Betcher, 2016).

A hypothetical scenario was posed to the teachers: as a parent of a deaf child, what would teachers want from their child's teacher? Across the range of teachers, there was unanimity: they would want literacy so that the deaf child would be able to fit into both worlds. South African Sign language was endorsed by teachers as a 'must-have' feature which in itself marks a radical shift in the mind-set of teachers away from previously denigrating sign language as being inferior to spoken languages. It was explicitly mentioned that South African Sign Language is essential for communication and for bridging to other languages and creating bilingual learners who can communicate in both worlds. This finding speaks directly to the linguistic parity and connectivity of teachers to Deaf/HH learners.

Experienced teachers commented that they have re-defined deaf learners as people who are capable and intelligent and this in turn has raised the standard of education expected of all d/Deaf learners. This is a feature of post-audist approach to education. However, when there is a lack of South African Sign Language proficiency, then hearing teachers become an obstacle to deaf learners' academic progress. It was found that deaf teachers do not automatically share the same level of signing proficiency. Central to teachers increased patience with d/Deaf learners is their

awareness of the need for mutual dignity/respect of South African Sign Language. Where respect is absent or insufficient, the teacher-learner dyad reverts to the previous asymmetry of teacher-learner power relations marked by the teacher having unquestionable neo-colonial power (Grech, 2015, p.13). This does not necessarily mean that post-audism makes the learner equal to the teacher, but instead, the dignity of both identities as teacher and learner are renegotiated into a connected collaborative learner-centred relationship.

It is axiomatic that d/Deaf learners need Deaf role models (Rogers & Young, 2013). However, up to the recent transformation to South African Sign Language, the school had only hearing teachers in accordance with its audist approach to education. The recent appointment of deaf teachers has changed the profile of teachers but also introduced a new dynamic. From a post-audism perspective, Deaf teachers are valorised as equals by virtue of their privileged position as insiders and as (sign) language experts. To remain true to the bilingual focus of post-audism, both hearing and Deaf teachers are challenged to commit to offering both languages at a high level of competence as Swannick (2010) and Garcia (2013, p. 18) suggest.

#### *7.4.4 Theme 4: Change: struggles and possibilities of new connections (aporia)*

Of the changes that need to be made, the hearing teachers focused on the need to consolidate the change to South African Sign Language by becoming more proficient in using the language in class. This includes adopting new habits, such as, using sign language when in conversations with a Deaf teacher/person as a matter of dignity. This also includes, using the language of post-audism, expanding the community of practice to include Deaf/HH adults, parents and using the Department of Education and District Office as a network of multilingual partners to consolidate the breakaway from the past audist pedagogy and monolingual policy and practices (Garcia, 2016, p. 5)

### 7.5 Discussion

Before engaging in a discussion about the themes, the themes for the focus groups, interviews and journals are re-introduced to see how the themes from these outcome spaces are related to each other. Schematically, Table 1, the themes from the data are:

**Table 3: Focus Groups, Interviews and Journal Themes**

| Data | Themes |
|---|---|
| **Focus groups** | |
| | *Establishing SASL* |
| | *Balance* |
| | *Unity* |
| **Interviews** | |
| | *Purpose* |
| | *Out of the Comfort zone and deaf space* |
| | *Balance* |
| | *Paradox of Ambivalence and connection* |
| **Journals** | |
| | *Teacher of the Deaf: a new narrative of empathy* |
| | *Sign Language and bilingualism: integrating new transformative languaging practices* |
| | *Deaf Learners: redefinition* |
| | *Change: struggles and possibilities of new connections* |

As can be seen from the above table, the themes for the three data sets are diverse and expansive. The themes for the Focus Groups and Interviews were intentionally derived after reading the texts to avoid imposing a pre-determined set of thematic labels. The journal topics were structured around four broad themes ('Teacher of the Deaf'; 'Sign Language and Bilingualism', Deaf Learners' and 'Change') and the themes for each category were subsequently generated.

The Focus Groups covered the themes of 'establishing SASL', 'balance' and 'unity'. Taken together, these themes were strong indicators of a post-audist reading that underpins the change from the audist approach. It is stating the obvious that the establishment of South African Sign Language is the cornerstone of the bilingual

approach, but more than that, sign language needs to be positioned as an equal, not as an add-on or a replacement language. For this to happen, there needs to be an institutional commitment to South African Sign Language through a revision of the language policy in order to cement South African Sign Language as the language of instruction and adoption of the SASL CAPS curriculum, which has been done (Appendix G). From this policy platform, the themes of balance and unity become principles behind sign bilingualism regardless of the focus group. There was unanimity on having balance and unity, and although these are esteemed values, the practical outworking is more difficult to achieve across the bands of teaching experience and sign language experience across the grades. Nonetheless, there is a commitment to finding a balance and harmonising the complexity of teachers and learners in a post-audism framework. This emerged in detail in the SMT Focus Group, and is echoed in the younger and older teachers Focus Groups.

The interviews talked thematically about 'purpose', 'out of the comfort zone and deaf space', 'balance', the 'paradox of ambivalence and connection'. The interviews of the key informants, the principal and the two deaf teachers, provided an in-depth view into their thinking on the school's change to sign bilingualism. The principal covered the first two themes explicitly, and touched on the last two themes, while both of the deaf teachers focused more on the theme of finding and achieving 'balance' and the 'paradox of ambivalence and connection'. For the principal, the educational purpose is imperative to driving the post-audist policy. Placing deaf learners at the forefront of education may seem a redundant statement, but in this case, the re-arranging of the language policy and praxis brings in a re-imagined teacher of the deaf as a sign bilingual teacher who respects and uses both languages. Both Deaf teachers commented on the need for a balance of languages based on their classroom experience. They expressed concerns about the complexity of the change to sign language, hence the paradox of being ambivalent about Sign Language, which they have always officially wanted in class, and the complexity of making connections with a diverse range of learners in their classes. For them, this unresolved tension needs more dialogue.

The Journals discussed the themes of 'teacher of the deaf: a new narrative of empathy', 'Sign Language and bilingualism: integrating new transformative languaging practices', 'Deaf learners: redefinition', 'change: struggles and possibilities of new connections'. Placing the theme of 'teacher of the deaf, a new narrative' alongside

‘deaf learners: redefinition’ reveals that teachers not only see themselves as the change agents from within, but also have to have a new conception of Deaf/HH learners as capable, independent learners that is brought about by South African Sign Language. Hence, South African Sign Language changed them mentally, which infers that their teaching practices are correspondingly changed to seeing their learners as equals. These Journal entries speak strongly of the post-audism ontology of belonging and creating deep connection with Deaf/HH learners through South African Sign Language, which in itself is new ground for many of the journal writers.

The next chapter analyses and discusses the autoethnographic narratives and the metaphors embedded within and as a mechanism for understanding the ontological and conceptual metaphors in the three datasets of the Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals that follow in Chapter 9.

# CHAPTER 8: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF AUTO-ETHNOGRAPHIC NARRATIVES (STEP 4)

## 8.1 Introduction

These blogs of second order/from-the-inside consciousness (Martin, 1981) writings are a selection from field notes written down during and after the four site visits to the school, as well as research-related blogs of the researcher's journey as an interpretative bricoleur (Rogers, 2012, p. 14). Originally, the blogs were devised to be separate categories of 'Research Blogs' and 'Bilingual Blogs'. It was found that due to the insider nature of the study, the blogs overlapped and merged into a single blog by mid-2015. This trend continued until the end of the study.

The blogs are presented in the form of extracts from the chronological narrative of critical/short excerpts from the blogs starting in February 2013 to January 2017 in italics [verbatim] while some blogs such as: 'Introduction'; 'Letter to my Teachers'; 'Solidarity in Sign Language'; 'Fitting-in'; 'Bilinguality'; 'The Cave of Audism'; 'Assumptions' 'Metaphors', 'Bricolage and the Bricoleur'', and with hindsight, it is deemed fitting to include the final blog 'Bilingualism: language separation or concurrent language use?' are added in full with comprehensive reflective analysis afterwards, Thereafter, all of the blogs are interpreted as a whole (as a 'pool of meaning' (Marton & Booth, 1997, Reed, 2006, p. 8) for 'categories of variations' (Booth, 2008) at the end for the purpose of understanding the language, metaphors and experiences of the researcher as narrative theorist (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 7).

## 8.2 Research Blogs

### *8.2.1 Introducing the researcher*

A brief introduction to myself as a bilingual deaf person was made in Chapter 1. Here, the researcher's identity narrative is expanded My most recent audiogram (10 March 2017) indicates that I have a 'severe to profound bilateral prelingual sensori-neural hearing loss (PTA left 90 dB and right 90 dB': I wear Oticon Domino 6 BTE13SP high-power digital hearing-aids and with these I can hear well, in my opinion, but there are always words that I miss in conversations, so I rely on lipreading to augment this. In

addition, I was born deaf and with hearing aids and had plenty of speech therapy before I went to a mainstream school. I matriculated in 1983 and went to university. It was only after meeting a community of Deaf people at church in 2001 that I really began to make the shift into the Deaf community by immersion into learning South African Sign Language. It simply was not an option available to me until that time. This was the biggest change of my life, and my master's dissertation (2008) records this difficult journey of self-discovery and learning SASL. Over the last ten years, I have embraced my identity as a Deaf/HH person, as I have accepted that I am a (regular) second language user of SASL. I have accepted that SASL will never become my first language, nor will I be as fluent as a natural signer will, but then I have found that many of my deaf friends and peers are fine with that too. I know that I have chosen to be there with them and they accept me in this identity space as my signing and confidence improves. It is interesting to look back and see how my life has changed and how much I have invested in being DeaF (Mcilroy, 2008). This is who I am, and I am now comfortable and proud of myself. I made the decision to learn SASL and this is what I did at university and in my local Deaf community. In half of the classes that I teach, I use my voice, and an interpreter, or a Bellman & Symfon Domino Pro FM loop system and in the other half. I literally and symbolically take my hearing aids off and sign only: I am now a sign bilingual lecturer, my signing has begun to catch up sufficiently, I think, to stand on its own, and it is this chapter is about the journey of the last five years as a doctoral candidate.

### *8.2.2 Narrative analysis of blogs and e*xcerpts

The blog texts are presented in chronological order from the beginning of 2013, which coincides with the start of my doctoral study, and the two visits to the research site. The texts continue through 2014, 2015, 2016 and into the first trimester of 2017 on the key events in the journey as a researcher and bilingual deaf person. This bilingual narrative of the researcher is intentionally used as a parallel, undercurrent narrative and as an interpretative frame for analysing the data from the Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals of teachers at a school for the Deaf on their sign bilingual journey.

*i. Bilingual Blog: DeaF 3 February 2013*

> *'My schooldays were somewhat traumatic and made me always feel like an anxious 'outsider', and a 'victim', now this is changed in me. With my 'DeaF'*

*dogtag, I have disclosed my bilingual 'inbetweenity' (Brueggerman, 2004) identity as a deaf person explicitly. Without hearing-aids, I cannot hear people, so I sign.'*

This is how is this journey of being in both worlds started, and seeking to make sense with who I am and where I am going as a linguistic citizen of both worlds with a dual identity.

*ii. Bilingual Blog: Am I a bilingual deaf person? 27 February 2013*

*'Am I a bilingual deaf person? I thought this has become a reality for me. But I think the real issue is that I am not a 50-50 bilingual and never will be because English is my first language, and my signing is always at second language level. It is for this reason that I think that being bilingual is fine for most people, as long as they are honest with themselves and their respective audiences. So this fits in with the translanguaging view of bilingualism, and releases me from the stress and strain to be 'bi-'. But I want to be as good as I can be, through the interactions and contact with others to improve my signing as much as possible, as there is room for growth.'*

This is where I was coming from. The theories of bilingualism were beginning to change with the arrival of translanguaging theory and this was feeding through into the research topic on sign bilingualism.

*iii. Researcher Blog: Vision 9 March 2013*

*'I was born for such a time and for this project. I am deaf, and this is one of my strengths here. Being deaf is no longer a weakness, but it is an asset in this project. And I will do whatever it takes to be true to myself and doing this research on bilingualism is close to my heart.'*

When I started this research journey, this is what I wrote, as it is what makes this study unique; and I believe, an original contribution. At the same time, it is an inversion of how I approached the research as it tapped into the core focus as a narrative of my journey as an insider (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p.3) as it began to unfold.

*iv. Researcher Blog: Focus Groups 11 August 2013*

*'A vital discovery for me was that being there as a researcher was neither short, nor simple. I found that planning is key.'*

*Having a SASL Interpreter in the focus groups and meetings changed the way that the answers were given as I definitely felt the teachers saw me unequivocally as a deaf person doing research here, instead of another hearing person coming in to ask them questions about something they did not really understand. Therefore, in that sense, it was good to be privy to the thoughts and experiences of the members of the focus groups. With the deaf teachers, I interviewed each in sign language on camera. This was a major step forward as a researcher, personally, and I was proud to use sign language in a professional interview. This language choice marked me out as a professional deaf researcher by asking questions on a linguistic parity and shared identity platform.'*

*Once the data collection started with focus groups and interviews, the way I saw myself as a researcher began to take shape, and with the growth of my bilingual identity, something new was emerging.*

This moment marked a shift in how research by a deaf researcher could and should be done. The reality of having a dual insider-ness as a deaf person with both language modalities (spoken and signed language) introduced a new dimension to research as a deaf-led study. With an interpreter present and with South African Sign Language deliberately used in the interviews and focus groups sessions, served to locate the researcher as a visible and upfront deaf researcher. This changed the structure of the interview from a monolingual interview in a spoken language to a bilingual interview where whatever language was deemed appropriate was encouraged and allowed to be expressed. In other words, the principal of language fluency and translanguaging was adhered to and this contributed greatly to the post-interview analysis of the videos. This structure precluded the identity of the researcher from being labelled as an 'audist researcher' with the danger of bringing 'guilty knowledge' (Jansen, 2013) of having a monolingual bias by 'switching off' the researcher's deafness during the interviews. Such a position would have foreclosed the researcher's identity and status as a bilingual deaf person in the participants' eyes of being 'more of the same' research to bolster what is already known about how and why the school is undergoing transformation. What was identified early in the research design was the need for a bilingual deaf researcher's investigation into the 'hearts and minds' of teachers as a collaborator rather than having a hearing-focused, English-only outsider trying to understand through one language within complex trilingual context. Fundamentally, by being honest, open and courageous about being a deaf researcher as an emerging

sign bilingual became a central theme to establishing authenticity and trustworthiness across the linguistic spectrum of participants. The researcher's explicit inner sign bilingual position and journey served to provide congruence for establishing connections with the participants both as an insider and as a co-participant in this study through the messiness of their joys and challenges (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 2).

*v. Researcher Blog: One week after the first visit to the school 11 August 2013*

> *'When I went to the research site, [a school for the Deaf] I thought of bilingualism as the use of both languages when necessary, and was glad to see the first class I went into using only sign language, it was a sign language class after all. This is innovative teaching. The hearing teacher was teaching sign language to Grade 2s and a Deaf Teaching Assistant (DTA) was there in the class with her. That was the best arrangement under the circumstances. I had to mentally and physically switch to sign-mode. Looking at this from the outside, as the first class I had visited there, I was touched to see South African Sign Language in action, and that the rule of "no-voice" was enforced, not strictly, but willingly. There is a difference.'*

It was this connection that the teachers had with the learners that made the power of sign language and being sign bilingual users visible.

> *'On reflection, this may well be the problem that hearing teachers have with this class and the policy: making this switch to full signing is really difficult for hearing teachers, I agree. Y you have to tell yourself and others that you are signing here, and then do it throughout with correct SASL structure. I felt that many teachers, even if they have been through training on sign language still need to take this leap of faith into the unknown and scary world of silent communication for them to begin to experience the world of silence and the power of sign language in this world. This empathy with deaf learners, regardless of age or grade or family background and language usage is only available when the teacher turns on their hands and opens their eyes. This I know.'*

From, here, I picked up the other side of the story, of the struggle that hearing teachers have in making the switch to sign Language. This has been an invisible, unspoken story of Deaf epistemology coming through. Both of these stories make up the heart and soul of this study,

*'It is also about my identity. Am I a hearing-deaf person, or am I a deaf-hearing person, or a bilingual deaf/hearing person? My identity was most like the first identity term, until I signed in class and took on the identity of a 'signing deaf person, who can hear quite well with hearing-aids'. That is me. I really felt a huge sense of relief once I took this step into signing mode instead of speaking, for inside me, I have experienced a sense of deep peace.'*

vi. *Researcher Blog: 'No Teacher Left Behind' 11 August 2013*

*'During this week, I found that I looked up to the new teachers as the new generation who are building bilingual bridges. I saw that the younger group are aware of this and are willing to take up the challenge of signing more with these early grades as they develop with the more senior grades. I think this is exciting times for Deaf/HH learners, and for teachers who take on this shift to become 'a sign-conscious bilingual teacher or be left behind: nevertheless, the school has an unwritten policy of 'No Teacher Left Behind'. This is a humorous twist on the well-known phrase in American inclusive education policy of 'No Child Left Behind').*

After the first visit, it brought a great deal of satisfaction to see teachers journey of becoming and being bilingual, and this was a validity marker, which simultaneously tracks where I am going with bilingualism.

vii. *Research Blog: Fieldnotes on the journey 18 August 2013*

*'I am not fully there yet, so I am also on this journey with the teachers, but I have a different view of this: as a deaf person teaching hearing students sign language. For the hearing teachers in a school for the deaf, they need to sign to deaf learners who know what it is like to be deaf, but the teachers cannot really know this world, not just the physical experience of being deaf but also the social experiences in a hearing world that misunderstands and merely tolerates them. Hence, this empathy can grow in the space between hearing teachers and deaf learners through sign language. I feel that it is presumptuous for hearing teachers to try to understand deaf learners through English/another spoken language, although their educational intention is good. I say this because the way that I express myself in SASL about Deaf issues is so much more meaningful and accurate than when I say it or write it in a words/blog it. At the level of connecting with someone who has a different experience and*

*language, it is better to meet at their level to hear what they say in their language about themselves or something gets lost in translation. This is what happened in the signed conversations with two of the deaf teachers.'*

Here the themes of the bilingual journey and identity in my personal bilingual and research narratives were becoming intertwined through the languages.

In addition, this extract shows the theme of deaf epistemology as critical epistemology for teachers. On reflection, this connects strongly with the quintessential Deaf culture poem written in English: '*You have to be Deaf to understand*' (*Willard J. Madsen, 1971)* that teachers need to read and understand while learning SASL (Appendix G).

*viii. Bilingual Blog: Hearing Test 21 November 2013*

*'I also found that when my professor and supervisor talks to me and adds signs that I follow more easily, of course, not everyone can do this. However, I am amazed how much signed English helps me and how much I actually benefit from this. I am not advocating signed English for all deaf, or even for all hearing-aid users, but there are definitely people, like me, who benefit from extra visual cues to ensure fullness of communication. This is especially valid for me as English is my first language, and having more than enough South African Sign Language, this complements this communication and eliminates many of the gaps I may experience when only listening. The converse is also true. I have found that I sign much better without my hearing aids on, and without voice. Right now, I am also content to write this blog without wearing the hearing aids. That is the paradox of my life. I love it, and at times I really hate it when I cannot hear something.'*

After a hearing test, I reflected on the paradoxes of being an oral deaf person. Signed English helped me to follow, and in time, as SASL fluency improved conversations morphed quite naturally into contact signing with far more Sign Language features, and the same change happened with the interpreter using more contact signing than signed English. This progress is a pleasant discovery. In time, this provided an essential platform for developing SASL, but also, contact signing where the conversation is predominantly in sign with a only a few words added, either English or Afrikaans in this context. Becoming aware and a user of 'contact sign' proved to be an important knowledge and skill to acquire for communication with both of the Deaf teachers. Because I understood contact signing, I was aware of this language practice and could

identify it and add to my growing languaging resources (Garcia & Cole, 2013) which are necessary for bilinguality (Hamers, 2000, p. 6). Hamers describe bilinguality (2000, p. 6) as 'the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code for communication'. The concept of bilinguality is also applicable to sign language (Emmorey & McCullough, 2009) and more recently confirmed by cognitive research by Petitto (2015) on signers.

*ix. Bilingual Blog: Being Bilingual 20 January 2014*

> *'For me, translanguaging means letting go of having one language that you are comfortable and skilled in, and then grasping the other language on its own terms and letting each language begin to change both and find a new space where both co-exist. The acquisition and use of different languages is important in the shaping of the learner's life, but also in teachers' lives, who see are on a parallel but different journey. As a deaf teacher-researcher, I have my fingers in many pies; I am familiar with both sides, but look forward to understanding how this works for both sides. My focus is on the teachers. Although they have the interests of deaf learners at heart, they may not all have the same vision and aims based on their perceptions and experiences and attitudes to being sign bilingual teachers. It is happening right now and this is where their journey along with the school.'*

The concept of translanguaging (Swain, 2005; Garcia, 2009, Garcia &Cole, 2014; Makelala, 2015a) provides structure for analysing the data within and across the languages, which became clear from my own experience with being a bilingual. In addition, this is a narrative into seeing the world differently through the lens of Deaf epistemology of English and South African Sign Language within the hybrid third space of dynamic bilingualism through translanguaging (Garcia & Cole, 2014, p. 105; Makelala, 2015b, p. 16).

*x. Bilingual Blog: Received my DeafSA Card 24 April 2014*

> *'Received my card from DeafSA, I am officially registered with DeafSA as a 'Deaf person'. So I definitely have a hearing-loss, it has been lost and for that, as for any loss, I am sad today. I need to write about this now. I have a black and white photo of myself when I was a three-year old. This is emblematic of the mental picture I carried around with me of the near silent, scary, lonely world of seeing myself as a victim of deafness. I was alone in this world. There*

*were no other people in my world who were deaf and who could connect with me. Therefore, the greatest needs that I have are for connection and understanding, and this has been bridged by sign language and the knowledge of other deaf lives other than my own. Hence, for me, when I walked around the school for the Deaf, I saw both myself as a young deaf child there in that school and I hungered to be there, to learn there, to sign there, to have deaf friends there, and still communicate with my parents. Then I have the connection with my parents through English and that is fine. Actually, this is good as it is my language, but I love South African Sign Language. Being deaf makes me an insider to the deaf world of silence when my hearing aids are off. When I teach in SASL, I am learning to see a different me. As my skills and confidence increases, so does the courage to look more closely at who I am becoming, from the background of who I was, as a 5-year old, then the painful memories of school and growing up in a mainstream school begin to fade away, and are being replaced by a clearer picture of myself as a bilingual deaf person living in both worlds. There is so much detail and colours to see in the new portrait of myself, in fact this image is old-fashioned and contested/problematic for me: it is now a moving 3D picture of me speaking at times and then shifting easily to the other side as a signer and back and forth. This is mind-blowing for me to look at and discover, it is a different me to what I expected to find. Instead of a static picture of me as a deaf or a hearing person, I found a new image of myself. I feel that a mask has fallen off, or that I do not need this mask on anymore and that is liberating! I feel free inside, I feel me. More me than before; I am more in the hearing world and more in the deaf world, not less, and not alone anymore. As I understand myself, so I find that I connect better to others, both deaf and hearing. Yes!'*

Reflective writing about my journey as a deaf person proved to be a difficult, emotional and at the same time, a cathartic, emancipatory and transformative inquiry (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 10), from the metaphorical cave of audism into post-audist sign bilingual identity space.

*xi. Bilingual Blog: Languages 8 May 2014*

*'I know that English is my strong first language and SASL is my second language, but I have such a soft spot for signing. This is because it is really my language as a deaf person: 'you have to be deaf to understand', you know what*

*I mean. But it was not always like this for me, and I suspect that there are many oral deaf persons who grow up not knowing the power and grammaticality/ sight-scape of sign language since they have not been exposed to its expressiveness from and through native signers. I used to have a problem with not being a native or native-like signer, no more, SASL is my second language. Moreover, I want to improve, and the best way is in dialogue with others who sign better than me. I know what I have and what I can have as far as sign language goes, but I want to achieve, a bit more, then a bit more until this language becomes second nature to me all the time (fully acquired). It is in these moments when I let the language live through me that it inspires me to do more give more, learn more, be more, if you know what I mean? That is what it means to me to be bilingual, and find contentment in the space between languages and thought. This is languaging. There are times when I think in English, such as writing this blog article, and when I am in signing-thought mode and the way, I see the world and others and I shifts to seeing beyond English and Sign Language as named languages.*

*I know that SASL and English are wonderful tools for thought and carriers of thought, but these are languages, which encode their own knowledge systems or epistemologies that shape the way the user, like me sees the world. It is complicated and wonderful at the same time. What do you think? How does a sign bilingual person think? How does your first language affect your second? And how does/has my second language (SASL) enrich(ed) my thinking?'*

Writing these inquiring questions and ideas about the fluid connection between the three (multiple) languages (Makelala, 2015b) available to me as a deaf bilingual gave me the tools for theorizing as a researcher (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 7-8, or as Schön, calls this 'knowing-in-action' (1983).

*xii. Researcher Blog: Paradoxes 8 May 2014*

*'And this is why I am writing this, there are paradoxes that are becoming more apparent to me now, such as when I walked around the school, I can see myself as a teacher there, and as a deaf teacher and while I wandered around the school, I wondered how and what I would do if I were teaching there. Would I teach in full SASL, or use signed English, and the third language of the school community in signed supported form? Now with this bilingual theory (translanguaging), I saw each of these languaging practices and looked at*

*these not with the eyes of a hearing outsider, but as a deaf insider And I wondered: "If I were here teaching, what would I do and why?" I embraced each class on its own terms and could see the place and value of each language practice and I could see the bigger picture. I loved the signing classes and loved signing only in these classes with the kids. They could see that I am deaf and that I value SASL and encourage them to sign and learn in SASL. If I were in the junior phase, I would sign fully, be happy, and use the SASL pilot project and SASL curriculum material. In the higher grades, I may use more spoken because the subject matter has not yet been adapted to SASL yet. And this may change in time as the curriculum catches up with these learners in these grades. This places new demands on teachers to change with the times, but where does the oral part of Afrikaans. and English fit in? How and where do these teachers fit into this system in order to be bilingual? I believe that they can fit in and I am excited about the translanguaging part of being bilingual, but there are paradoxes to be teased out and discussed. That is why being there at the school was so intense for me. If I were not deaf, then it would probably just be a research site and there would be a fair amount of distance between me and the teachers and principal and learners. However, this is not the case; hence, this is why it is a case study and not simply a piece of research on a neglected linguistic minority group and culture. I want to connect and understand the teachers and the principal. I am heavily invested in this site, so it is now established as an ethnographic study, (of a community of teachers at a school for the Deaf, which is within a community of its own) and where I am a participant-observer as a teacher/researcher/deaf teacher/deaf researcher. But also, the word 'observer' here has a different meaning in a sign language context, within the visual world of deaf and hearing teachers, so there is so much more to see here and I want to capture the teachers changes as the school changes.'*

Then, in as much as this research is an 'narrative inquiry [that] becomes a means through which teachers actualise their ways of knowing and growing that nourishes and sustains their professional development' (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p.6). This speaks of the teachers in this school, but also to the researcher's professional development as a narrative researcher...

*xiii. Researcher blog: Case Study 25 May 2014*

*'One of the strengths of case study research is that it seeks to tell a story and this is an intrinsic part of this case study as an unfolding of the school's narrative of teachers and the SMT and the principal's experiences and perspectives along with the researcher's narrative and meta-narrative as a bilingual researcher. In this sense, this case study tells the story of the research as it happened and is interspersed with research field notes and the research blogs.*

This extract focuses on the discussion about the use of the case study as a narrative inquiry as a hermeneutical process that involves the researcher 'stepping back, description and reflection and analysis' (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 7).

*xiv. Researcher Blog 3 an Unasked Question August 2014*

*'Asking an unasked question: what are the researcher-led questions conversation/dialogue that I should have had with these teachers?*

In the post-visit period, thinking as a researcher, I reflected on this question, and realised the 'unfinalizability' (Bakhtin, 1996, p. 133) of narrative research. Similarly, I discovered the validity of Johnson & Golombek's sage comment that narrative inquiry does not look for simple answers or quick solutions, but theorizes about what I understand about myself (2002, p. 7), and as a deaf researcher.

*xv. Researcher Blog: Second field trip: 28-30 September 2014, 5 October 2014*

*'I was so encouraged by a (hearing) participant's comment that this is research being done at the school by a deaf person. She really made my day. That unsolicited comment was so special, and exactly what I wanted to achieve, and there are many stories to capture and understand here.'*

The highlight of this visit was to conduct the focus group wrap-up session and achieve a sense of closure on the data collection part of the study. As well as understanding the complexity of what sign language and sign bilingualism means to a variety of teachers.

*xvi. Blog: Letter to my Teachers 20 October 2014*

*Dear Sir/Ma'am*

*This is the letter that I should have written after I finished school, but I have realised that one is never finished with school. There are lingering*

*undercurrents of influence that continue to ripple over one's life long after matric. Some of these are positive waves of fresh water over the desert of one's soul and mind, while some are more like tsunamis that devastate everything in its path from a far-off deep-water seismic event.*

*Teachers, you need to know:*

*Firstly, I am deaf. Not 'hearing-impaired', not 'deaf and dumb', not 'hearing loss', not 'hardly hearing', not 'hard-of-hearing'. Deaf is fine, I am fine with this word, are you? I really do not have a problem with this word in class, and you can use it when talking to me, or talking about me in staffroom, or in the class. It is time to change the words. Deaf is good now.*

*If you say the other words, then you can never really get to know me. I am not 'hard-of hearing', or 'hearing-impaired', as these imply that I am somewhat in the hearing world, and "Ag shame, we need to help him get back in" mentality. I really do not like that patronising tone and false sympathy and pity. I need your empathy instead. Do you know what it is like to be deaf? No, but I am sure that you can imagine. But until you are deaf, you cannot understand what it is like in class with all the noise and paradoxically, all the silence and muffled sounds and missed words, sentences, dialogues, instructions, whispers, gossip, hidden meanings, announcements and general everyday cacophony of sounds and noises that are almost impossible to distinguish. Coming back to the water metaphor: either I had a trickle of information, or drips, or a sudden a tidal wave of overwhelming amount of water (sound) with an accompanying confusing detritus of information. This was confusing as I struggled to wade through the information of sounds for useful lifebelts of knowledge, like when there is a test. You see, hearing aids amplify everything, which is a problem, as I cannot often work out what is being said clearly, when others are talking at the same time or the general noise of the classroom impedes on my attention, as everything is important to me. I do not have the same tuning-out ability that hearing children naturally have, so I am all at sea, cast-adrift, in the noise. It is exhausting trying to keep up and decipher the messages. That is why I used a few close friends to help me understand what is required, they were my anchors of stability and understanding and sorry to say, teachers were not the best way for me to understand what was going on. When the class was quiet, I could listen to you provided that you did not mumble, drop your words, not finish words at the end*

*of sentences, or look away from me, at the board, or at someone else, or at the overhead, book etc. That is when I was pulled away under by the rip-tide current of confusion and misunderstanding in class. I want you to look at me, to make sure that I see your face, make sure that I follow, make sure that it is calm in class so I can follow you, make sure that I follow the points raised in class, make sure that you aware of my needs. I was neither deaf nor hearing enough, and this caused much identity confusion, although I tried to take on the default 'hearing' identity and tried my best to pass, with both meanings of the word. There was much unresolved emotional baggage about my identity that needed to be addressed. It is ironic that I found much support in the advice and counsel of a blind guidance teacher. It was our shared experience of being disabled that really helped me.*

*It is easy to get so totally overwhelmed by the noise that I would need to 'zone out' for a few moments to recover and by letting the tide of noise recede, I would be ready for the next high tide. However, I did not feel that I was surfing. All I could manage was swimming to keep afloat. Although in some classes, I did better than others did. Such as Std. 2 (Grade 4) second time (I had to repeat this year, I was not emotionally ready or learned the skills of reading to follow with the class, so repeating was the right thing to do), and Biology in Grade 9 (Std 7), Geography, sometimes, and English, Grade 11. Maths, Afrikaans, science, and History were horrible, a real struggle to avoid drowning. And in all of these subjects, it was about the amount of information I understood and communication was key. So I took refuge in the safe harbour of the library, and in reading to try to be ahead of the class or at least catch up. This meant that I came to love reading, even though it was a struggle to understand, however, once I understood something then I could ask questions, or if I did not understand then I could ask questions about this too. I hated this feeling of being left out and left behind. I was always feeling alone in the mainstream, just surviving was an achievement, and I tried really hard. I wanted to pass, I hate the feeling of failing, and it meant that I was not good enough to be there. This bred the negative identity of being a victim, of deafness: an outsider. In the recesses of my mind, I always feared failing and going backwards to a school for the Deaf, such as St Vincent because I could not cut it in this school. And that time, St Vincent school for the deaf was strongly oral, although the learners signed among themselves informally. Although I never met another deaf person*

*during my school years, I always felt inferior in this school, a 'disabled' person, like some I saw with back problems, or weak eyes. To say that this school was an inclusive school at the time would be inaccurate. To be fair, this is how things were done then and things have moved on considerably in terms of recognising social justice and human rights of diverse learners since then. I had to adapt, it was always about me fitting in, and not being good enough. Many times, I came home in tears, and I recall the feeling of loneliness and not coping and not being included, or fully accepted. How could I tell you, you did not ask, or did not want to ask, I must be strong, and many teachers told me that I am doing so well with my handicap. I wanted to scream! And rage against this sympathy. Listen to me. You are not listening to me because you do not understand.*

*Now that I am older, I am more aware of a bigger picture and see things better when writing this letter to you, and I do not blame you for this unintentional oppression of deaf people, and me you did not know better. I see how ignorance of deaf learners is a problem, and the lack of knowledge that teachers had at the time about deafness and about what to do or not do with deaf learners in their classroom. Teachers did what they felt was the best they could do under the circumstances without actually upsetting the status quo of deaf people; the wave of the social model of disability had not yet broken over us here. However, that wave of change was coming.*

*I remember going with a group from school (Drama Club) to watch the play at the Market Theatre: 'Children of a Lesser God, This was a moment of epiphany in my life. Inside, it washed over me, I was filled with the idea that deaf people do struggle and need to say something about being oppressed, as a deaf person is wrong. Society needs to treat us fairly. And that Sign Language is a language too. Up until then I had no exposure to Sign Language, although I would have loved to have learned it earlier, but it was not an option. The focus of my education was to achieve a matric exemption so that I could go to university and I achieved this. Maths and Afrikaans were the two subjects that terrified me. I cannot lipread Afrikaans, plus all my speech training work focused on English and this paid off, but Afrikaans was a serious obstacle. Maths was a problem as I was so dependent on the teacher explaining how things work, but I battled to follow in class for the above reasons. In any case, I passed narrowly in these subjects to get the much-needed matric. I wanted to study further, but I*

*studied hard and only managed these results, nothing to be delighted about compared to the other boys there who were expected to excel either in academics, or on the sports field. I did neither, I was nothing special, and at a top private school, that is a damning view of the reality. But, I was me and I wanted to be me, not the person that the school wanted me to be, a dux scholar, an A-team player, or a Prefect. None of these was ever attainable for me at that time. I was a small fish in a big pond, to quote Malcolm Gladwell. His point in the book 'David and Goliath' is that often it is better to be a big fish in a small pond and not the other way around. If I were at St Vincent, I would have been in a position to excel there, rather than struggling to swim in this huge ocean, against the tide: I was always chosen last, nobody wanted to have me in their group, sigh. Although, it has to be said, that I may not have achieved the much desired matric and university entrance by going the school for the d/Deaf route. There I would have been much happier, but less educated because the standards were lower, tougher for my parents, and I do not fault them for that. It is just that so much more could have been done at the school to accommodate me, more dignity and better communication would really gone a long way. For example, there was a teacher who later had to have small hearing-aids, and he had not accepted himself and was teased by the classes, and I felt so ashamed for him, as this was the same kind of discrimination I experienced, and he did nothing to make me feel better as he was wrapped up in his own pain. I could not get through, and he intentionally distanced himself from me probably for fear of more rejection from learners by being associated with me. So I did not have a positive role model, his attitude made me hide my deafness more, to come out of the closet, metaphorically here was not possible as there was no support. Therefore, I kept my undeveloped deaf identity below deck. Have you read Gina Olivia's book 'Alone in the Mainstream'? Her experiences mirrored mine.*

*With hindsight I would love to be back there and say all of this to all of the teachers and demanded more from teachers to service me and nurture me the right way. Only a handful of teachers did that for me. So much more could have been achieved, but the school did not have in place the kind of approach or structures or support or awareness of deaf learners, like me. The school had to change, and I can see that with the inclusion movement, the school has become far more accommodating and respectful of the diversity of learners and*

*their needs. Well, that ship has sailed, so there is no use complaining to the school about what the school did wrong. That is over. The real issue is about the transformation of the school and creating opportunities and awareness of diversity of learners, and in improving teacher's awareness of deaf learners to avoid making the same mistakes again. Yes, there is an undercurrent of anger here, and especially of frustration of being left out and not understood in class. You need to hear that, as much as I need to say it to you. I do not want to hear your excuses for what you did and did not do, that is over. The point is, by talking about this bitterness openly, there can be an awareness of the bitter memories from my side and the bitter knowledge of teachers and this will allow us to begin to find our common humanity and begin to heal.*

*Let me end this point with a quote:*

> *"If a child cannot learn the way we teach, maybe we should teach the way he/they learn" (Ignacio Estrada)*

*I am an introvert. I need time alone to think and recover from the noise and bustle of classroom life. Not all deaf people are the same, and this part of me was misread and ignored, I was cast as a loner, a social outcast. Only later did I appreciate my strengths as an introvert, from Susan Cain's (2012) book, 'Quiet'. I am at peace in my world of silence, except I could not find and enjoy this at school. What I mean is that I had to be 'hearing' 24/7, by keeping my hearing aids on. This was the cost of a hearing identity, of course I could not see my own hearing aids, but I could see the way that teachers and pupils responded to me, usually it was different to their peers or others, or indifference or hardly or badly disguised disdain or superiority, because I did not hear what he or they said. Therefore, it was a painful time of social isolation and neglect. I always consoled myself that they do not know any better, and that the rewards of a better education here will pay off later. I love deep one-to one conversations, in a quiet place. Crowds are my problem, even more so because even with hearing aids I cannot follow the overtalking and look at the different speakers' faces, and watch the other person's reactions and process a reply. It is exhausting to me, so I need time-out to recover; I am easily over-stimulated in noisy classrooms. I have learned to escape from these times into place of quiet and solitude. I really love my inner world of silence, I think quietly there, and read and reflect and write in this space. It is not a zone of doldrums for me, but*

*a place in the ocean of life that is sacred to me and I need to retreat to this place often. Teachers need to know that and teach within and around this and not focus so much on the extroverts in class. Listen to the silent ones in class, like me. Ask me what I think in a way and place that is conducive to me giving a well thought through answer so we can dialogue on this.*

*I found a harbour of safety in books. Once my reading comprehension skills improved, because comprehension was a problem for me, then whatever books, magazines, journals, I could get my hands was a veritable 'pirate's treasure chest' of information to me. In books, I could understand without relying on incomplete sounds and mumbled/muffled dialogues. Remember, this was the time before subtitles, and DVDs, and internet and smartboards, we had overheads, VHS, with awful sound quality and no subtitles, microfiche slides, hissy tape recorders. Reading gave me a portal into a new world of knowledge. I am still a book-lover, this is a lifelong hobby and an invaluable habit that started at school as a survival mechanism really helps me cope and explore new worlds.*

*Third, I am mildly dyslexic. When I read, I frequently mix up B, D, P and 5, E, S as well as having a problem with keeping numbers in the correct order. That simply made it harder for me in school to read. It is not a big problem, and compared to my hearing loss, this is a minor problem, but it did have an impact on my reading speed and proficiency. It was a struggle to read and build comprehension. Now I read really well, and I am over this hurdle but I still have to watch out for these literacy whirlpools that threaten to drown me.*

*Fourth, I am a lefty. This is another thing that makes me different. For teachers, this is not a big deal, just that I need space so that elbows are not bumped with a righty. Lefties think a little differently, and are all too familiar with living as a minority in a right-handed world. Thus, discrimination is part of our life. However, most lefties are well adapted to doing things with both hands. Nonetheless, there are many things in school that irritate and frustrate us: books, folders, desks, pens and scissors are made for right-handed people. I always wore my watch on my left wrist, not on the right, so I was a 'closet lefty'! Much later, after my school years, I had the courage to change and wear it on my right wrist, which is more natural for lefties, as well as making the statement that I am different in this way. Just so that you know. This mist of invisibility was*

*pervasive, so much so that in the middle years of school I had small hearing aids that fitted in the ear to make these less visible. Even though these were less powerful, I wore these. I did not know that until I tried new over the ear hearing aids and realised how much sound I was missing. I remember this conversation with my parents that I wanted to hear more even if it everyone at school saw me with big hearing aids on. I won and it was the right way to go. I was learning to stand up for myself. And people at school did not react any worse than before, or better for that matter, but this part of me was now visible to them.*

*I am a professional teacher. On the surface, it seems that this is an ironic choice after all the struggles and complaints that I have raised here. When you look deeper, being a teacher is both a lifestyle and a career choice. As you can see, I have experienced much and I wanted to teach learners the lessons of diversity and respect for each other that I learned. I also want teachers to know what to do with diverse learners, especially deaf and hard-of hearing learners. I strongly believe that the inclusion of learners happens because of what teachers know and do; their attitude towards deaf and hard-of-hearing learners makes a huge difference. I was always told to be the same as everyone else, to fit in, and go with the flow, when this was not helpful advice. I am me, and teachers need to know learners are diverse and have unique needs. Get to know each person well, this connection is essential and the effort you put in overcoming your concerns, fears and changing your beliefs is well worth it. Teaching is about communicating, and I know how important this is as I have struggled with this. I love it when someone understands what I am saying, and lately, what I am signing. This is where the earlier quote is so meaningful to me, we as teachers need to adapt our teaching to match the learners. We need to engage in the dialogue of understanding each other. This dialogue of learning is at the core of my teaching. I have first-hand experience of the frustration, confusion and loneliness of not understanding what is being said, in class, as well as when I do understand, which is why I have had to focus intensely on being clear. I am an 'in-my-head' kind of person, and being 'out-of-my-head' and fully explicit is a skill of communication and way of thinking that I have had to develop, as a teacher, and as an academic. Thus, teaching is a vital part of being an academic, along with the focus on becoming an established researcher. It amazes me now that the tide has dumped me back on the same*

*beach on which I started my sea-faring journey; teaching. I am nourished by teaching and on reflection; I have discovered that if I am nourished, then the students or learners are also beneficiaries of my experiences and what I have learned.*

*I entered the teaching profession as a hearing person, and left it 11 years later as an identity-confused person. Who I was supposed to be was not working for me, and I realised that I had reached the end of my hearing identity chain. This anchor did not support the cargo on this identity ship, and I had to have an honest look at myself. By pretending to be a hearing teacher, albeit one with a hearing problem or as a hard-of-hearing teacher, was a false identity that did not float anymore. It was a traumatic period of my life where I felt I was sinking, drowning and ultimately had to release that identity which was not mine anymore. It was time to board a different ship, and this was called 'Sign Bilingual'. Nevertheless, there was much identity work to be undone. The flotsam of the old audist hearing identity: 'hearing-impaired' had to be disposed of, and for a long while, I hung onto the lifejacket of my hearing aids, and citizenship with the hearing world. However, this identity was lost at sea and I really struggled to let go of the wreckage. There was a very real sense of being dragged down to the depths and drowning. Until I was confronted by others and circumstances that this old identity was pulling me down. It was so hard to let it go. This is what I knew. I did not know enough about the deaf identity, despite being born deaf, and without hearing aids, I am deaf. Therefore, I preferred to stay with the life I knew, even if I did not fit in there. I was rejected, and eventually faced up the reality that this is not where I belong. In my heart, there was a small place that reminded me that I am not alone, this is the lie that I was told over and over again, that I was alone in the school and the only deaf/hearing-impaired, brave one, etc. This self-awareness recalls the lie of apartheid: that our identity cannot change. If you are white, you cannot be black, and vice versa. And so it was this lie extended into my life: I believed that I could not change my identity, that I was hearing-impaired /deaf (small d)/ hard-of-hearing etc., I cannot change my identity to become a Deaf person. I was never seen as a deaf person when I was at school, I was anything but that, and I believed it, and so much has been invested in making me 'hearing' that those ropes of selfhood cannot be untied. If I had met another person like myself at school, then this fallacy could have been disrupted and challenged. But it was*

*not the case. Therefore, I was constrained by this educational system of auditory apartheid. I was forced, with much encouragement on how well I was doing (for a hard-of-hearing/person with such a severe hearing loss') to become someone that I was not. It was easy to believe that lie; it sounded (sic) so sweet. However, it was a lie, and I did not see that. Hence, I lived a bracketed identity, and these heavy brass brackets were drowning me. I do not blame teachers, but when I understood the mechanisms of this system of exclusion and oppression, I had the tools to cut these ropes that had for so long anchored me to the hearing world. I cut these ropes and was cast free, and for 5 years, I was a castaway. During this time, I learned that I love silence and found my deaf self. I was free from the tyranny of my hearing aids: I can survive without them. I was free to learn South African Sign Language, which became an option when I moved, literally and symbolically into the Deaf world and made new deaf friends and acquaintances. I learned to be deaf and to use an interpreter, which was never an option in school. I married a hard-of-hearing wife, who introduced me to this world. It is ironic that she wanted to be in the hearing world more, as she had lived into the Deaf world more, from going to a school for the deaf, which she despised for its educational neglect and low standards. However, she could sign. And I switched ships from the hearing world to the Deaf world by immersing myself in the Deaf community and began learning Sign Language and became far more involved in this amazing but scary world. Becoming a deaf lecturer in Deaf Education at Wits was the catalyst to this identity shift. But I also had to find my own way in the new waters, I am bilingual, and have become better at signing. I have not lost my home language for the sake of being deaf. I am more of a multi-purpose international vessel, I use both languages. Now I am a signer, a second language signer, but I am proud that I use SASL and an interpreter more proficiently. It has taken 10 years to reach this destination. I am a proud deaf bilingual person. That is my new identity. I like the new transformed, liberated, post-colonial me.*

*I am becoming a writer and my proofreading small business has made me proud of this successful business enterprise. This is not something that I would ever have envisaged doing when I was at school. The real joy of this is that I am an independent business person and I can run this business solely through emails. So, being deaf does not matter here. What matters is the service that I provide through having a good command of English as a High School English*

*teacher, and as an academic writer. This achievement has banished the fallacy and expectation of super-achievement of private schools leavers. As learners, at Saints, we could hardly fail, we were 'the elite', but I did not feel that way, I was trying to stay afloat, I was no more than a mediocre student there. I am proud of where I am now. I am not the chairman of a board of a multinational company, but I have found myself and enjoy giving back to the next generation of teachers and learners. Teaching, is the greatest profession, even if it is not seen this way in South Africa, we change lives. No technology can replace a teacher. Who you are as a teacher determines the learning and development in your learners; be that person who leads them into their future as confident and independent thinkers with a heart for others.*

*For me, writing is an essential outlet for me, and a way of putting my thoughts down and reflectively engaging with words and experiences and ideas.*

*Lastly, I am almost 50 [in 2014], so this is a good moment to reflect on my thirty-plus years of life after school; on what is important; what could have been different and what I could have changed. I think that I learned a lot at this school, but I could have been more confident within myself, less tentative, which was borne out of not knowing and following conversations, being lost and trying to fit in. For me, this fearfulness of not knowing has receded with the increasing knowledge and skills and involvement with other deaf people, I found that I am strong, and that I am not alone. I am not angry anymore with some of the teachers I had, for putting me down and letting me down, I have learned to forgive you for what you did not know or understand about me. This statement has released me from my oppression. My request and prayer is that teachers take the time to learn about deaf learners and understand us. You are free to ask me anything so we can talk about it.*

*Your former deaf learner*

*Guy Mcilroy*

Looking back at this letter written three years earlier, there are several reflective points that stand out. This was a much-needed letter for expressing my thoughts and experiences to my teachers that serves as a necessary backstory to give coherence to the blogs (Antonovsky, 1987). For me, writing a letter to my old teachers provided a narrative platform that foregrounded teachers as the audience in my mind and served

to make the story real and specific and highly contextual story that contains, my struggles, disappointments, joys, and triumphs (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, 7). As I read, re-read, re-write, and interpret this letter, it still has the power to move me. There is so much of me in this letter that makes it scary and somewhat painful to read, but with each reading, there are more discoveries and acceptance of who I am and how I have represented myself here. The letter is not a stagnant piece of paper, but has become a living document inside me, which changes me, if I allow it to do so when faced with courage and an honest and truthful reflection. But not only does this portray the old self as a victim, as when this started out, but also a different me three years later, the letter has proven to be an artefact of change by mirroring the educational experiences that shaped me over the years. How the teachers will receive this letter is an unknown. It has not been released, but the time is right to take the step of publishing this letter in the open arena and for posting it to the teachers personally or to the current cohort of teachers at the school as an 'awareness article'. There could be one of two reactions. It would be either ignored or cast aside as the ramblings of a disenchanted, insignificant ex-scholar with an agenda for attributing blame. Alternatively, it could be taken on board as a challenge for change through awareness and acceptance leading better teacher-learner connection through re-storying (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 8). That is always the risk of writing so deeply about oneself. The writer's nearness may be well received or repudiated, and one can never know which way a reader will choose to respond based on his or her own narrative. I have learned from Livinston that this is the process of autogogy (Harrison, 2012: 266). This concept speaks of the agency of learning a new identity through teaching ourselves to be autonomous scholars through research' (2012: 47). This concept resonates with the process of writing myself into this new space as an academic actioned by voicing my thoughts and thinking in various spaces to be seen. This comes through the doctoral process of 'ambition, registration, obsession, disappearance, and renaming' (2012: 50).

*xvii. Blog: PTSD (Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder) and the i-PTSD model 23 November 2014*

*'G W MCILROY*

*803393915BG*

*O POS*

*METHODIST'*

*This was my SADF military dog tag and I changed it in 2014, 20 years later to:*

*'GUY MCILROY*

*6412245089082*

*O POS*

*DEAF SASL'*

*Reflecting on PTSD through my own diensplig*te (trans. A.: national service) *experiences of the (South African Defence Force (SADF) as a 'troepie' (sl. A. recruit/soldier) and in the South African Medical Services (SAMS) as a conscripted National Service Man (NSM) officer Lieutenant (Lt.) brings up a lot of memories, some humorous, some mundane, and some bitter. The real issue is what ex-soldiers do and say with their experiences to the next generation. Our children are the carriers of this knowledge as they carry the insights and confusion into their lives even though they have not experienced the 'grensoorlog' (trans. A. Border War) for themselves. This is where Jansen's call for dialogue between 'perpetrators', and 'victims' takes place. Now is the time to speak out against the enforced silence and have a dialogue of reconciliation and healing. Up to now, SADF veterans have not usually spoken out and the TRC was not the ideal platform for these discourses of reconciliation as this was South Africa's 'forgotten war' (Baines, 2013). The irony of the meaninglessness of this war became apparent after the peaceful transition in 1994 where the former enemy became the ruling party. In effect this meant that the soldiers had lost this war, and it had lost it meaning, which resulted in a cohort of alienated, embittered white ex-soldiers living in a post-apartheid state. But there were few opportunities and platforms for constructive debates and discussions on the hard topics. The documentary 'Border War/Grensoorlog' in 2010 highlighted this ambiguity and need for dialogue on both sides, and with victims on both sides too.*

*That war is over, but the trauma and emotional and psychological scars do not automatically heal with the passing of time. PTSD is a real psychic injury, and even though the wounds are not visible, there is damage under the surface and many ex-soldiers need intervention, be it through an informal buddy system, and talking in bars about the events, or through more intensive support*

*services, such as counselling at churches and professional marriage and psychological/trauma counselling and psychiatric care.*

*It is interesting to see how the silence has been broken by the recent spate of books and blog sites on the various army stories as a direct confrontation with PTSD. It is more than 20 years since the end of Border War where more than 600 000 white South African males were conscripted into the army. Their stories are now being written, published and recognised, which is what all this is about. No doubt this is a hard path to walk, and for many it is a path that they have walked over and over again and not found peace and resolution and forgiveness with their family, friends, peers, victims, specifically and generally (with black people of their generation and the younger generation), or ultimately with themselves. Although it would seem that 20 years is a long time for this confessional narrative, either with oneself or with actual people or with both, it is not too late. In fact, it seems that the time is ripe and it is possible and recognised by veterans as a good time to talk about their experiences. It is not about the accuracy of their retelling of the events that matters as much as retelling the texts of their trauma that needs disruption. This is now possible at this juncture, and it would be an opportunity lost for healing of their 'bitter memories'. If we do not allow this to happen, then the knowledge that is passed on down to the next generation, our children, will be tainted with our bitterness, hence the youth will have bitter knowledge, from us, that needs to be disrupted. If we fail to courageously confront and engage in this kind of restorative dialogue, then we are doing our country a disservice and perpetrating the kinds of false knowledge and beliefs systems that are counter-productive to our own healing and nation building.*

*Having said all of this, I am aware that this applies to me as well. Consequently, I am made more aware of the challenge of meeting and engaging in this kind of dialogue as it is the author's self-reflective journey. Even though this was one of my fields of interest and service in the South African Medical Service SAMS) as an assistant-psychologist, I did not envisage that this would come up again twenty years later so strongly, nor become a part of the doctoral study. But it has introduced two components, the one is that this is first hand/order experience as a 'troepie' (soldier) and as a specialist in PTSD. The other observation is that this is about understanding the trauma of a war and how this impacted on the combatants as well as on the secondary caregivers*

*(secondary-PTSD) as 'near miss' victims who lost their sense of invulnerability. As a result, my understanding of PTSD and trauma counselling has been enlarged and updated with new literature in the field from the conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan, Sudan and other recent wars. WW1 offered a poor template for understanding their experiences, but the sheer scope of the atrocity and horrors of war highlighted the magnitude of the impact of shellshock /combat stress on the survivors. WW2 brought about the institutionalising of combat-stressed soldiers as survivors and the recognition of PTSD as a real anxiety related syndrome that plagued post-war soldiers. It is not just about writing a memoir, but an opportunity to engage in serious 'soul-searching' as a middle-aged white male South African. It is more than telling stories; instead, the narrative therapy perspective is a useful lens and focus for this kind of exploratory work. This brings in phenomenography as a tool for analysing the data of teachers as Focus Group clusters; SMT, Younger Teachers and Older Teachers, as well as individual deaf experiences/voices and of the principal as the key informants.*

*In the same way, the teachers of this school are a cohort that would benefit from this narrative analysis of their experiences in order to understand and disrupt their beliefs of themselves and others if necessary. Of course, there is always the possibility that a person would say that they do not need to change, others must change, not them. This cognitive dissonance of one's own beliefs is an effective tool against disruption of belief systems and is highly resistant to change. All of which led to Gladwell's discussion of the effects of trauma (of change rather than full-scale war) through 'direct hit, 'near miss' and 'remote miss' as a template for conceptualising the impact of the experience of Sign Language on a range of teachers. It is anticipated that older hearing teachers, younger hearing teachers and deaf teachers will respond in a variety of ways, and we need to hear their stories of the trauma of transformation. Did they have a 'near miss' or a 'remote miss' experience and how did this affect them?*

Reflecting on this blog about my experiences of the national service and trauma counselling provides an insight as to where I am coming from in this study. This blog was not originally intended to be a part of the section on blogs but on re-reading, the links between the various concepts, such as 'cognitive dissonance', (Bernstein, 2000), 'near/remote hit/miss' (Gladwell, 2009), phenomenography (Booth, 2008), Jansen, (2012, 2013, 2016) that informed this study came through and this blog wiggled its way into here. The blog covers a topic that has deep memories and meaning for me and

tells an untold story. This was the moment when the inverted-PTSD model made sense that would later connect to post-audism. A key piece of the theoretical foundation had been laid. From this point, everything written pre-November 2014 had to be re-read for coherence with the i-PTSD model. This inverted use of the metaphors of 'near miss' and 'remote miss' lead intuitively to including metaphors and narratives as key components in the construction of the theoretical framework.

*xviii. Bilingual Blog: Bilingual Identity 6 March 2015*

> *"We do deaf learners and other bilinguals a disservice to say that they are incomplete, or hold that the goal of the ultimate attainment of bilingualism is to be a 'balanced bilingual'. I have found out for myself that this is not realistic. I am delighted that Garcia had the courage of her experience as a bilingual herself, no doubt verified by Cole as a Deaf person to state that this is not the reality of most deaf bilinguals. From my subaltern [insider-borderland] experience, as an emerging bilingual, I was plagued with the guilt of never being truly bilingual 'enough'. Now I feel liberated by the idea that a bilingual identity is a valid site of belonging: of 'trans-identifying'.*

This was a key moment of growth as a deaf researcher, as well as a new way for conceptualising the identity of deaf bilinguals that built upon Deafhood (Ladd, 2003 and my extended beyond my earlier DeaF identity of bilinguals (Mcilroy, 2011) as border-crossers (Hoffmeister, 2008).

*xix. Bilingual Blog: 'Let It Go' 23 July 2015*

> *'Learning sign language as my third, and belated, language has been a liberating experience for me. Even though this is not my first language, and I was only exposed to good sign language users in my late 30s, and this was then followed with the doing the hard yards of learning and using the language from then on. It will always be at a second language level to me, even though I want to continually improve. Nevertheless, it is my language. I am proud of where I have to, and I am still learning it. When I switch off my hearing aids, South African Sign Language makes so much sense to it and me more than a second language to me. I am deaf and SASL is my language too.*
>
> *On the other hand, a painful classroom experience revealed to me that I had to let go of the sense of being embarrassed by making my unusual (amongst*

*hearing people) needs so explicit. It is always easier to practice these in your mind but quite another thing to say these to people. I realised how much we hunger for connection, and how terrified I am of the possibility of rejection, of being ignored, embarrassed, mocked, and spurned. That is the legacy of unspecified painful experiences from being embarrassed and hurt in a mainstream education setting where being outspoken about ones difference, of my hearing aids, hearing loss, and that I cannot hear was frowned upon, or ridiculed. Having said that: I am in the place to 'Let it go'. The cold touch of this fear will never bother me anymore. I am becoming an 'Unfrozen' oral deaf person.*

*It will always be difficult and take courage to make my needs heard among the hearing, as I look like I am one of them, and speak like them. That is a lie that is easy to swallow, but I am not like them and no one can see that inside me. I am in both worlds, hearing and deaf, and at times, in neither. This bilingual space is sacred to me. This is the space of 'inbetweenity' that Brueggemann (2004) talks about as a 'hybrid identity'.'*

These contrasting experiences have brought into the light the struggles that I was working through at the time, hence, storying of my experiences, including the ugly/unpleasant moments as 'dialogues [blogs] of doubt can be at least as important as stories of success' (Edge & Richards in Johnson & Golombek, 2002, 8).

At the same time, there is liberation in writing about both epistemologies in conflict from re-telling the story (Bourdieu , 1994) as it unfolds on paper as I become [more] aware of the issues (Esbenshade, in Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 116):,

*'Am I an 'oral deaf success'? Yes, in the sense that I speak well, and I have a strong foundation in English literacy. However, there is the caveat in that this means little if the other side of me is not allowed to speak up. I am deaf, and there will always be situations that are a struggle for me to follow what is going on. It is up to me to work around these situations by being clear on what I need and not to miss the opportunity to establish the kind of platform that is needed proper comprehension. This is part of who I am and what I need to do. I have tended to shy away from doing this. And it is wrong of me and unfair on others. What kind of role model of an 'oral success' am I modelling to others? That question stings.'*

This question did two things; it brought me back to looking at where I have come from and how far I have travelled and where I am going and my purpose that this brings. It also shows the kind of connections that I should be making courageously as 'an oral success'. There was also the important realisation that I am not alone, and I am in the position of making others aware that they are also not alone (Ellis, Bochner, 2000) as fellow (PhD) travellers (Harrison, 2014), as shared habitus (Bourdieu, 1994). In short, narratives remind us how much we need each other.

> *'I am proud of South African Sign Language, it has a valuable place in my life and I recognise that I am a limited user. But, from last week's experience of signing my responses on the Deaf panel, I am becoming more confident in using the language that I have in public. That in itself says a lot about me and where I am now. I count that as an 'oral deaf' success story.'*

*xx. Bilingual Blog: Signing on the Panel of Deaf Mentors 15 July 2015*

> *'Instead of speaking about being deaf, today for the first time, I chose to use SASL on the Deaf panel. Signing in South African Sign Language brought a different slant to how and what is said or not said, it carries a different rhetoric of dignity that I learning about. I love that, and want to learn and do more of this. This is all part of being in the 'age of identity and diversity' and I am so delighted to be claiming my own space within the Deaf community. That was a huge step of faith, and courage into the world of signing, it was not perfect, but the icy grip of fear of signing publically has at last been broken, and like Elsa, I have learned to: 'Let it go'. That realisation opened a whole new world to me: I am an insider, not an outsider any more.*

The theme of becoming visible as a deaf person and a signer reached new heights here. The significance of this moment is that this is akin to speaking, in the sense that this is finding and expressing myself, in SASL which is my post-colonial voice of emancipation and empowerment (Grech, 2015) that celebrates the legitimacy of the sign language narrative (2015, p. 7)

This lead to the next act of courage…

> *'Another breakthrough happened when I filmed myself doing my ICED 2015 presentation in Sign Language. I was inspired by three presentations that I saw in Sign Language, by Debbie Golos (neé Cole), Marieke Klusters, and Robert*

*Hoffmeister. Just doing this was a significant moment for me as a researcher, and as a deaf person too, as it was all about letting go, and letting myself learn to sign and begin to be free in the language and to own it. That is precisely what I saw when they signed their presentations. I want to do that, to the best of my ability. It is a dream that I want to make a reality, to be truly, deeply conversant in Sign Language. And I did this.'*

Although it was an imperfect video, it was a significant event of breaking the audist ways of thinking in me as 'other' and of anglonormativity (Grech, 2015, p. 10), and in this context: audionormativity, to coin a post-audit term. By signing the conference presentation on camera, this pulled together the themes of being a deaf researcher and finding my South African Sign Language 'voice'. I liked what I saw about myself on camera: a new narrative is taking shape.

*xxi. Combined Blog: PhD Writing Retreat (Mangwa) 2 September 2015*

*'Where am I at as a deaf person and as a researcher? There are mixed feelings about being a researcher. Probably the greatest emotion is disbelief that: 'Is it possible?' However, there is also the thought: 'Why not?' There are few deaf researchers, and outside of our department, I have little or no contact with them, although globally, there are more deaf researchers'.*

It is time to connect with more Deaf/HH researchers and find out about their research in Deaf Studies and in other fields.

*'At heart, I am an anthropologist, so this fact alone should be enough to quieten the voice of discouragement. The difficulty is that I am occupying a hitherto taboo space of research; 'you cannot do research, you are deaf' has been the loudest voice so far. And up to now this has been the lie that I listened to in my head.' But why not?' I am encouraged to rebut to this rhetoric of oppression of deaf scholars. And this is what excites me as a researcher, but it also scares the daylights out of me, because I know of no one else (deaf) doing it, so I feel so alone on this path, by researching deaf people from the inside. It is also scary because I am simultaneously researching myself. However, the pioneering path that is being blazed, as I become more in tune with my own identity development as a bilingual deaf person thrills me. In doing so, I am finding both my own voice to express myself as a researcher and with it, more acceptance from research peers in South Africa. The metaphor of the journey is*

*apt for this narrative, as the destination has not been reached. It is heartening to see that where I am going is not a dead-end, but opens up my mind to seeing the world with a new lens as a sign bilingual and an appreciation of the diversity of our lives as deaf and as researchers who take up the challenge to walk uncharted territory and to describe it and contextualise it from our perspective rather than trying to imagine what it would be like for a deaf person (Deaf epistemology and ontology). The journey matters more than the destination. This is the research warrant that I have taken up, to see, and share the stories of a bilingual deaf researcher in action.*

*I am also finding myself as a writer. This has not been an easy road. Of course, it is not easy for the majority of people to become proficient writers, but it is more than that for me: it is about finding my own voice as a writer. I am not a loud overt/extravert advocate of Deaf rights, but taking the middle ground approach within academia works for me, where I bring the two worlds into dialogue with each other. This is what makes this research unique, and empowers me to go out and ask questions and see the world 'through deaf eyes' and share my research story. It has worth, and this also serves to validate my identity as a bilingual Deaf professional.'*

The writing retreat provided a valuable space to write up the blogs as an article, which has not been published since the PhD journey is incomplete. Not only did this writing retreat sharpen my thinking as an autoethnographer, it also sharpened my academic focus, message and style in becoming an academic writer that extended beyond writing blogs for the sake of writing. Finding my own voice as a post-colonial academic writer was a major discovery along the doctoral journey (Harrison, 2015).

*xxii. Blog: Becoming Unstuck: merging of the blogs 8 August 2016*

The story of Karen in *Storied Lives* (1992) by Jacquelyn Wiersma made me rethink how narratives are a helpful expressive and formative tool for researchers (Wiersma, 1992, 195). Stories interpret our experience for us and shape us, which speaks our identity and form the text through which we read our lives (Wiersma, 1992, p. 195). In the same way as in Karen's story, where there are four stories that she told during her interviews and I re-read her stories and my goal is to tell my story using an adaption of the concept that Wiersma (1992, p. 195) introduced: of looking at the narrator in auto-ethnographic stories/blogs, as both writer and reader and how describing critical events

leads to change and ultimately an improved blog narrative. My identity narrative is told through these interlinked blogs which need to be read together to get a sense of the self-transformation process as a whole.

There is a noticeable gap between this blog entry, called: 'self-interviews', and the last one written seven months previously. I am in a space for writing this blog for two reasons: Wiesma (1992) settled my mind on several issues of writing, such as the disquiet that I had of writing on what I thought was trivial data that could be considered too personal or taboo for research purposes. However, this is not true, in fact, this data sets the scene of my research and personal journey and points out how these are connected. It does not matter if it looks like a 'bad story' at the beginning because usually the next story, or in this case, blog, leads on from this as a reflective piece.

Actually, as an aside, I have found that the writing of the story, as opposed to doing a live interview like Karen in *'Changed Lives'* (1992), works for me. This brings in the point made by Habermas (1974) that in writing we become aware of who we are and who we say we are and who we really are through the language that we use. This leads on to the other point made in this article of the distance between I and me in the story. This was a hang-up that I had with writing at the beginning where I felt that the data was too personal, but on re-reading my own blogs again, this afforded me the necessary distance as narrative inquirer to take a step back (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p.6) and relook into what was written and to use what each blog said and left unsaid in places where I read between the lines. This self-editing is an intrinsic part of the process of writing, and identifying and re-identifying that is at the heart of this narrative inquiry (Ricouer, 1985). It needs to be said at this juncture that the splitting of the blogs into 'Personal' and 'Research' blogs while convenient at the time for most of this study has reached the point in my mind that these are inextricably connected to each other. At the beginning, of the PhD journey, I conceptualised the research blog as a reflective blogs focussed on the research as a way of archiving my experiences as a researcher, especially as qualitative research touches so deeply on many lives, including my own. This artificial categorisation has served its purpose of maintaining the separation of the two narratives well up to this point but now I can recognise the connectedness of each as stories that run into and through my life. Essentially, this is a story of a deaf researcher's research journey that parallels with that of the participants' (hearing and deaf) journey of change.

The second point of insight or a classic moment of denouement, or 'refiguration' to use Ricouer's language (1985), of a paradigm shift that came from this article in realisation that writing my story is important. For the last eight months, I have felt a disconnection with writing up a blog while doing the research, at this time the analysis section, and of the polishing of the theoretical foundation and concepts because I felt that this writing is not academic enough for a PhD. A point that my supervisor made and this feedback set me back. Only now, with the insight from Wiesma (1992) of the value of storying the experiences have I been able to break through this barrier of being 'stuck'. I have a story that needs to be told, and read. By writing about both (personal perspective as an insider: deaf identity) and teacher's identity makes the blogs an act of courage to write about what has not been said or written down before, privately or publically. Unlike with a live interview which has a presence of the listener there, when writing blogs, the audience is the invisible reader and the connection is less tangible and obvious. Nevertheless, the blogs are not the same as private journal entries because blogs are published for being read. Blogs are about the *minutiae* of life, as a deaf researcher, with experiences and stories that resonate with the audience about the human condition of deaf lives.

*xxiii. Blog: Solidarity in Sign Language SASL 12th Official Language 1 September 2016*

There are times when theorising and discussing are not taking the issue forward and advocacy is needed. This is about why the protest march on 1 September 2016 by all the DeafSA branches went to all the respective government offices to hand over a memorandum on SASL.

> *'Initially, when I heard about this protest action on Facebook, mentally I supported it, and continued to scroll down. I did not plan on being there. To my mind, there are too many protests in South Africa, to the extent that we have a 'protest culture' and seeing the coverage of the #FEES MUST FALL campaign last year made me both wary and disinterested in this rough and tumble way of politics. Even though there was a genuine grievance, it was the way that protests rapidly become chaotic and violent and missed their original point, leaving everyone disgruntled. I had decided not to go.*

*However, being both organised by DeafSA, and knowing the people there, it was clear that this would not be a public disgrace of Deaf, but rather, a peaceful and legitimate protest. I wanted to be there under such conditions and as a deaf person, this campaign is close to my heart: SASL needs to be recognised as a 12th official language. Under the present government that has not happened, and probably still won't happen. But I believe that the government needs to see us, so when we are visible as a diverse community in support of SASL then they will take notice, so I changed my mind about going on the march.*

*It seems, to me, inconceivable that South Africa has the SASL CAPS but SASL is not an official language. Keeping SASL a LOLT is a stopgap measure to keep the rabble of hands quiet. Therefore, unless we as the SASL community raise our voices about the value and necessity of SASL for Deaf people as a linguistic-cultural minority in South Africa, nothing more will come of it. At the same time, by protesting for SASL we are, I believe, making the cause for SASL CAPS curriculum stronger by making the language more visible, not only in deaf circles, but among hearing communities. This is not only the call to give recognition to a language for the Deaf, but there are many more users and potential users of SASL than at present. SASL, like other signed languages across the world, is a growing language, a trend. Therefore, we need to seize this moment and ride the wave. It is worrying for decision-makers to think that sign language may be a vastly bigger movement than they anticipated since they are most likely still operating from a deficit thinking mind-set: SASL is for deaf only, with the attendant "Ag shame", mentality. As SASL supporters, we have a responsibility to break through the ignorance of this thinking and replace it with not only the human-rights discourse of protest politics, but also go beyond that into the multilingual space that deaf bilingualism now has the opportunity of occupying. There are many ways of being deaf, and SASL brings us together.*

*I joined the protesters at the parking lot outside the Pretoria Art Museum, the designated starting point. When I arrived, there were only a few cars and taxis and a handful of deaf people in black t-shirts. The black t-shirts (with DeafSA logo and hands) were the given-away. But this was a far smaller turnout than I expected. Right up to the time to start, the protest gathered momentum but only*

*increased to a small crowd of about 200. I wondered if this was going to be worth it. But I was also mindful of the quote used earlier:*

> *Never to doubt that a small group of thoughtful committed people/citizens [school leaders and teachers] can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has Mead, 1964, 2001).*

*We began our march into history, behind the police escort, of course. It was an almost silent march, with only the people at the front with the banner and the leaders were making protest noises. However, among the Deaf protesters, there was much signing and jovial dancing to the beat of protest. I felt a real amateur. To be protesting was definitely out of my comfort zone. I do not see myself as a protester, or as a Deaf Rights advocate. On the other hand, there was a sense of satisfaction from participating by making up the numbers as 'All Deaf Hands Matter', to paraphrase the American protest movement of' Black Lives Matter'. Inside, I felt quite rebellious, in taking on an action of protest in a different form to the usual noisy protests l. At the same time, there was a sense of unease in the crowd that things could turn ugly for some reason, and this dictated the tight security of the police and DeafSA protest officials to keep us on track and within bounds of a civil protest. For this reason, the march could not proceed any closer to the Union Buildings than the top gate. This is where we could dance, and sign and sign, and make a visible noise. The memorandum was handed over after short political speeches in SASL. A word of 'thank you' was offered by the organisers to the interpreters for being there as our language bridge. I was pleased to see that this all went smoothly and no ugly confrontations happened. The crowd behaved with dignity and with cooperation. This was not a march of an angry mob of barely controlled protesters. To me, this is the way it should be done, but there is the other view that government only takes notice when people are protesting so violently that something has to be done. That is not our intention. At the same time, we are not protesting for the basic services, but we are protesting for government to raise the quality of education of deaf learners through SASL: our children, our, learners, our teachers, our children's children and the next generation of deaf learners need SASL to build a better future. 'Deaf lives matter, too'.*

*Coming back to South African Sign Language, it was fascinating to watch, meet old friends, acquaintances, and students, and make new friends, and*

*acquaintances. What really stood out for me was the diversity of deaf people. There were many people I had never seen or meet before. So, this rally of South African Sign Language strength showed me and hopefully others that South African Sign Language does create solidarity. I felt proud of SASL, it is our language. In addition, South African Sign Language is open to everyone. Awethu! [trans. Zulu: Power!]*

*xxiv. Blog: Goodness of Fit and Fitting-in 23 September 2016*

This is a concept from qualitative research that has re-appeared in the data of the study. Before looking at this, the concept of fit came up in Malcom Gladwell's book *Outliers* (2014), where he says that 'how we fit in is more important than trying to achieve excellence'.

Now, taking this apart implies that connection is the primary value here, and this fits in (sic) perfectly here. Maybe the capital of post-audism is not so much connection but 'fitting-in'? Not all connections are vital for fitting-in, but those that support and protect how a person fits in are the key connections.

Central to fitting-in is the notion of inclusion and exclusion. For some teachers, they are finding that they are not fitting in, despite saying the right things, but something is stopping this inclusion from happening. Maybe they have not had a truly deep experience of sign language that has deeply shaken their audist edifice to the ground?

*'For me, as a deaf researcher, combining both identities has been a marker of identity: not only does identity revolve around the frequently asked -question of 'Who am I?' but 'Where do I fit in?' and who do I belong with? We make these choices. In addition, teachers have the choice to be at a school for the deaf where South African Sign Language is the language of learning and teaching (LOLT) and they are required to fit into the school's language policy and usage of languages. For those teachers who have been at a school for a long time, they have the choice to stay and that implies that they learn SASL and use it and make the paradigm shift from oral deaf education to sign bilingual education. If they do not want to make the change, then it is their choice to leave and to fit in somewhere else. What is not wanted is for older teachers to hang around and not fit in because they do not want to leave, but neither do they fully support SASL because they are not competent in the language. In fact, the teachers who have not changed, but say they support South African*

*Sign Language are a threat to the change. They need to change or leave. Of course, teachers are people too, and this change to South African Sign Language brings a fundamental shift to their thinking in that it goes against all that they believed in in their teaching career, probably over 20-30 years. Therefore, this needs to be handled sensitively. However, teachers who refuse to make the change despite being exposed to sign language risk disrupting the educational project by resisting sign language in various ways. At some point, they will realise for themselves that they do not fit in and staying is not an option, from their perspective, and from school management's perspective.*

*Fitting-in is premised on the idea that experience makes the difference, not simply knowledge. Knowing about South African Sign Language and how it helps literacy and communication are all strong academic points that will not, as I have seen, change a teacher's mind-set. I applaud the school for running training workshops that expose all the teachers to South African Sign Language at a practical level. This experience sets the ball of change rolling. Many of the teachers who attended these workshops have had their minds changed. The past has been relinquished and the hope of the future through South African Sign Language has begun to do its magic by touching their lives, and the lives of their learners through teacher's participation in this partnership. Anecdotally, I saw that learners are delighted to have teachers make the effort to sign and communicate with them in ways that were unheard of (sic). This is the second discovery of the experience that teachers need in order to teaching in sign language. From my experience, this is a catalytic moment where connection happens at a different level, not only on the level of sharing the formerly despised language, but about finding new ground for communication. This takes courage, together with support from the school, other teachers, learners, and the SMT to make this development self-sustaining.*

*Where do I fit in? My story centres on being a hard-of-hearing learner in a mainstream school, then later learning sign language. It was only when I took the step forward to learn sign language at church that the visual-spatial language made an impact on my life. I discovered that learning sign language is a hands-on (sic) experience and it requires learning the language from good, native users in conversations in order to acquire the structure of the language. Later on, years later actually, stepping out further into teaching South African Sign Language in South African Sign Language marked the next level of my*

*language development. Prior to that, the vocabulary, sentence structure and basics were learned, and practiced, but the fluency and naturalness were missing. This is the swamp of despondency for teachers who have learned South African Sign Language up to a certain level and then reach the plateau where their signing seems not to be developing. Workshops, and in-service training, and materials and learning and conversing with friends doing the same thing can only take you to a certain level and no further. The initial flourish of romance with South African Sign Language gives way to the daily grind of learning and practicing until the basics are well established. However, the structure and linguistics of SASL need to be understood in order to move up a level. The advanced courses serve this purpose in providing the linguistic knowledge to understand how the language operates, such as sentences structure, and classifiers, proforms, use of space, role shift, eye-gaze, storytelling, deaf discourse, NMFs, idioms and expressions, humour, and an advanced insight into Deaf culture and how Deaf teachers sign (Deaf discourse). Once this is learned, for first language users who know South African Sign Language having been exposed to it from birth or an early age, such as surreptitiously at a school for the deaf, this helps to shift signing up a level. For second language learners, their new knowledge and course experience takes them into the realm of signing at a higher level. This is seen in their greater fluency, and especially in how their signing has become far richer in sign language features and content, as they become more skilful signers, with improved receptive and productive skills. By letting go of the vestiges of the influence of spoken language on their signing, they become 'au fait signers'. This is where signed English/Afrikaans, TC and GTV are consigned to the past. Once this breakthrough has been achieved and established, access to the next level becomes available: finding connection through signing such as contact signing to connect with learners on their level. This is where teachers become bilingual users of sign language and spoken languages for communication in the class and practice the skills of moving between the languages without losing themselves. To me this is an important space for teachers to occupy, where they are comfortable in their signing abilities and comfortable with switching between languages as bilingual, but with South African Sign Language at the forefront other languages are brought from the background into view whenever needed to build understanding in a dynamic interplay of languages.*

*This leads to two shifts happening: in the first, the direct experience of South African Sign Language is needed to break the stranglehold of oralism. Before the second shift can happen teachers need time to consolidate the fundamentals and basic skills as a signer and connect with deaf learners, this then empowers teachers to become bilingual teachers through the advanced linguistics of South African Sign Language thus acquiring the skills for navigating between the languages. In the first shift, their identity is shaped around becoming a South African Sign Language user, and the second change marks their identity as a South African Sign Language teacher. The difference between the two is significant and substantial. A quantum leap in knowledge and experience is required for the second change to happen. Like in any quantum leap, the amount of energy required to make this jump is disproportionately (exponentially) large. Instead of energy, this requires a quantum amount of courage to make that leap into the space of teaching in South African Sign Language, without spoken language. At the same time, this investment of courage brings an unimagined awareness of oneself as a signer and as a teacher of the deaf. This brings in the next level of connection to deaf learners without losing the spoken languages. The first shift demands full compliance of the 'no contact' approach of language separation as a means of withdrawal from the audist past, cognitively, linguistically, and emotionally. Once that has been practiced/experienced and achieved, and the respect and dignity of sign language and signers is actioned then the second shift is ready to begin, i.e.: becoming a teacher of the deaf with translanguaging skills and experience. Is there a third level? Possibly, and this needs to be explored. In the same way that a PhD is quantifiably different from a Master's degree and so too is a post-doc from a PhD. Looking at how things have changed in Deaf Education, from oralism to sign language, in certain contexts, it seems reasonable to assume that the shape and space of bilingualism will also change along with the times. What comes after connectivism, as an epistemology, and post-audism is unknown and unknowable at this moment. There is the concern that history could repeat itself with the rise oral and the fall of sign language if this is seen as a cycle or a pendulum that swings back and forth. In addition, there are technological innovations that will have an impact on Deaf Education that have yet to happen, as well as economic, educational and political forces that will shape the future. Will the South Africa government finally accept South African Sign Language as the 12th official language? Will cochlear implants*

*become freely available and reshape the deaf education landscape? What will the next curriculum (post-CAPS) and SASL revision hold? Where will I, as deaf researcher, fit in and need to fit in? These are some of the questions about the future that need to be asked now.'*

xxv. *Blog: Teaching Bilingually 27 October 2016*

*'The SASL CAPS curriculum was designed to be a paradigm shift away from the audist paradigm where spoken languages are given precedence and the oral deaf education approach. Although, as I learned this week in discussion with my supervisor, sign bilingualism does not actually happen in SASL classes because the focus in these classes is on SASL, and not on being bilingual. Be that as it may, on reflection, the SASL CAPS curriculum has sign bilingualism in the beginning section. To my mind, it is an important strategic decision to have this approach and methodological orientation in the policy as a means of underpinning the transformation to Sign Language. Without having the sign bilingual theoretical framework in SASL CAPS (2014, p.33-34), it would be exposed to whims of teachers and DoE to ditch SASL because they do not like SASL CAPS. Of course, CAPS SASL needs to be revised, as do all curriculum policy statements to adapt to educational, academic and social changes and to lead education.*

*Where is this going? Yesterday I had a particularly productive lecture with the second year SASL students. Whether they noticed it or not, what made this lecture so special for me was the discovery of my voice in class. Up to now, I have religiously adhered to the 'no voice' rule in sign Language classes as a means of promoting learning of sign Language. However, I discovered yesterday that I can talk and explain things and sign too. It was essential to explain to the class what I was doing and why. This switching between languages is both a welcome addition to my teaching repertoire, but also enables me to live my bilinguality outwards in class: I have both languages and can use both much more freely than before. Last week with another class, of teachers of SASL (CAPS) I was using SASL and almost no voice, although mouthing of some English words did happen. Comparing the experiences of the two classes leads me to move on with what worked so well yesterday; sign and talk about what I have signed, to hearing students, but match the languages to*

*the needs of the students when there is a mixed profile, such as excellent signers to emergent signers, at the other end of the language continuum.*

*This session was transformative for me because it allowed me to sign AND speak, but not at the same time for clarity and as respect for both languages. Of course, being a SASL class, more signing has to happen than speaking about signing. This also allowed me to add and explain in English rather than suppress things, which I have found can happen. Most importantly, I am finding myself as a bilingual lecturer without trying to be too Deaf or too hearing, there is a space that is comfortable for me when I am real about both languages. To end the year with practicing this languaging skill was a growth point and I want to continue exploring this with next year's classes from the beginning.*

*Contact signing is another topic that fits into this blog. A while ago, it was recommended that I tell interpreters that I need SEE rather than full/pure SASL. This situation has changed with my improvements in signing skills and knowledge. Now contact signing is a preference so that I get as much of the information as possible, such as in meetings. I have realized now that contact signing is not a language, but is closer to the sign language end of the language spectrum. There are English words, mouthed and concepts added at strategic times for getting the main idea of the speaker through an interpreter. I have found that some Deaf use a range of contact signing with me, and vice versa and that is really a comfortable place to communicate from.'*

The experiences in lecturing in SASL fueled the developments in languaging that also raised awareness and questions along the way which lead to reflection on the extensiveness of audism. The decolonization of my mind (Ngugi, 1994) became a necessity to understand audism from within and to break free. But at this point I had no remedy until I found this allegory which I adapted to make sense of my world as a subaltern (Ladd, 2004) with bitter memory (Jansen, 2013) of audist oppression and as a metaphorical tool for understanding teachers' subjectivities for making or not making the cognitive transformation of decolonizing their minds. .

*xxvi. Blog: The Cave of Audism 20 December 2016*

*'Long ago, or maybe not so long ago, there was a tribe in a dark, cold cave.*

*The cave dwellers would huddle together and cry out against the freezing cold. It was all they did, it was all they knew. The sounds in the cave were mournful, but the people did*

*not know it, for they had never known joy. The spirit of the cave was death, but the people did not know it, for they had never known life.*

*But then, one day, they heard a different voice: "I have heard your cries." It announced, "I have felt your chill and seen your dark. I have come to help."*

*The cave people grew quiet. They have never heard this voice. Hope sounded strange to them. "How can we know that you have come to help?"*

*"Trust me." He answered, "I have what you need."*

*The cave people peered and listened through the darkness at the stranger, he was stacking something, and stooping and stacking some more.*

*"What are you doing?" one cried nervously. The stranger did not answer.*

*"What are you making?" one shouted. And still no response.*

*"Tell us!" demanded a third.*

*The visitor stood and spoke in the direction of the voices. "I have what you need."*

*With that, he turned to the pile at his feet and lit it. The wood ignited, flames erupted and light and heat filled the cavern.*

*The cave people turned away in fear: "Put it out!" they cried, "it hurts to see it".*

*"Light always hurts before it helps," he answered, "step closer, the pain will soon pass."*

*"Not I," said a voice*

*"Nor I" declared another*

*"Only a fool would risk exposing his eyes to such light."*

*The stranger stood next to the fire. "Would you prefer the darkness? Would you prefer the cold? Don't consult your fears, Take a step of faith."*

*For a long time, no-one spoke. The people hovered around in groups covering their eyes. The fire builder stood by the fire. "It is warm here." He invited.*

*"He is right, one from behind him announced, "It is warmer."*

*The stranger turned and saw a figure slowly stepping towards the fire. "I can open my eyes now." She proclaimed. "I can see".*

*"Come closer" invited the fire builder.*

*She did. She stepped into the ring of light: "It is so warm!" she sighed as she extended her hand and her chill began to pass.*

*"Come everyone! Feel the warmth." She invited*

*"Silence woman!" cried one of the cave dwellers. How dare you lead us into folly! Leave us, leave us, and take your fire with you."*

*She turned to the stranger: "Why won't they come?"*

*"They choose the chill, for though it is cold, it is what they know. They'd rather be cold than change."*

*"And live in the dark?"*

*"And live in the dark."*

*The now-warm woman stood silent, looking first at the dark, then at the man.*

*"Will you leave the fire?" he asked.*

*She paused then answered, "I cannot. I cannot bear the cold"*

*The she spoke again. "But nor can I bear the thought of my people in darkness."*

*"You don't have to." He responded, reaching into the fire and removing a burning stick. "Carry this to your people. Tell them the light is here and the light is warm. Tell them the light is for all those who desire it."*

*And so she took the small flame and stepped into the darkness.'* (Lucado, 1995)

*'For me, this is a powerful narrative not only of change, but of hope and fear. Looking at the first concept that this narrative teaches, change, I am amazed by the universality of this allegory. We can substitute a lot of things in this story and add our own metaphors for changing from one state to another such as from obvious ones of darkness to light, from fear to hope, from past to present, from, despair to joy and cold to warmth, oppressed to liberated, from deceived to enlightened, guilty to free, rejected to accepted.*

*But, in this context, it is a about the change from oral deaf education, to post-colonial sign language and sign bilingualism. This is the focus. It may seem overdone and one-sided even to portray oral deaf education as 'cold, dark and hopeless' but I have been there. I know what this cave of audism is like. Without teachers and deaf peers with whom to sign, school was a dark cave. In those*

*formative years, I did not know sign language. I was simply 'not deaf enough' to be given Sign Language at school. Nor was the structure in place at either of these educational places. The private mainstream hearing environment did not want, allow, endorse or provide sign language as an option. Consequently, I had to adjust to their normativity as best as I could through hearing aids and all the hearing-impaired tactics to survive the silent treatment. The frequently garbled conversations created a bewildering world with an invisible ceiling to the 'disabled person' in class, sports, assemblies, and at breaks. Wherever I was, I was the 'deaf and dumb one'. In addition, this perception of me was both obvious and insidious, and pervasive. Being the only hearing-impaired learner meant that there was a double consciousness, of being a 'deaf superhero' by teachers, but also 'deaf and dumb child' because I did not follow what was going on and was left out and left behind because it would have been too much work to explain to me what I missed. Instead, it was easier to ignore me with the subtitle that "Oh, he is dumb" without the explanatory prefix of 'deaf and…,' Hence school was a mentally, and emotionally dark, cold and fearful place, with few welcoming, safe spaces. Only a few people reached out the hand of friendship, and reached into my world. Of course, it can also be part of my own defense mechanism to retreat into my cold dark dungeon of silence and despair, like the tribe in the cave. After all, it was all I ever knew, and like the abused who returns to the abuser, at least I had that, and it was better than nothing. I did not know what hope and light, and joy and acceptance felt like. It was not my life at school.*

*The second school context was not a possibility at the time. This was during the reign of oralism, and with hearing aids, I simply was not considered deaf enough to be there. Plus, going to a school for the deaf with its deplorable standard of education would be to concede defeat in my educational future. The goal was to get into university. Going by what my parents know, I learned later, this avenue was almost certainly impossible at a school for the deaf, which eliminated this option. With hindsight, I am proud to have achieved a university pass at the private mainstream school, but it too had a high cost, not only financially as a private school, but also emotionally on me. There was a cave I lived in there for 13 years, (13 Years a Slave … to Oralism, to appropriate the name of an Oscar winning movie). At the end, I was portrayed by teachers as a 'success story' and lauded for my struggles to overcome incredible odds, and*

*on and on went the rhetoric of praising, without any real changes to the next generation of hard-of hearing learners. We remained in the minority and out of sight, until needed to grandstand the school's attitude of inclusion. I was an unknown, and invisible deaf person, and excluded and disabled from the educational environment that should have listened more, understood more, and done more.*

*It would have been good to learn sign language at the school for the deaf during those years. But the reality was somewhat different to expectations. It was not obvious to me at the time but until looking back with de-audism Deaf Education lens, signing at schools for the deaf was not an official policy, nor were teachers able to teach in sign language and neither did deaf learners have the requisite literacy to cope with the curriculum at higher grade or English First/Home Language (L1/HL) level. Simply put, I would not have been able to go to university from the education that I would have received at a school for the deaf. That realisation makes me sad. After all, this was expected to be my home during those years. But it was not to be. There is another more insidious reason: I was not deaf enough. I did not fit in there because I saw myself as 'hearing' and hard-of hearing' instead of the de facto identity of 'deaf or 'Deaf'. I was not there, that was not me. I was too deep inside the cave of oralism to even see that the school for the deaf's educational and language policy was oralist in scope and intention. This was not my place either. And that hurt too. During my school years, I harboured the idea that I should and would learn sign language, but without meeting deaf people, there was no opportunity to do so. In fact, to visit the school for the deaf was taboo in case I became 'one of them'. So, within me, there was an unresolved paradox of belonging: I did not belong in the private mainstream 'inclusive' school, nor did I belong in a school for the deaf by virtue of being deaf (I had no signing skills to cope there and I was indoctrinated to looked down on 'deaf' even though I missed the irony of my own deafness). My pre-signing times were hard times. Being hard-of-hearing is an incredibly awkward place to be at times. Of course, there are times when I coped, but it would be inaccurate to claim that I was thriving. Instead, in a cave of anxiety and trepidation, survival was the dominant theme by trying to keep the cold away, move around alone in the darkness of misinformation, partial information and literal and abstract meanings, double meanings and lack of*

*wisdom. By writing about this as bitter memories and my own bitter knowledge brings clarity to the things that happened within a narrative of audism.*

*Before looking at teachers next, what has also emerged is that this story of the cave has emphasised the power and pervasiveness of metaphors in structuring my thinking and identity. This story is an allegory that focussed thinking about the impact of audism on my life in metaphorically terms. Without this metaphor, I did not have insight into what happened to me at school as everything simply rushed confusingly over me in the ebb and flow of daily life. Everything changed when the flame of sign language was handed over to me. This happened in a specific moment and had a profound impact on how saw myself, my hands, and other deaf persons, hearing people and teachers of the Deaf.*

*Returning to the fire story from a teacher of the Deaf's perspective reveals several points. It is hard for oral teachers to make the shift away from what they know to another world that is both alien, scary and unknown (unknowable), and thereby letting South African Sign Language happen in class. In itself, this means a letting go of their known language to learning a new language that is not only a different structure, but also has a different worldview and modality. It is hugely different. It is like seeing the light and heat for the first time, and they ask: "Will it hurt?" As a deaf, bilingual signer with insider knowledge, I smiled when thinking about this, and wondered: "It is worth it, at first it is a shock, but you will see (sic) that it is good, not bad, you are not alone, I am here with you in this, let's try together, you are afraid, do not be afraid!" It is their resistance to accepting the unknown that holds them back. Until someone tries it, discovers that despite their fears, and pain that South African Sign Language is not harmful after all. It is worth noticing that the whole (cave) group did not respond at the same time or in the same way to the fire builder. Rather, the individual response matters. No one can do it for you. It has to be your own commitment and effort. This is your reward too where South African Sign Language reveals its power of languaging and leads learners out of their confusion and silence into a world of knowledge and understanding beyond inaccessible sounds. We need to treat the resistant with dignity and respect. They believe that they do not deserve this respect, and that they cannot change, nor do they want to change. Their minds are frozen with the fear of darkness. The unknown cannot be tolerated or trusted, until…*

*They have been touched, not burned by South African Sign Language and begin to discover the warmth, love, and joy that this brings to themselves and to the learners that blows their minds (of both).'*

This personal post-audism narrative redefined my role of being a bearing of fire to others, and in this case, to teachers. Their de-colonial story (Grech, 2015) becomes a narrative of liberation told through leaving the cave, and returning to light other teachers who are resistant and reluctant because they have not experienced the flame of South African Sign Language. But it does not end there. There are other languages to consider. This is not about extinction of other (spoken) languages, but about sharing knowledge and preparing learners for a post-audist epistemology.

*xxvii. Blog: Assumptions 24 Dec 2016*

*'What are the assumptions and the implications that I have addressed in this doctoral study?*

*This ethical act needs to be addressed with critical rigour in order to build a strong foundation for auto-ethnography.*

*This is a difficult question to answer in its entirety. I may inevitably leave out some assumptions, or omit others that are obvious to the reader. So, this raises the first assumption.*

*The assumption made about having completeness and tidiness in this auto-ethnography. That is an assumption on my part that I held at the beginning where I assumed that there would be both an ending point or neat, clearly defined closure to the identifying work. The reality is dramatically different: this research narrative is no different from other auto-ethnographies in that it is messy, unfinished, and partial. Despite this, this is a much closer representation of the researcher than a neat, story that commits the 'hermeneutic injustice' as Richards (2016) describes of silencing the researcher by presenting only a part of the story, the authentic deaf researcher is left uncovered and lacks the critical 'epistemological reflection' (Richards, 2016) to take autoethnographic blogs beyond being 'pointless narcissistic self-analysis'. Hence, the assumption of authenticity is embedded in this study.*

*Another assumption was made on the same lines, that 'all storytelling is not politically innocent' (Canagarajah, 2008, p. 261). In effect, both my stories and*

*by extension, the stories of the participants are embedded in the political context regardless of whether this is known and obvious or not. This is an important assumption for disrupting the impact of the colonialist mind-set of authority and authoritarianism. Taking this further, I am both a product of the methodological tradition of positivism and the colonialist medical model, but I make the assumption in the methodology section of treating all of the data, including the personal, as data since the personal is intrinsically part of the epistemological project as a quest for knowledge, understanding 'verstehen' and meaning (Richards, 2016). I struggled to write with a voice as the subjective voice was assumed to be committing an academic faux pas as a researcher. With the interpretive framework and auto-ethnography in place as the methodology of choice against 'hermeneutic injustice' this fallacy fell away and the academic writer within emerged to take up the struggle against silence: of mine and of others.*

*At the same time, bringing the assumption that the personal and public are always connected in this study brings in the human element which needs to be contained in order to avoid slippage into a 'narrative of vengeance'. For me, a hallmark of post-colonial writing is seeing beyond the pain and injustice and seeking vengeance to understanding through dialogue, either between people or as an inner dialogue with oneself. This leads to an assumption about identity work, and about being both willing and able to cast off an old identity and take on a new identity. This transformation is not always possible. Instead, what matters is understanding the barriers and the history and mind-set of the person.*

*There is the assumption that with the disability theme of this auto-ethnography that this is a subversive de-colonial thesis seeking redress for the injustices upon the disabled (Grech, 2015). This is an extremist assumption, which would go against the epistemological framework of this study.*

*The assumption of representation: as a victim of the medical paradigm, and (oral) teachers as perpetrators of this unjust system. I am aware that at the beginning of this study, that this is how I represented myself, as 'an oral deaf victim' and then reacted against this in the blogs, especially through the "Letter to my Teachers'. Similarly, I am aware that as the reflection on myself as an audist victim became clearer, there was ownership of this narrative that lead to*

*the healing and re-positioning of my identity as a bilingual deaf researcher. This is a point that was far beyond the horizon when the doctoral study commenced. My story as a deaf academic has changed over the last ten years and will in all probability continue on this trajectory of post-audism and change again in the next ten years in unexpected ways. At the same time, this study carries the assumption of insider-ness. Unlike that of a positivist researcher completing the study and moving on, I cannot walk away from this study. I cannot discard being deaf. This is who I am: I am deaf. This makes me an integral element to this study and I have to allow this point to work through me in order to tell the story as authentically as possible from the inside.*

*There are assumptions made of memory in the sense that I am aware of selecting certain events, and memories for the set of blogs. There were events that I deemed to be extraneous, or too painful or simply unnecessary for the blogs. The focus of the blogs was to construct a nexus of texts that talk to each other from my experiences and knowledge when looking deeper at what I wrote. This brings in the assumption of having sufficient distance to make sense of the texts to be truthful, even when it was painful to see myself in less than heroic ways.'*

xxviii. *Blog: Metaphors 27 December 2016*

*'Metaphors are the conceptual and ontological glue in this study. Generally, it is almost impossible to write in a meaningful way without metaphors. We use metaphors all the time and often without thinking. This is precisely the starting point here. I did not want people to give me their metaphors directly, but I took an oblique view of how they see their world as it is transforming through the metaphors they used. This is a more natural way of collecting interesting data from their stories. There is the obvious risk that no metaphors were used to explain a point, but in itself that null response can be interesting as a nothing to add comment, or they used their second language instead of their mother/home language to convey their thoughts.*

*Metaphors exist in English, Afrikaans and in South African Sign Language. All of the participants have one of the languages as their first language, and the predominant language among this group of teachers is Afrikaans. I specifically gave the participants the opportunity to use Afrikaans to express themselves fully (with metaphors) that were translated into English later. The principal was*

*comfortable using English during the interview and used Afrikaans mainly in the focus group. There was no discernible difference of metaphors across the languages. Although, with some participants, sometimes something was lost in the translation, and keeping it in the original language is best, with the English translation in parenthesis. The same applies to South African Sign Language. South African Sign Language has its own way of conveying information and also uses figurative language (metaphors) e. g.: walls has a double meaning. The use of metaphors in South African Sign Language presupposes having an advanced level of knowledge and fluency as a near-native or native user of Sign Language. The Deaf teachers used metaphors in their signing to express themselves (e.g.: walls, balance, access and communication).*

*Although there are other forms of figurative language (personification, puns, irony, innuendo, hyperbole, simile), metaphors were chosen. Lakoff & Johnson (2003) provided the much-needed academic link to metaphors as an academic tool for understanding what is said. As an ex-high school language teacher, this resonates with my experience. Metaphors are a research topic all by themselves.*

*For older teachers, their experience of their own teachers was constructed around the image of teachers as 'authoritarian' figures. For them, their teacher had undisputed authority in the classroom. This influenced the way they would become as teachers. Like them, they expected learners to submit to their authority. But with the change in 1994, the OBE curriculum re-imaged teachers as 'facilitators' and disempowered teachers in favour of giving learners some of the power. Now, there has been another curriculum change in an effort to redress the identity of teachers. The pendulum has swung too far to the opposite extreme. CAPS brings in its own construction of teachers, but more so, teachers of the deaf need to construct their own SASL identity since SASL is now an official curriculum. Of course, not all the teachers are SASL teachers, only a handful were at the time of the site visits. But all the teachers were expected to become teachers of the deaf with South African Sign Language as their language of instruction, now or in the near future as the phase-wide curriculum roll-out happened in their school, from Foundation Phase up to Grade 12. There is no policy document (curriculum) that states how sign bilingual teachers of the deaf should be imagined. It is left up to the teachers and the school to navigate these uncharted waters. This is one of the*

*metaphors that emerged that of discovery or journey. In itself, this is good news. Teachers are on the front line of the educational battle and it would be counter-productive to impose an identity on teachers of the Deaf from outsiders (DoE). Metaphors are not only constructed, but are negotiated, between learners and other teachers and school leadership into a working metaphor. I would caution that identity of teachers of the deaf is not a fixed metaphor, nor can it be. The fluid post-modern world is against seeing identity as a fixed construct and this needs to be taken into consideration.*

*The metaphor of nearness as used by Jansen (2016) provides a powerful meta-metaphor for looking at the repertoire of metaphors used by teachers. Before getting to nearness, transformation is deemed to have happened when a person has moved beyond intimacy (proximity or contact) to nearness. This is where the i-PTSD model is helpful in explaining the mind-set of teachers. Nearness means closeness, not only physical, but also emotional, cognitive, linguistic and spiritual connection with the other person. At the same time, nearness means still maintaining ones identity. At the heart of nearness is empathy. To me, that is accurate and means understanding and respecting each other and being changed by the encounter. How does 'nearness' imagine a teacher of the Deaf? Here is an allegory that captures something of the essence of a teacher*

> *"During the First World war, a German soldier plunged into an out of the way shell hole. There he found a wounded enemy. The fallen soldier was soaked in blood and only minutes from death. Touched by the plight of the man, the German soldier offered him water. Through this small kindness, a bond was developed. The dying man pointed to his shirt pocket. The German soldier took from it his wallet and removed some family pictures. He held them so the wounded man could gaze at his loved ones one final time. With bullets raging over them and the war all around them, these two enemies were but for a few moments, friends. What happened in that shell hole? Did all evil cease? Were all wrongs made right? No. What happened was simply this: two enemies saw each other as humans in need of help. That is forgiveness. Forgiveness begins by rising above the war, looking beyond the uniform and choosing to see the other, not as a foe or even as a friend but simply as a fellow fighter longing to make it home safely.' Lucado (1996).*

For me, this is a metaphor of nearness. It offers a template of post-audist connectivity. Of moving beyond the categories of enemies and finding that connection, even a fleeting one. Both were changed, and so possibly is the reader.

If I were a teacher at this school, in this context, how would I see myself?

First of all, I have experienced a 'direct hit' with South African Sign Language. This may sound odd. After all, I am deaf, but my contact with South African Sign Language only came post-school period. This is what I had been waiting for all my life. South African Sign Language made me aware of who I am, not a victim, and this is taking a lot of time and effort to uproot. This audist weed has deep roots that starved me of life, and like the cave dwellers, I had learned to be afraid, timid, and from being made to feel inferior, marginalised and oppressed. It was all I knew until I learned the how language and power relations are embedded with coloniality (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p.13).

Secondly, as a teacher, again with a 'direct hit' (Gladwell, 2009) by South African Sign Language, I am convinced beyond a shadow of doubt that sign language is necessary for Deaf learners. And now, I would venture to add my own profile of hard-of hearing into this mix. For me, both Deaf and HoH learners need Sign Language in the class, to learn the language by using it, from fluent teachers, in all subjects and phases (Humphries, 2013, Garcia, 2015). For me, South African Sign Language has changed the way I think and practice as a teacher/lecturer, since I have seen the power and depth of the language through sign language poetry literature and idioms. South African Sign Language is a unique language that touches my soul. That is my epistemic mission as a lecturer/teacher, to touch teachers and learners souls, and build them to be literate in South African Sign Language and English (to access print information) and any other language used at home. Being fluent in two or more languages is essential in the classroom.

Thirdly, as a teacher and later as a lecturer, my identity was shaped by the periods I lived through: the authoritarian period of the 1970-80s, the baby boomer era in which sign language was derided (Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy, 2006; Garcia, 2009) and not an option as it was perceived as having no benefit. If you were deaf then you wore hearing aids, learned to speak, and fitted in with some modifications. Being different was not a positive quality. I vowed not to be like those teachers. Although there were, several teachers that broke through this utilitarian mould and connected with me. They believed in me, even when I was struggling and persisted in reaching into my world and that made all the difference. I found a new path to walk with them, it was untrodden and

unfamiliar, and dangerous but this connection produced far better results than the unilateral force-fed teaching of others (transmission model Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 1). That is when I realised that teaching is a dialogue of knowledge. Unlike in the baby-boomer era where teachers expect to learners to respect them, and often this was imposed on learners who then feared their teachers because of their position as custodians of knowledge and as experts, for Generation X and Y, this has changed (Codrington, 2013). Respect has to be earned. According to Jansen (2016), respect has a twin value: 'dignity'. Jansen unpacked this concept as understanding and communicating with each other with the dignity of being valued as individuals and for their culture and languages is the foundation, on which respect is built upon. Respect is not something that teachers have and should be deified or unquestioned for having as what happened in the baby-boomer era. This insight into how the current generation sees respect is essential to knowing what teachers need to do to connect to learners and what teachers need to relinquish and change in their attitude towards what teaching and learning means in this generation of learners as a dialogue of learning, and teachers as co-learners (Garcia, 2015).

Thus, when I started teaching in High School (grades 8-12), my intention of replicating this vision of teaching was severely squashed by the difficulty in maintaining this dialogue. Even when armed with a hearing identity and powerful hearing aids, I battled to follow conversations from learners. This would reach a crisis point later that resulted in me leaving hearing schools and entering the world of Deaf Education. Until that point is reached, in order to cope, I reverted to the practice of my past teachers of being an authoritarian teacher who used the monologue style by default in order to control the classroom conversation by taking on the pedagogical authority of a colonialist teacher. That is when I felt safe and in control, but this practice displeased me as I had reneged on my vision of building up learners into thinking through a dialogue of learning. I was frustrated as a teacher and as a person. My identity was free-floating and unknown, until I was rescued by South African Sign Language and rediscovered my passion and vision as a teacher of teachers in academia (Deaf Education). The 'direct hits' and multiple 'near misses' (Gladwell, 2009) of South African Sign Language happened in my home life, marriage relationship, church and social life by becoming involved in the local Deaf community and this fed later in the professional arena as a lecturer and masters candidate at Wits University. During this time, the identity of a teacher as constructor of knowledge (Vygotsky, 1978) was in full swing and spread into Deaf Education. This made perfect sense to me. Until the new CAPS SASL curriculum came

out in 2014, being a writer on the CAPS SASL curriculum team introduced me to another way of seeing Deaf Education. Previously, I saw Deaf Education through the lens of being a reaction to the past and the medical model specifically where everything was about Deaf pride and Sign Language rights. But little was said about the future and how to teach in and with Sign Language once the rights had been achieved. South Africa was pioneering a Sign Language curriculum without teacher development in advance because the curriculum had a legal mandate to be produced with all haste. In general, CAPS was designed to imagine teachers less as 'facilitators', which was too much to ask in our education system, and more as a 'parent'. That is my perception. Does the same image apply to SASL CAPS and should it and what do teachers of the Deaf actually see and want as teachers of the Deaf? I believe that teachers of the Deaf in the SASL CAPS era are not parents, but there is more to their identity than that. My intuition as a deaf sign bilingual researcher says that teachers of the Deaf are underselling themselves as 'parents'. Key to the identity of teachers is their nearness to South African Sign Language as a catalyst to creating deep teaching and learning conversations. I am still mulling over the image and somewhat reluctant to nail down the identity teachers of the deaf to any one category. Perhaps there are many images that fit, now and in the immediate future as teachers become more equipped as sign bilingual teachers within a post-audism perspective. What I want is for teachers of the deaf, hearing, Deaf, hoh and HH to come up with their own ways of seeing themselves rather than imposing how I think the curriculum portrays them. Only later did teachers use the term 'facilitators' as the OBE identity. This was not in the policy, nor could it be and the same idea applies to the CAPS SASL curriculum. It is not up to policy makers and curriculum writers to tell teachers who they are, but to give them the space to imagine themselves as teachers of the Deaf that is in line with the curriculum and to challenge the curriculum where it is found wanting.

With experience as an ex-teacher and a curriculum writer, I hold the belief that the CAPS SASL curriculum is now in need of revision to accommodate the advances that translanguaging brings sign bilingual theory and pedagogy. At the time of writing CAPS SASL, this conceptualization of bilingualism was not yet on the horizon, but globally and in South Africa, the theory of bilingualism has changed markedly. This raises the question whether teachers are the creators of themselves within the curriculum or whether the curriculum policy is a producer and source of teacher's (pedagogical and professional) identity? Even though both ways are possible, there are different outcomes (sic). This debate needs to be continued and resolved. Teachers need to

know where they stand as contributors to curriculum design and revision, if it is their policy too. Moreover, teachers need to have clarity on how curriculum policy imagines their pedagogical authority. What are the metaphors of teacher's identity embedded in the CAPS SASL that are considered outdated, despised and implausible by teachers is now open to debate and critical review?

How do I see myself as a researcher? The obvious answer is as a bilingual bricoleur. But what does that mean?

*xxiv. Blog: Bricolage and Bricoleur 28 December 2016*

> *'Thinking and writing about methodology of bricolage is a logical topic for a blog. This topic provides an opportunity to pull together different and unspoken themes.*
>
> *Originally, the methodology section was designed around the standard empirical framework, modified a bit for social research to make it look and sound rigorously scientific, with regard to aim rationale, theoretical framework, methodology, sample, triangulation, validity, reliability, confidentiality, analysis, findings, recommendations and conclusion. The basic structure has been followed so as not to deviate too far off the beaten track of what is construed as empirical research and this largely what is expected in academic research and writing.*
>
> *However, bricolage has disrupted my thinking about social research. It is time to break away from the positivist epistemology and bricolage provides an alternative way of seeing the world that fits in neatly with the post-colonial perspective. It may seem odd to use a colonial construct of empirical research design in a post-colonial study. This is similar to fighting an opponent with one-hand tied behind your back. It is not impossible, but it is not a fair fight, nor is it likely to have a favourable outcome, the odds are against you, and you have agreed to a poor deal, or you were deceived.*
>
> *Until we see another way, then we tend to remain blind to what is happening. Jansen (2016) talks of this wilful ignorance where we blind ourselves to anything that is not of the sanctioned way of doing things, lest we stand out as rebels. In other words, the methodological orthodoxy of empiricism is intolerant to any changes to its established structure and epistemology. The researcher is*

*expected to be silent. My voice is not admissible in this framework of objectivity, nor am I as researcher expected to deviate from this way of reporting research, as an impartial outsider in the collection of knowledge.*

*But something is missing here. Reading about bricolage disrupted my positivist mind-set. I have a voice, and I can use it. Actually, bricolage actively endorses and encourages the researcher to be a part of the research as a subject: a bricoleur. An insider who also has a story to tell and understand.so instead of silencing my experiences, knowledge and interpretation as a deaf researcher, this allowed it to be brought forward. For some researchers, this would mean being 'front and centre' (autoethnography) and for others on the continuum of social research would be more inclined to be in the background and let the participants be in the foreground. In addition, in some research there would be a balancing of researcher and participants. My way of seeing this is to allow one's own voice to come through and allow participants the space to speak for themselves and be aware of the strength of one's voice as researcher. This is an intersubjective dialogue. It comes back to whose knowledge is being discovered and why. Having said that, a bricoleur has a complex and dynamic relationship with the participants and oneself and the reader. Finding one's voice as an academic writer is imperative to being a bricoleur. From there, research as bricolage can flow.*

*Bricolage is about 'tinkering' with research to find out and understand people by using whatever is at hand to do this. The image of tinkerer/handyman is an apt metaphor for this kind of work. For myself, I am a tinkerer of concepts. There is a constant tinkering and fiddling and adjusting of the concepts until I am satisfied, that it fits, particularly in new or unexpected ways. Finding connections is a better way to explain this way of thinking. This is in itself a core concept of this study. How do teachers connect with sign language and their transformation? In this sense, I have played around with many concepts: from post-colonialism to create post-audism; I expanded bilingualism to dynamic bilingualism, broadening bilingualism to include and integrate hard-of-hearing learners (and teachers) and translanguaging in this context; adapting identity of teachers as CAPS SASL imagines them metaphorically and in terms of how their pedagogical authority is imagined through a post-colonial lens; adapting Jansen's metaphor of nearness to post-audism; adapting PTSD into an inverted model (i-PTSD) as a tool for understanding the transformation of teachers; and*

*used metaphors (conceptual and ontological) to look at how teachers see themselves as teachers of the Deaf.*

*Having a background in Anthropology made the transition to bricolage easier. Anthropologists are training to write as ethnographers who are 'there' in the field as participant-observers about human society in all its richness and its impact on the researcher. Similarly, subsequent training in phenomenology proved to be useful in making the methodological break from the positivism that is in much of psychological research as a human science. I can now say that this concept has been highly problematic as bricoleur. For me, research is about understanding our stories. And stories is the phenomena under study here, which neatly brings in phenomenography as methodology, with tinkering of the steps to explore the relationships between teachers. Phenomenography goes a step further than phenomenology. Phenomenology looks at the experience and impact of a phenomenon on a person, but phenomenography goes a step further by looking at the relationship between the phenomenon of transformation and people, in this case, teachers: clustered by leadership, hearing teachers, deaf teachers, older teachers, and younger teachers from the four different research tools.*

*Bricolage asks unasked questions about ourselves: How do we see the world and what knowledge is privileged, how and why, and what does it mean for us and others, and what does it say about me and what is not said and why? Bricolage is a journey of discovery, others and self. The bricoleur is changed by the journey with fellow travellers, and hopefully the travellers are enriched by their experience of travelling with the bricoleur.'*

This blog serves to conclude the auto-ethnography section by wrapping up the themes by telling the story behind the adoption of bricolage and bricoleur. However, the story does not end there, the third point about bricoleur as a political bricoleur (Kincheloe, 2011) needs to continue through action. I have learned that knowledge in itself is of little value, it is what we do with knowledge that counts (Kincheloe, 2011, 170). But first, the other stories that need to be heard and added to the growing narrative of transformation in schools for the Deaf across South Africa.

*xxv. Blog: Bilingualism as language separation or concurrent language use? 22 January 2017*

*'Watching my Deaf colleague yesterday teaching the Deaf Teaching-Assistants allowed me to think about bilingualism practices from the VL2 article by Garate (2011), and asking him afterwards about how the languages are used helped to clarify the theoretical struggles that I was having with bilingualism as language separation or concurrent language use.*

*What I noticed was that when he was teaching was how he used the following: when showing a slide, always, he gave the class time to read the point on slide, in English, and then he explained the slide/point in SASL and returned to the English. This fits neatly into the concurrent bilingual approach as a 'preview-view-review' (PVR). It would not be accurate to say that the languaging I witnessed was a 'purposeful concurrent' with purposeful codeswitching, nor was it a strict 'translation' from English into SASL nor was it a critical discourse analysis of the two languages for meaning and in a different output to the original, as in 'translanguaging'. Although the students need to study their material in English and have the option of producing their answer in SASL, which from prior experience, the majority of our deaf teaching-assistants opt for that option in the exam without making an in-depth language analysis of the content.*

*When signing, my Deaf colleague used two ways of languaging: contact signing that mirrored the point in English with mouthing but not with English structure. The integrity of SASL was maintained while ensuring that everyone understood the points. To say that this veered off into TC would be inaccurate as SASL was always the first language in his mind with some key English words mouthed purposefully and at strategic moments for clarity. Then, once everyone had grasped the concept broadly, he occasionally signed an example or anecdote rapidly in a style of signing that used no English, and used SASL idioms and a more informal register, which was deeply familiar with the audience in content and meaning. This was pure SASL. It was equally informative, educative, entertaining and memorable.*

*Thus, I had witnessed a signing teacher set a benchmark of bilingualism. This observation raised several possibilities of practice. First, to say that the 'language separation' approach to teaching is old and out-dated would be dangerously close to heresy. There were times when there was language separation that edified the learners understanding of content through SASL.*

*This was proven to be of benefit to students who chose to give their answer to assessment question in SASL. They had seen an example of the content in SASL, but needed to recall and recount it in their own way in SASL. A simple verbatim recall of the content form the lecturer/teacher did not give an indication of their understanding. The clear separation of spoken and signed languages served the purpose of respecting both languages affording South African Sign Language with its own space. The pride and deep sense of ownership that SASL gives the signer as his language and among the group shone through brightly.*

*Adding to the complexity of bilingual practices, there was also 'concurrent language' use (predominantly PVR) for the purpose of ensuring understanding of the content in the predominant language mode of the students/learners (SASL).*

*Hence, being flexible with the use of language separation or concurrent use is a hallmark of a being a proficient deaf teacher of the deaf. Originally, I thought that teachers need to move away from language separation approach to bilingualism. I equated language separation as outdated and akin to language apartheid, which theoretically has been disproved. Instead, there are times when language separation is both pedagogically necessary and useful. Whether language separation is another term for translation is open to debate. The separation of the languages from each other is one of the features of translation but translation goes further by examining the meaning and form of the texts in both languages. Translanguaging is a higher-level linguistic skill, which needs to fit with the text and the audience. In this case, translanguaging was not specifically used. However, there is sometimes switching from one approach to another in class depending on what is needed and appropriate. This realisation of languaging in action led to the conclusion that teachers need to be fluid and fluent in their languaging. Teachers tend to teach then reflect on their practices rather than the other way around of designing their teaching around an approach, such as concurrent PVR. The concurrent approach sets up teachers in a different way to that of language separation. The metaphors of each are different. Language separation is metaphorically marked by the use of space. When signing a point from the slides, there was an intentional shoulder and body shift into South African Sign Language. When the point was finished, the reverse happened back to the point in English on screen. As a bilingual*

*language separation teacher, I saw him metaphorically as a film editor with a pair of scissors in one hand and a stick of glue in the other hand that cut the languages apart and at used the glue of concurrent languaging to stick the languages together for meaning-making and coherence. In reality, I saw a lot of complex movement between the languages.'*

What this experience and the subsequent blog has done is to put into words my personal long-standing struggle with deaf bilingual theory. Initially, the theoretical concepts of language separation and concurrent use in the VL2 article were a revelation. I did not know that someone had given names to these language practices. In itself, 'this naming of things' to borrow from the poem '*Naming of Parts*' by Henry Reed (1944) served to consolidate the existence of these experiences. I was not alone in my thinking of bilingualism as concurrent. This word, 'concurrent' became a buzzword. However, the VL2 article had a number of flaws: it was written in 2011, and as a result, it included translanguaging as one of the four concurrent language practices. Translanguaging has since moved out of the shadows (of doubt) in my mind to being a way of understanding how bilingual education has shifted as a post-colonial discourse. In VL2, translanguaging was deemed to be appropriate, but also limited to, the higher grades where cognitive skills have developed. But the reality is far more complex and extensive. There are many ways of using languages; hence, languaging is an accurate way of describing what happens in class between teachers and learners. Teachers bring their legacy of the past into their classroom practices and these needs to be unpacked. Therefore, for teachers, an unexamined colonial legacy (Grech, 2015, p. 7, 17-18) is a potential bomb threat. In addition, there was a realisation that learners are typically heterogeneous language users (Humphries, 2013) and dynamic bilingualism is a better descriptor of what happens in class when teachers allow this interaction between languages to happen (Garcia & Cole, 2014, p. 114). I have realised the extent of skill, and courage teachers need to navigate between and through the languages (Marschark & Lee, 2014).

### 8.3 Analysis and Discussion/reflection and theorising

By stepping back and writing reflective blogs has provided a rich vein of insight into my events, experiences, and developments as a sign bilingual Deaf researcher. By following the narrative arc of these two central themes, identifying as a bilingual, and as a deaf researcher, has bought coherence, and an opportunity for theorising through and beyond these contemplative identity narratives.

### *8.3.1 Coherence*

These blogs have been centred on the two broad narratives; that of the ontological journey of becoming a Deaf sign bilingual (Bauman & Murray, 2014, Garcia & Cole, 2014) and that of becoming a Deaf researcher/academic (Harrison, 2015). There has been much intermingling of the two themes over the past six years. It has been fascinating to look back and see the complexity of these connections that Kincheloe (2011, p. 170) spoke of earlier and how both narrative streams ('Sign Bilingual Blog' and the 'Deaf Researcher Blog') have an mutual impact on each other to the extent that neither can live without the other.

### *8.3.2 Auto-ethnographic narratives*

From the outset, the contemplative narrative (Freeman, 2015) has been a useful and appropriate lens for looking at the content of these researchers and identity blogs. I found that by writing these stories over a period of six years has been helpful in making an identity that have been invisible, visible by giving it a post-colonial voice (Reinharz, 1994).

Likewise, the storying of myself as an emergent deaf sign bilingual researcher has followed the autoethnographic structure of 'exposure, reflection and theorising' (Tilman-Healey, 2002). There have been several significant moments of exposure in this journey of blogging that have been recorded and subsequently reflected upon. In the process of returning to these key points, I have taken the blogging of the research and researcher's journeys two steps further into reflection and theorising. By reflecting on these blogs and theorising (self-analysing) (Harrison, 2015) I have begun to see where I have come from and where I am at now as a work-in-progress (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 7) and how the post-colonial paradigm of post-audism opens up new way of seeing by resolving the earlier double consciousness problematic (Du Bois in Brueggeman, 2000, p. 318) and interpreting the world.as an Deaf epistemology of empathy (Jansen, 2013, 2016).

What stands out is that I have been shaped by this study and now what I bring to bear on the analysis is substantially different to how I would have looked at the data six years ago. There has been a paradigmatic change in my identity as a deaf researcher who now sees Deaf lives as a gain and a celebration of diversity.

### 8.3.3 *The emerging post-audist narrative*

Instead of following the divisive, de-colonial pro-audist and anti-audist rhetoric, as a sign bilingual, I have chosen to walk a different path. For me, the connectivity of post-audism brings exciting new ways of seeing deaf bilinguals who sign, such as me. I see the world in different ways to how I saw the world as I was growing up as an oral deaf child, and adult, and it is different to the rhetoric of the sign language community reacting against its linguistic genocide and oppression (Grech, 2015, p. 18).

Being on the ground in a research site has served to confirm my intuition that there are many ways to be deaf, rather than only two diametrically opposed factions. What I am seeing is that we need to have dialogues about our ways of seeing the world through our dialoguing about our 'bitter memories' and 'bitter knowledge' (Jansen, 2013). Our differences, and our points of connection, or nexus, matter. We understand ourselves when we understand each other which returns to Makelala's (2015b, p. 212) injunction to find the interconnected '*ubuntu*' between us.

My narrative has been a journey of professional and ontological discovery that is well captured by this poetic metaphor:

> *'Two roads diverged in the woods, and I took the one less travell'd by, and that made all the difference.'* (Robert Frost)

What has emerged is that the two themes, bilingual identity and becoming a deaf researcher are interconnected and inseparable. This forms the parallel undercurrent narrative of a deaf researcher to the current study. This has profoundly changed the way that I look at the data in my field of research; and at schools for the Deaf. It also changes the way I see myself, as a deaf bilingual researcher. I have become aware that I have a different lens (post-audism) for understanding the world in which I am an insider and this allows me to see things differently.

The journey as an academic is incomplete, but a plateau of self-discovery has been reached that has set the foundation for the next stage. Thus, this is an opportune moment to stop the blogs here in order to look back and interpret the autoethnographic narrative along with the three sets of data.

## 8.4 Conclusion

In writing as a bilingual researcher, with the voice of an insider, it was discovered that personal and professional identities intertwined with each other. By the middle of the third year (2 September 2015), the decision was made to continue with the blogs as

interconnected narrative rather than to keep these separate. Blog xxi marks this merging into a combined blog. Looking back, this structural and methodological decision mimics the theoretical framework that underlies this study: that of second wave of dynamic sign bilingualism and translanguaging practices (Garcia, 2015).

Similarly, the researcher's autoethnographic narrative engages a fluid interaction between the personal and professional narratives. The academic journey over the past six years as a doctoral candidate has culminated in my narrative of being a deaf bilingual researcher. The journey into understanding what being deaf and bilingual means unfolded in unexpected ways. Discussions about sign bilingualism persisted as a theme for far longer than anticipated. Initially, I anticipated that key theorists of bilingual education (Garcia, 2009) and bilingualism in Deaf education (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981; Grosjean, 1982; Cummings, 1999, 2007; Swannick, 2010; Mayer, 2010; would have been sufficient. Instead, with the current second wave developments in bilingualism and sign bilingualism (Garcia, 2014) and the concurrent narrative turn (lyons, 2007; Murris, 2010), this research provided a substantial opportunity for reflection and reflective writing on these exciting developments. As I interviewed and reflected on the teacher's data, I found that I too was struggling with my own ambivalence with the sign bilingual model of language separation (Garate, 2003) and was exploring translanguaging as an alternative pedagogy, which has been resolved in my mind, through the second cluster of combined blogs from September 2015 onwards.

At the same time as conceptualising the post-colonial post-audist epistemology, it was found that this demanded a critical reflection of my own audist legacy as a mainstreamed oral deaf person. I found that it would have been presumptuous to propose an ontological and epistemology understanding without examining the theoretical foundations, and assumptions embedded within the autoethnographic narratives. It was difficult to disrupt the dominant metaphors of identity but self-reflective writing was a cathartic experience of recording and then reflecting on my narratives of critical incidents critically (intertextuality) that in turn refigured (Ricouer, 1998) my narratives and metaphors of identity. In short, in order to understand the transformation that teachers were going through at the school, I realised that I needed to participate in the same process ahead of and along with them in order to understand what happens during the transformation from one cognitive and pedagogical paradigm to another: from audism through de-audism and to post-audism. At the same time, the researcher's reflection adds verisimilitude to the analysis (Ellis & Bochner, 2000) since

the researcher has acquired valuable credibility as participant-observer (intersubjectivity). Being deaf adds a crucial dimension of the insiderness of an emic researcher (Harris, 1976, Störbeck, 2000), which carried considerable weight of authenticity of being-there as a researcher, was the extent to which the autoethnographic narratives mirrored and informed the analysis of the teachers' narratives (intertextuality) from the second wave of bilingualism transformed the researcher's understanding of bilingualism as a fluid interaction between languages. Thus, the researcher's identity as a sign bilingual bricoleur (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004), was used to analyse the complexity of teachers' narratives.

Chapter 9 applies Step 4, a discussion and analysis of the 'categories of variation' of the ontological and conceptual metaphors found within the three datasets (Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals).

# CHAPTER 9: ANALYSIS OF METAPHORS - CATEGORIES OF VARIATION (STEP 4B)

## 9.1 Step 4 continued: Interpreting metaphors across the Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals as post-audist narratives

In Chapter 3, the concept and utility of metaphors in an interpretive research approach was laid out. In summary, metaphors, both conceptual and ontological, are a new cognitive and language domain for understanding how the identity of teachers of the Deaf is expressed. Metaphors provide a contextual framework for understanding our knowledges and our experiences through the stories we tell of ourselves through the embedded metaphorical language of our lives.

This section looks at the metaphors that emerged from the focus groups, interviews and the journals. As a trend-seeking tool that lacked metaphors for analysis, the initial survey was eliminated from the primary dataset although from the trends that emerged, the survey provided useful insight into the kinds of questions to be put forward in the focus groups and interviews. The analysis follows the same structure as set out in the previous analysis chapter, *viz*: the three Focus Groups in chronological order, then the three key informant interviews in chronological order and the Journals analysed as a dataset.

## 9.2 Mapping of Metaphors (analysis)

As set out in Chapter 2 Section 3, metaphors are a useful way of structuring our lives. The metaphors are grouped into conceptual and ontological metaphors and mapped for meaning in line with the context of the source, Focus Group, Interview and Journal; the metaphors are also mapped according to their discursive context, as markers of audist or post-audist narratives.

### *9.2.1 Focus Group 1: 'SMT'*

What this cluster of metaphors suggests is that the SMT is fundamentally talking from a position of nearness. Looking first at the conceptual metaphors, the metaphors of 'wall', 'a long walk', 'the golden thread', 'revolution', 'emptying', and 'planting the seed' are a

diverse scattering of seemingly disjointed images that out of the context of the focus group session signify very little of commonality. Yet, taken separately and on their own merit and cross-linked to other metaphors used by the focus group, a different picture (narrative) emerges. Once the 'seed of sign language has been planted' in teachers' minds, the wall between the two opposing perspectives is demolished. The teachers as well as the SMT publically recognised that in the end this change is 'a long walk'. The metaphor of a 'journey' indicates the both the measure of the effort required in becoming a signing teacher of the Deaf and the struggle to honour the commitment to walking this road as opposed to the previous 'road of audism'. The ideological roads of audism and post-audism go in divergent directions, and it is difficult for them to change direction. This implies a revolution of the mind, and a complete reversal from the past pedagogical practices. Teachers cannot be half-hearted about this shift. It is an 'all or nothing' affair. In fact, the metaphor of empty/full speaks of teachers in this focus group discovering for themselves the power of sign language to empower learners to empty themselves of their stories. With South African Sign Language, learners are not language-frustrated anymore and these teachers have realised this for themselves. This metaphor inspires them to persevere with sign language despite the difficulty for their teachers. They know that they cannot go back to oralism. For them, audism is over. The teachers have realised that they are now 'right with them', which speaks of a new nearness to deaf learners through South African Sign Language. Even if it is produced in a halting and broken manner, at least teachers are learning to use sign language with commitment wherein South African Sign Language permeates everything they do in class and becomes 'the golden thread' that runs through the entire school. 'The golden thread' image allows for South African Sign Language to be an uninterrupted link throughout the school. This may sound like a utopian vision, but there is much power in this metaphor since this is the principal's metaphor used for unity.

The SMT used the ontological metaphor of teachers first having 'to step out of their comfort zone' of being a 'spectator' watching South African Sign Language and doing little to being a 'participant' by joining the team of teachers on the field, to take this metaphor to its logical fruition. The second ontological metaphor is that of teachers as 'a bridge'. This seems to contradict the earlier metaphor of fighting 'to break down the walls' in teacher's minds and choosing sides (by refuting audism). Actually, teachers as bridges indicates a more mature grasp of what teachers need to do to build the school as a sign bilingual school with South African Sign Language and English/Afrikaans

literacy. ‘Bridges’ is a strong nearness metaphor of teachers making and maintaining connections across different languages and cultures as ‘consolidators’ or ‘negotiators’.

### *9.2.2 Focus Group 2: ‘Older Teachers’*

Following the same pattern of analysis used for the SMT focus group, the older teachers’ focus group spoke of ‘heaven on earth’ when reminiscing on the past with small classes. Older teachers who remember having smaller, separate classes for deaf, hard-of hearing and special needs learners did not see larger classes of mixed languages and hearing/deaf identity as a positive development. Again, this metaphor of ‘walking down that road’ is interpreted as an intimacy metaphor with two significant components of warning; it speaks of going ‘down’ as opposed to upwards as a marker of progress. Lakoff & Johnson (2003) identified this as an orientational metaphor Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 15-16) and to illustrate where ‘up’ equals good/progress and ‘down’ equals bad/deterioration. Secondly, this metaphor uses ‘that’ to distance and exclude South African Sign Language instead of using ‘this’ as a marker of inclusion and ownership.

In this Focus Group, walls were seen as a barrier in teacher’s minds. Some teachers had not broken down their walls of audism (Humphries, 1976, 2003) against sign language, or were not able to do so or had not been convinced sufficiently by an experience of South African Sign Language to break down their mental wall[10]. The teacher who mentioned this metaphor spoke with honesty about the difficulty of breaking down the metaphorical walls of communication and their lack of South African Sign Language skills and complete support. In this context, this is an open admission of the reality and difficulty of the task for older teachers to become fully supportive of South African Sign Language. However, it also makes the point that some older teachers have not yet had a ‘direct hit’ or ‘near hit’ with South African Sign Language. The metaphor of ‘pure’ signing came up as an awareness of nearness to South African Sign Language as a language in its own right. Older teachers recognise the need to respect South African Sign Language but struggle to produce ‘pure’ SASL with the correct linguistic structure since GVT or SE is still their preferred classroom practice.

[10] This is an example of the ‘remote miss’ scenario described in the i-PTSD model.

This Focus Group commented that the Intermediate Phase learners were missing out on having the same strong foundation in place as the Foundation Phase with their intensive exposure to South African Sign Language. The metaphor of 'building' is used in several ways, as doors, walls and foundation by others throughout the journals. The building metaphor is a powerful trope for explaining the implementation of SASL as being 'under construction' and how teachers were moving from a state of intimacy towards that of nearness and connection.

The 'signing on the same wavelength' metaphor matches with the SMT Focus Group ('right there with them'). This occurs when languaging between teacher and learner/s happens. In this case, it is a hugely significant moment because it is when teachers have used their South African Sign Language skills to synchronise and connect with learners, rather than the other way around as was expected in the audist authoritarian pedagogical authority (Jansen, 1999).

There are four ontological metaphors. An older teacher described herself as a 'robot' (a South Africanism for a 'traffic light') to explain the task of directing and controlling the flow of traffic of different languages in the classroom. The teacher elaborated that learners want the teacher to use her voice and this caused a dilemma for the teacher who was trying to comply with the 'no voice' principle when signing. The older learners expressly requested for voice in the classroom and the teacher felt that she was a 'language traffic cop' who was trying to clear the gridlock of communication traffic on her own audist terms.

The second metaphor that came up was that of being a 'bridge'. This replicates the SMT comment, and since it was raised by different teachers, it adds to the weight for consideration of this metaphor as a potentially significant identity metaphor of post-colonial nearness.

The third metaphor of 'touching their soul' speaks clearly of intimacy and nearness. It was actually raised by a teacher who recalled her experience as an oral teacher. This may indicate that there are successes with oral and that this teacher holds onto this event of success as a key event. Another way of interpreting this unusual context is that the teachers who sign well also appropriated this metaphor where Sign Language is their mark of success, in which case, nearness has been achieved. Is 'touching their soul' a sufficiently powerful metaphor for teachers or is more needed? This question is

answered later by the deaf teachers through their emphasis on the pragmatic role that teachers have of equipping and preparing Deaf/HH learners for the outside world.

This theme is picked up in the next metaphor of the teacher as an 'encourager'. The teacher described the task of teachers of trying 'to get learners to believe that they can'. This aligns with the post-audism value of Deaf Gain (Bauman, 2014). In order to get to that place of trust and support, there needs to be a strong communication platform in the language of the learner. From this basis, the relationship of nearness with the learner enables the teacher to speak into their lives as a mentor who encourages them rather than as a didactic parent-like figure. Positive regard and encouragement are powerful instruments in teacher's arsenal as it gives learners an awareness of their competence. For Deaf learners, having a teacher believe in them is a major identity position of nearness of teachers as 'mentors'.

### *9.2.3 Focus group 3: 'Younger Teachers'*

The younger teachers' Focus Group used a different set of metaphors to the older teachers. This focus group started with 'resistance', which is the opposite of the breaking down walls metaphor of the other two focus groups. Resistance was expressed through the metaphorical expression of 'South African Sign Language being forced down our throats'. This is clear resentment in being forced to do something against ones will. Due to its disruptive nature of being seen as rejecting South African Sign Language, this is a dangerous metaphor to use at this time of transformation. It indicates a position of intimacy rather than of nearness with learners and other teachers. At the same time, this resistance needs to be taken seriously by the school leadership to identify a possible gap or problem that one or more teachers may be having that is causing this bitterness and 'bitter knowledge' that Jansen spoke of earlier (Jansen, 2012).

Similarly, the metaphor of staying within ones 'comfort zone' emerged in this focus group. The sense of comfort came from the audist past and some teachers are as yet unconvinced of the need to change to South African Sign Language as a replacement for what worked in the past. This discordant voice was rebutted by an opposing metaphor of 'making the switch' to South African Sign Language. since the school has already made the switch. It is not an option for teachers. The SMT requires that teachers 'let go' of the past in order to move on with South African Sign Language and

adopt the sign bilingualism approach. By way of support, another teacher contributed that having South African Sign Language is a ‘big thing’ (a conceptual metaphor) as opposed to being trivial or inferior matter. Those teachers who had been hit directly with South African Sign Language were adamant that South African Sign Language had changed them completely. As evidence of this, a teacher used ‘confession’ as a metaphor of ‘letting go’ and forgiveness (reversal) for the oral past and aligned with the post-audist pro-sign language perspective of an authentic voice of empowerment (Esbenshade, in Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 113).

The ontological metaphors used by the focus group of younger teachers were that of a ‘parent’ and of a ‘catalyst’. The ‘teacher-as-parent’ metaphor expressed a strong desire for teachers to maintain control, on their terms, as a parental authority in the education context. This is  demonstrates a desire to maintain the orthodox audist construction of teachers as authority figures. In contrast, ‘teacher-as-catalyst’ tracks succinctly with the post-audist ontology of teachers as dialogic change-agents in the classroom (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p.7).

#### *9.2.4 Interview 1: ‘Principal’*

The principal used metaphors extensively to convey his points. Only one metaphor at the end that fits into the ontological category and this will be discussed last. The first conceptual metaphor was that of Deaf Education as ‘cooking in the pot for some time now’. The need for change was both imminent and necessary for the school. This was immediately followed by the metaphor used of ‘change does not happen in a void’ but there is a legacy and a context to consider. Although this is a dramatic change, there is recognition that for change to be successful there needs to be an awareness of the past, audism and how this has shaped the school without demolishing everything, as there is a context to consider. The conceptual metaphor of the ‘middle path’ is used as a mental roadmap for the school leadership to follow between the audist status quo, or the neo-audist path of ‘revolution’. If that were the case, then the school would have gone the path of starting with a completely new cohort of teachers as signers only and the legacy and accumulated experience of a generation of teachers would have been lost. The ‘middle road’  to change is seen by some teachers at the school as the best option for preserving the past while moving into the future.

The principal mentioned that a condition of employment for teachers is their 'buy-into' the change to South African Sign Language. The metaphor of 'buy-into' presumes that teachers invest themselves fully in becoming sign bilingual teachers and follow the school's transformation trajectory. This metaphor captures the concept of individual teachers taking the responsibility to commit everything of themselves into the post-audist project. It is not forced upon teachers, but is expressed as a choice: "Commit fully or you can leave." What is implied by this metaphor is that teachers cannot invest only a portion and 'stay within their comfort zone'. A half-hearted investment is not going to work nor will this be permitted, since holding onto the past pedagogy and only picking up pieces of the new pedagogy is an invalid and unworkable response that puts the transformative sign bilingual project at risk. The magnitude of the change needs to be recognised by teachers as a 'big change' that carries the expectation of a similarly large investment from teachers to step out of their previous comfort zone to demonstrate (transcendence of teachers' minds) nearness to learners (linguistically) as a mark of success.

The 'forefathers turning in their graves' metaphor humorously depicts again the magnitude of the principal's decision to go against continuing the audist legacy of previous principals of this schools. This is a key moment that set the post-audism project and pedagogy of sign bilingualism in motion. The principal is aware of the enormity of this break with the school's tradition as an oral school for the deaf. Now the leadership task of the principal is to 'find the right vehicle to drive' this change. This is the metaphorical language of pragmatics as there are no guidelines from DoE or prior experience from other schools to draw from on how the transformation to sign bilingualism is to happen. The school leadership has recognized that it has the freedom to choose their own strategies for implementing sign bilingualism and teachers' transformation.

The principal used the metaphor of 'marriage' as a way of explaining the importance of experience to transformation of the teachers' minds. Teachers are expected to expose themselves to experiencing South African Sign Language wholeheartedly as a 'direct hit' (Gladwell, 2009) in order to make the switch. Taking the marriage metaphor a step further, the principal added the caveat that the languages, English, Afrikaans and South African Sign Language cannot be divorced from their respective cultures. Teachers and learners need 'buy into' learning the languages and the cultures of each

of these. This nearness to each language through its culture is a necessary condition for the translanguaging practices to develop and mature.

The principal kept the most important metaphor to last: the 'school is holy ground'. This metaphor speaks first of the school as sacred place. Secondly, it frames teachers ontologically as 'priests/priestesses' or 'disciples/ministers' of knowledge. To be a teacher is elevated to a 'calling' to educate minds by sharing knowledge. For teachers of the Deaf, this metaphor indicates both their elevated place of honour and responsibility as specialist educators. The power of teachers is not from within (intimacy), but from the transcendent authority of their place as mediators of knowledge (nearness).

#### *9.2.5 Interview 2: 'Male Deaf Teacher'*

The male Deaf teacher used one (conceptual) metaphor to describe sign bilingualism. The first metaphor used was the 'growth,' of literacy. Growth is a metaphor that aligns with post-audism as an organic concept that distances post-audism from the rigid mechanistic structure of audism within a positivist epistemology. A post-audist epistemology sees 'growth' as a natural process or network for making and maintaining connections with people through different languages and texts for various purposes. We are enriched by our contact with others (Wenger, 1998). This is the space where constructivist and connectivist theorists see learning happening (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 2).

The ontological metaphor of 'I am your teacher not your friend' suggests that there is a need to shift learners perception of Deaf teachers as professional teachers first, despite their nearness to each other that a shared language (SASL) enables. At the same time, this teacher wants to preserve the unique access that he has to Deaf/HH learners as equals so that they can continue to approach him with their problems at any time.

The teacher used the image of himself as a 'custodian' or 'guardian' of the Deaf (South African Sign Language and Deaf culture). The metaphor of a 'custodian/guardian' is indicative of his identity as a protector of special or sacred knowledges and cultural artefacts, in this case, South African Sign Language, by virtue of his nearness to deaf learners and the Deaf community. This is a noble identity of a responsible position as a

post-audist gatekeeper of knowledge. He seems to feel that he is entrusted with passing on the values of Deaf culture and sign language to the next generation, of Deaf teachers and learners.

### *9.2.6 Interview 3: 'Female Deaf Teacher'*

The female Deaf teacher used three different conceptual metaphors: 'confession', 'scales of equality' and 'First and Third worlds'. Her confession of guilt provides post-audist nearness in her difficulty in surrendering her audist legacy. At the same time, this could be a useful platform for developing translanguaging skills.

Second, the metaphor of 'scales of equality' or 'balance' of languages is used throughout the interview. This is a dynamic metaphor of the change from inequality to equality of languages at a higher level than before. In addition, this is a wise warning that the school needs to avoid simply reversing the scales to have South African Sign Language as the dominant language. Then there would not be a state of balance but a neo-audist discourse in which the skills and experience of the past are lost. Instead, the teacher recommended a post-audist 'balancing' of both languages (Afrikaans/English and SASL).

The conceptual metaphor of 'First and Third Worlds' is used to depict Deaf Education in South Africa as being a Third World reality. It seems, that in her mind, the technology (e.g. cochlear implants) and ideas of the First World cannot be unilaterally implemented here since South Africa is a Third World country. By implication, First World means advanced and Third World means developing countries with poor resources and limited technology. By extension, this implies that this school needs to develop its own solutions to its needs. This is a refutation of the First world technologies of cochlear implants, which are largely unaffordable in a Third World context. Inadvertently it seems, Reagan, Penn and Ogilvy (2006) see South African Sign Language as being emblematic of Third World status that speaks of the prior positionality of SASL as identified as an inferior language. However, more recently, SASL has attained greater status as a language (Morgan, 2014), suggesting that teachers need up-to-date information on trends and research on sign language and sign bilingualism.

The ontological metaphor used by the female Deaf teacher is that of preparing learners for the outside world. This constructs an identity of deaf teachers of the deaf as a

‘coach’, or ‘big brother/sister’. The second ontological metaphor of ‘we must work together’ [collaboration] expands on the first image and suggests a partnership between equals. This concept can be extended to working together with hearing teachers, parents, and the Deaf community, and others in a post-audist network of partners.

### *9.2.7 Journals*

The metaphors used in the journals are arranged into the four themes of ‘Teachers and teaching’; ‘South African Sign Language and Sign Bilingualism’; ‘Deaf Learners’; and ‘Change’ across older teachers, younger teachers and deaf teachers. Each of the metaphors are categorized according to whether these are conceptual and ontological metaphors. Then the metaphors are mapped with the post-audism metaphor of nearness (Jansen, 2016). The metaphors are then discussed in terms of inherent and possible relationships to see the architecture of meaning (Booth, 2009).

#### *9.2.7.1 Category 1: ‘Teachers of the Deaf and Teaching’*

The teachers wrote metaphorically about themselves as teachers and teaching through six conceptual metaphors: ‘a journey’, ‘a light’, as ‘a witness’, ‘a breakthrough’, ‘immersion into the world of sign language’ and ‘equality’. The journey metaphor proved to be a dominant metaphor of discovery of South African Sign Language in their professional lives. Not only that, the journey metaphor connects with their cognitive and pedagogical discovery of South African Sign Language as a light that enabled them to see the world (of the Deaf) through sign language. This inner discovery is echoed in their professional discovery (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 3) that sign language is a means for Deaf learners to access knowledge, and that there is an open invitation extended by SMT to teachers are invited to join their learners on this journey of discovery. One of the young teachers used the metaphor of ‘witnessing’ to describe the impact she felt while observing the signs of her Deaf/HH learners, had on her. This was a moment of cognitive ‘breakthrough’ for both the teacher and her Deaf/HH learners, which lead to the teacher seeing learners ‘blossom’ from that moment onwards through an exponential growth in language. The metaphor of ‘immersion’ also means, in following with this point, that teachers were encouraged by their learners’ language and cognitive capacity to continue learning apace with their full immersion into the world of South African Sign Language. Simultaneously, the previously held perception of South

African Sign Language as being inferior has been challenged (Reagan, Penn & Ogilvy, 2006) and replaced with the awareness of linguistic equality. Equality of languages indicates the nearness of teachers to acceptance of South African Sign Language in the lives of Deaf learners.

The cluster of writing on the 'teachers and teaching' generated the richest vein of (8) ontological metaphors, such as : 'warrior'; 'guardian'; 'protector'; 'mirror'; 'delegator'; 'partner'; information-connector'; and 'aporist'. The discussion follows the above identity metaphors in the sequence of older teachers, then younger teachers and the last two from the deaf teachers. The teacher as 'warrior' metaphor leads to two possible interpretations. The first is that since this is the position taken by an older teacher, it is consistent with the teacher as a warrior in a battle over languages in Deaf education. The image of a warrior is replete with a uniform and weapons. A warrior defends what he/she believes in and follows orders and must choose a side to defend. The other interpretation is that of a teacher as a warrior of sign language defending against the old enemy of oralism and audist practices and beliefs. Whether this image of teachers as warriors is sustainable in a post-audism paradigm of dialogue, (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, 2) is moot.

The second and third metaphors of 'guardian' and 'protector' fit together neatly. Both of these metaphors came from older teachers and are less adversarial than the warrior image. The guardian or protector is entrusted with the task of defending the citadel against attack, in this case, to protect sign language. Since older teachers mentioned this metaphor, there may be a case to be made here for having protectors or guardians for the vulnerable place of South African Sign Language among the more powerful languages of Afrikaans and English. Although, Reagan, Penn and Ogilvy (2002) argue that SASL is a sufficiently unified and strong natural language to stand on its own. This metaphor implies that South African Sign Language has not achieved power to stand alongside other languages and is therefore in need of protectors. This identity of teachers indicates movement from a state of intimacy but nearness has not been achieved, as there is a false depiction of SASL. There is the danger here of teachers becoming de-colonial (Derrida, 1976, Grech, 2015) martyrs for SASL rather than post-colonial change-agents.

The next two images of the teacher as 'delegator' and 'partner' originated from younger teachers. These are identity metaphors of nearness through parity of South African

Sign Language with Afrikaans and English. This position establishes the idea that teachers are comfortable with sharing space with other languages and are not feeling threatened. They have confidence in themselves as signers, and are now more comfortable with giving South African Sign Language pedagogical place (Clandinin, 2006a) and space in their class which is essential for fluid and skilful translanguaging practices to happen (Garcia & Cole, 2014, Garcia, 2015) .

The Deaf teachers saw teachers as 'mirror' and as an 'aporist'. There is a similarity in both images. Both see themselves foremost as a deaf person, hence the metaphor of a mirror for Deaf/HH learners to see their teacher as reflection of what they can become, i.e. - Successful citizens in both hearing and Deaf communities. One of the Deaf teachers introduced a new identity. As explained in the journal, the teacher sees the role of Deaf teacher as that of a person who brings deaf people together. Although the teacher did not use the terms '*diasporia'* and '*aporia'* explicitly, the concept of gathering the 'exiles of audism' (oralist) together and equipping them with South African Sign Language and Deaf culture and a place in the Deaf community and the hearing world supports a new sign bilingual identity metaphor of the teacher-as-an-'aporist' (Mcilroy, 2017). What it means as a post-audist metaphor (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p.7) has yet to be unpacked, and validated against other narratives and research.

#### *9.2.7.2 Category 2: 'South African Sign Language and Sign Bilingualism'*

The teachers' responses in the second category of 'South African Sign Language and Sign Bilingualism' generated ten conceptual metaphors and one ontological metaphor. The first six metaphors came from older teachers and the next two from younger teachers and the last two from the Deaf teachers.

An older teacher used the metaphor of discovery to tell the story of how she had discovered that Sign Language is a door to another, unknown world. Following on from this another older teacher used the metaphor of healing by letting go of the past and the bitter knowledge (Jansen, 2013) that the teacher carried (unintentionally) once the door to Sign Language had been opened. The experience of nearness to South African Sign Language leads to the immersion metaphor. The 'bridge' metaphor was used by older teachers to describe their progress in accepting the use of both languages in the classroom (Swannick, 2010, p. 155; Humphries, 2013; Petitto, 2015). However, it was said that 'South African Sign Language (structure) is (like) toffee to me' (FGY1). This

probably gives a more accurate picture of what was happening in reality. This shows that nearness with SASL is desired but not necessarily being acquired in practice. At the very least, there is honesty but also a degree of courage about the struggles of older teachers to learn South African Sign Language. This view is borne out in the ownership metaphor where older teacher sees sign language as belonging to the Deaf/HH learners. In other words, ownership by the teacher has not yet been achieved. Here it is still perceived of as 'his' language rather than as 'my' language.

Some of the younger teachers noticed the metaphor of 'switching' to say how comfortable they have become with being bilingual. This seems to have created a new metaphorical category of 'dignity' that enables them to their vote of confidence in Sign Language. They have found a sense of dignity as signers and see Deaf/HH leaners with dignity. For younger teachers, making connections is the fruit of the development in South African Sign Language, and indicates the degree of nearness that has been achieved in learners and teachers. Younger teachers felt that the connection that South African Sign Language provides also raises their profile as near native (second language: L2) teachers of the Deaf, which consolidates their dignity as teachers.

One of Deaf teachers wrote that South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism is a 'milestone' for the school. The shift to SASL is a long-awaited change and worthy of being called a 'milestone' event in the school's history. They are seeing history happen in their lifetime, and more specifically, in their school. Metaphorically, the milestone is a marker of something of significance. The other Deaf teacher wrote of the difficulty of 'juggling three languages' (South African Sign Language, English and Afrikaans) in class. This could also be an ontological metaphor of 'teacher-as-juggler'. Another way of interpreting this metaphor is possible. Since the teacher was unfamiliar with the shifting between languages as the translanguaging approach to bilingualism takes Garcia, 2015), the teacher relied on trying to keep the languages separate (Garate, 2012) which results in juggling between languages. I would argue that this is a precursor to a more refined bilingual practice of translanguaging. Whether the 'teacher-as-juggler' is a valid, constructive ontological metaphor has yet to be seen, and I suspect that because of its association with clowns/circus, professionally, teachers may understandably not take up the metaphor of 'juggler'.

#### *9.2.7.3 Category 3: 'Deaf Learners'*

In Category 3, ‘Deaf Learners’, there were six conceptual metaphors and five ontological metaphors used to describe teachers’ perception of Deaf learners which simultaneously says interesting things about themselves.

The special education definition and metaphor of deaf as not ‘normal’ (‘abnormal’) persists with the older teachers. Although there is a redefinition of this term to mean being equal to hearing learners. There is a new ‘normal’ emerging from the growth of South African Sign Language in the school that is echoed in the younger teachers journals. Normal does not have a negative connotation, or the previous tone of irony that is a give-away of the speaker’s medical discourse of deafness as not really normal. However, the third metaphor of being ‘different’ (not the same as us) raised a discordant voice from older teacher who observed a significant difference between hearing teachers and (signing) Deaf learners. The issue is less about the gap between the two groups, and more about whether this gap is widening or narrowing. For older teachers, there is a realisation that ‘deaf as equal’ but placed emphasis on maintaining ‘separateness’ of hearing and deaf people. A younger teacher who saw this as a paradox of Deaf Education takes up this perception: living in two worlds where there is expected equality of position and power but the reality is different: the audist ‘metaphor of disablement’ (Grech, 2015, p. 14) of deaf lives persists. South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism is a new and long-awaited development and the impact of this change is being noticed by hearing teachers and deaf learners. This suggests that when nearness happens through acceptance of the paradox of living in two different world that both sides of the education dyad (teacher-learner) are affected and changed by each other. Yet, the shift from acceptance entails a relinquishing of the medical perception among hearing teachers of seeing deaf learners as ‘the odd one out’. The variation of responses highlights the complexity of hearing teachers teaching in Deaf space (Bauman & Murray, 2014), as this is foreign to their culture however teachers need to operate between and beyond both cultural spaces and domains. It could also be that a Deaf teacher used the metaphor of ‘odd-one-out’. This was an unexpected response. For a Deaf teacher to use this metaphor may be seen less as an odd comment and more as an awareness of the reality that this teacher has encountered in the hearing world as a deaf person may. From this position, her role as an ‘agent-of-change’ (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p. 1) is to facilitate inclusion and integration of deaf learners in the wider hearing world beyond school in order to ameliorate being the ‘odd-one-out’ that happened before.

There was broad consensus across the teachers on the commitment (buy-in) of deaf learners to South African Sign Language and this is being matched by the teachers imagining themselves (Jansen, 2001) as 'equal partners' or 'co-constructors' of knowledge (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, 2) in the teaching and learning relationship.

This time, unlike in the previous category with an older teacher, a younger teacher used the metaphor of 'sponges' to describe deaf learners as eager learners. Hence, the role of teachers is to give Deaf/HH learners the 'water of knowledge' that this so desperately needed through sign language. Younger teachers see sign language as being indispensable to the knowledge-as-a-sponge metaphor, and with this language access and parity in class, teachers see themselves as dispensers of knowledge in sign language to thirsty minds. This metaphor betrays a return to the paternalistic transmission model (Johnson & Golombek, 2002, p.1) of the teacher as transmitter of knowledge in Chapter 1. Therefore, Johnson and Golombek's conclusion that even though many teachers reject this model [as outdated] most of them continue to work and learn under its powerful hold' (2002, p.1) holds. What is particularly interesting is that this metaphor is used unexpectedly by a younger teacher rather than from older teachers.

The ontological metaphors covered two broad narratives: the 'parent', and the 'guide/connector'. The older teachers, possibly based on their own experience as parents (intimacy) as much as their audist perception of deaf learners as 'children' used the metaphor of 'mother', 'surrogate parent' and 'spiritual guide' to describe themselves as teachers.

In contrast to the limited intimacy of the 'parent' metaphor, the young teachers and Deaf teachers used the metaphor of teacher as 'catalyst' to describe their role and identity as the person who operates as a 'connector/mediator/negotiator' between hearing and Deaf worlds. To be a 'connector/mediator/negotiator' implies nearness to both worlds in order to perform this role.

#### *9.2.7.4 Category 4: 'Change'*

The last category of 'change' revealed four conceptual metaphors and two ontological metaphors. The conceptual metaphors were further reduced into two clusters. The first is 'switching between' and 'immersion' and these fit together as a metaphor of 'fluency

and fluidity'. The second cluster is 'separation' and 'not fitting in' and this became a metaphor of 'exclusion'. It was interesting to discover that extent of 'immersion' across all of the groups of teachers: older, younger and a Deaf teacher. Immersion included expanding their vocabulary, and skills in signing and sign language structure, and meeting more signers to improve languaging to acquire fluency. Also included was more bilingual interaction between the languages in a natural way in class like the one deaf teachers do.

The second cluster of 'exclusion' covered two different groups of teachers and two different scenarios. An older teacher wrote about trying to maintain separation of languages (spoken and signed) in class. This appears to be evidence of an outdated but persistent interpretation of bilingualism that exists among older teachers in particular of keeping the languages separate (Garate, 2012). Bilingualism theory and practice has expanded in five important ways: languaging, identifying, transglossia, translanguaging and dynamic bilingualism, (Garcia & Cole 2014). For this reason, there are teachers who need to be made aware of the new developments in sign bilingualism.

Somewhat unexpectedly, a Deaf teacher wrote about 'not-fitting-in'. This exclusion can be traced back to the teacher's preference for a return to the status quo of the past oral-focused teaching practices. In this way, this Deaf teacher feels excluded from the other teachers who fully support South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism. As an older teacher, this teacher has concerns about the success of sign bilingualism and reserves her support until sufficient success is achieved. Despite being a Deaf teacher, there is a residual audist praxis and consequently, metaphorical nearness has not yet been achieved. The other meaning of 'not-fitting-in' refers to the Deaf teacher's concern for Deaf/HH learners not being equipped to fit into the world of business after school because of the over-emphasis on South African Sign Language and a lack of balance between the spoken and signed languages.

The ontological metaphors associated with 'change' were 'first-contact' and 'consolidators'. It was an older teacher who used the term of 'first-contact' metaphorically to refresh the role of teachers of the deaf as strong models of sign language. Whether the teacher has achieved this or not is unknown, but there is a deep commitment to taking this the 'first-contact' seriously by improving their sign language as much as possible for their Deaf/HH learners' sake. Unlike the first

metaphor that was explicitly named, the second metaphor is an interpretation of the range of teachers that changes into the catch-all moniker of ‘consolidator’ and these teachers who expand their network of contacts and resources within the Deaf community and among the Department of Education (district office) to consolidate their own competency as a signer. This was typified by comments about ‘going up a level’ as a signer and teacher of the Deaf regardless of whether they are older or younger or deaf teachers. As their world was opened by the success of sign language through nearness, so there are new possibilities for personal and professional development as post-audist teachers.

## 9.3 Conclusions

The ontological metaphors are of particular interest in this study. There were 20 separate metaphors used to describe teachers, of which five are associated with intimacy and audism and 15 are associated with nearness and post-audism. The nearness related metaphors are clumped into five identity profiles in descending order:

1 ‘connector’ (5);
2 ‘priest’ (3);
3 ‘protector’ (3);
4 partner’ (2);
5 ‘catalyst’ (2).

The significance of the conceptual and ontological metaphors that emerged from the three sets of data along with the autoethnographic narrative will be discussed in the concluding chapter

# CHAPTER 10 PHENOMENOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS: INTERPRETING THE ARCHITECTURE (Step 5)

## 10.1 Introduction

The fifth and last step is the analysis of the research tools, Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals as an inter-connected heuristic structure. Each of the methodological tools contributed to the overall architecture of the study. What follows is a comprehensive unpacking of the comprehensive findings of the data along with the relationships and connections between the various participants through the various tools at the macro (SMT) and micro (teachers) levels. Structurally, the interpretation begins with the macro level of school leadership (principal and SMT) the transformational leadership model, consisting of the re-culturing, developing people and teams; principal as critical thought leader; transformation as moral; identity of the principal. Thereafter, the micro level of teachers is interpreted through cognitive transformation and the i-PTSD model. Since identity metaphors overlaps with both levels, this meso section follows and connects both the macro and micro levels in chapter 1.

## 10.2 Transformational Leadership

Fullan's model of transformational school leadership is defined as the visionary leadership of the principal that transforms an institution through people and teams (2004). The model of transformational leadership was found to be at the heart of this study and permeated every interaction with the principal and the SMT (meso level) and cascaded down the teachers (micro level).

As discussed in Chapter 2, transformational leadership involves: re-culturing, developing people and teams, principal as critical thought leader, transformation with a moral purpose, and identity of the principal.

### *10.2.1. Re-culturing*

The implementation of the SASL CAPS curriculum brought about a simultaneous introduction of SASL as a language across all phases of the school. The use of SASL, as a language, could ostensibly be introduced only in the SASL classes where the

SASL CAPS curriculum is being used. However, this school decided early on in the process of implementation CAPS SASL to bundle it with a revised language policy (see appendix) and pedagogy of SASL and sign bilingualism. The implication of this decision to implement both SASL and the CAPS SASL curriculum simultaneously meant that the school embarked on transformation across all phases and in all activities. At national Department of Basic Education level, the implementation of SASL CAPS followed a phased roll-out plan that in effect gave the schools for the Deaf a gradual transformation over five years. as mentioned in the principal's interview, the roll-out has affected teachers at this school in different ways. The Grade R and Grade 9 teachers were immediately involved in the first phase. And the last phase of the roll-out would reach the Grade 12 teachers in 2018. Despite the implementation process spanning 5 years, the school had begun with transformation by internally 're-culturing' itself in 2012 as a sign bilingual school for the Deaf on a small scale with the Sign Language Project and its pilot group of teachers (Steyn, 2015).

The re-languaging of the school provided the school with an opportunity to re-culture itself as an educational institution. The principal's vision of the school as a sign bilingual school was articulated to the SMT and teachers in 2013 and again each year since. An integral part of re-culturing involved teachers' commitment to the new language policy and pedagogy. To expedite this, teachers were afforded the opportunity to attend in-service training workshops organized by the principal for the purpose of re-culturing and re-languaging, which focused on Sign Language awareness, knowledge and skills. The principal stressed in the interview the importance of teachers understanding that this is a process of transformation and not a revolution. According to the principal, the difference being that the legacy of the past is not to be swept away in a moment of cutting off the past. Instead of transformation as a 'revolution', the 'golden thread' of unity of new culture that embraces SASL throughout was located as the core driver of successful transformation. Ultimately, as the principal articulated, re-culturing must be of benefit to the learners. In itself, this is a fundamental reversal of the past construction of education from being teacher-centred to a post-OBE learner-centred framework of a learning culture as imagined in CAPS (SASL) as empowered co-constructors of knowledge (DBE, IP, 2014, p.4).

Another significant re-culturing change to be made was raised by the SMT is in the teachers understanding of teaching a diversity of learners rather than teachers' expectation that learners fit into their classroom. Now there is evidence of a shift in learning culture towards teachers respecting and accommodating learners'

communication needs with a wider range of languages available to do so. While there are signs of shift in pedagogy, this is not yet common practice throughout the phases.

The process of re-culturing also involves understanding both hearing and Deaf cultures within a new space of language parity which requires mutual dignity and equality of deaf and hearing teachers in all school affairs. At the time of data collection, this was an issue raised by deaf teachers, publically and privately in the interviews but also by hearing teachers who observed the cultural and linguistic disparity between deaf and hearing teachers. To sum up, there is residual inequality between deaf and hearing teachers, which may endanger the process of transformation.

While re-culturing involves elevation of South African Sign Language to position of equal status as other languages (in this case, Afrikaans and English) hearing and deaf teachers emphasized the theme of having 'balance' between the languages which introduces a culture of tolerance as the way forward. The enormity of this shift has not been underestimated by the principal and the SMT and this has guided their mentorship of teachers. For this school, the addition of Afrikaans literacy is an important task for balanced language development.

Particular focus was placed on addressing what the principal and teachers colloquially called the cognitive barrier against Sign Language and sign bilingual pedagogy: 'walls in teachers' minds'. As an expected consequence of the in-service training, teachers were expected to make the requisite cognitive shift from their past conception of themselves to teachers of the deaf that use SASL as opposed to using GVT/TC. Despite not having a specified time for teachers to demonstrate their mental shift, which is unenforceable given the phased roll-out of CAPS SASL, it was made clear to all of the teachers that deep transformation to SASL would be necessary for them to develop as re-imagined teachers instead of remaining teachers who did not engage with the transformation process. The 'voice-off' principle is a tangible way of demonstrating compliance with the transformation process. In effect, this principle shows that the individual has internalized the concept of South African Sign Language as a visual language and has relinquished the past audist practice of using a spoken language with signs added: 'signed English/Afrikaans'. In addition, the 'voice-off' principle of signing marks out the extent to which Deaf culture has been understood and internalized. Old generation teachers commented that they need plenty of time and mentioned specific reasons. firstly, not only learn essential vocabulary but secondly and more importantly to learn the structural and modal differences between spoken

languages and SASL thoroughly and practically in order to build up the confidence to express themselves in a language that has been a foreign language to them thus far. Thirdly, teachers also said that there was a mental barrier of signing in front of their peers, especially those who signed better than them to overcome in order 'make the switch to sign language'. Therefore, teachers need to have the trust and support of their peers and school leadership to work through the transformation at their own pace to break through this wall. Once this cognitive transformation happened, and teachers used SASL in structurally consistent manner with SASL discourse, there was a dramatic change in their narratives of teachers was noted. The teachers recalled this critical incident privately in their journals, and publically among their peers in the focus groups, that expressed their amazement with themselves (achievement) and the impact that the critical incident of a cognitive and linguistic switch-over to (voice-off) signing has had on their learners in terms of cognitive and emotional nearness and connection that (SASL) language parity brought and adding stories of success into their refigured narratives of transformation. For younger teachers, it was found that re-culturing to South African Sign Language required less intensive work to 'fit-in' with the principal's sign bilingual policy and vision. It was in the Focus Groups that the younger generation teachers were more forthcoming in their support for Sign Language as a result of their 'direct hit' experiences in their classes that amounted to accumulation of critical incidents within the group. Consequently, these stories of successes provide a vital constellation of gathering stories that add to the groundswell of narratives that are beginning to have an impact on older teachers who were almost convinced but have reservations and latent resistance to making the cognitive shift to SASL and sign bilingualism. In a reversal of typical mentor-type roles, there were a number of younger teachers who reached out to older teachers to respectfully and patiently encourage them as peers and co-learners to embrace the shift to the new language and culture that is beyond their previous comfort zone. For some older teachers, re-culturing was resisted until more evidence of the success of South African Sign Language had been accumulated in the higher grades where they teach.

It was found that re-culturing of Deaf teachers is also required. From what the Deaf teachers said in the interviews, where they described the legacy as past learners with an oral deaf education background, this undisclosed legacy had a negative influence their teaching. Both of them described their surprise at discovering that despite being proficient signers, they use far less signing than they thought they did as possible consequence of their legacy of oral deaf education. Both deaf teachers reported at the

end of interview that retelling their story provided encouragement to express themselves freely in particular about their ambivalence about 'signing and speaking' and the coping with the needs of multilingual learners. Later on, in the wrap-up focus group, both deaf teachers made insightful comments about their challenges in the wrap-up focus group. This stresses the value of giving Deaf teachers the opportunity to expressing their concerns which may be common concerns among all teachers, or more relevant to deaf teachers and fluent signers. Nevertheless, several hearing teachers commented after the wrap-up session semi-privately to the deaf teachers and researcher that the comments by the Deaf teachers had been helpful and made them more aware of the deaf teachers' perspective. Thus, it would be an error for school leadership to assume that Deaf teachers do not need to engage in the re-culturing process. Instead, deaf teachers have a different process of transformation to hearing teachers that requires particular attention re-culturing rather than (SASL) re-languaging of hearing teachers. This may not always be true, but it was true in this case among the Deaf teachers. Therefore, Deaf teachers need to be included in the re-culturing at all levels in order for them to transform along with the school. Both deaf teachers commented on the need for hearing teachers to be more accommodating of the communication needs of deaf teachers, especially in staff meetings.

In terms of identity, the two Deaf teachers described themselves foremost as Deaf persons. This is congruent with the Deaf cultural practice of placing Deaf identity in the foreground followed by their other identity markers, such as race, gender. However, these teachers uncovered a consequence of giving Deaf prominence in their classroom interactions. As deaf persons who can sign, certainly at a level well above hearing teachers' competency, this created a special place for them as the 'resident signers'. Although Deaf learners connected with Deaf teachers through their communication in South African Sign Language, two different strategies on the issue of teacher's identity and pedagogical authority emerged.

For one of the Deaf teachers, being seen as a friend and not just as a friend that can sign, it is imperative to changing the culture of learning in the classroom to that of respecting each other's place while teaching and learning collaboratively. On the other hand, the pedagogical authority (Jansen, 2015) of the other teacher was constructed around the metaphor of being an 'older sibling' who is responsible for protecting their younger kin (learners).

The connection that the Deaf teachers have with Deaf learners was esteemed particularly by older generation hearing teachers in the journals. On the other hand, Deaf teachers felt disconnected among hearing teachers especially in the conversations in staff meetings. With the transformation to South African Sign Language, the Deaf teachers have the expectation that communication with their hearing colleagues would have improved. Instead, so far, this has not been the case, except with some teachers who have connected with them. The reality is that a post-audist re-culturing of hearing teachers about the needs of Deaf teachers is incomplete.

### *10.2.2: Developing people and teams*

The principal stated that he saw in the interview and in the SMT Focus Group, the principal explicitly placed teachers first provided recognition of the role of teachers as the primary agents of transformation. The principal's trust in the teachers to embrace the linguistic and pedagogical change was captured his use of the metaphor of a marriage partnership in his discussion of the school and his relationship with them in this process of transformation. To which the principal added that communication with teachers is vital to developing the vertical relationship.

The SMT added that they are on a journey of transformation together as captured by their comments and reference to their 'long walk to sign bilingualism'. This sense of horizontal connectedness fueled their motivation to persevere with bringing about the transformation. The principal stressed that the strength of the SMT is an essential factor in managing the transformation as the principal cannot be everywhere. The SMT is the monitoring structure that needs to be in place to connect with teachers vertically.

The voice of the older teachers who are struggling with the transformation needs to be heard by school leadership. The establishment of closed dialogue among teachers provided a safe place for teachers to narrate their stories of transformation. For some, the focus groups provided a space for expressing themselves among others, while other teachers preferred to express themselves through the privacy of the Journals. Moreover, since three means of self-expression and self-development through critical reflection were made available, there were some teachers chose to use all three or a variation of two of the research instruments to tell their story.

The experiences of younger teachers as emergent bilingual teachers presented narratives of strengthened connection with their learners through the new linguistic pathway/modality of South African Sign Language. Several of these narratives found

expression in the Focus Groups and in the Journals as personal exemplars of success. Sharing these stories of success contributes greatly teachers' personal development and contributed towards building a critical mass of support for the transformation.

As younger and older teachers made the transformation to South African Sign Language, their narratives changed to stories about what they have realized that d/Deaf learners can achieve with and through SASL as their language. Thus, teachers re-imagined d/Deaf learners as capable learners and redefined 'normal' away from the disabilist discourse and into a diversity discourse that nurtures dignity between teachers and learners through shared communication.

Through their shared experiences of deafness, the deaf teachers had a strong bond with each other. At the same time, this bond extended to deaf learners and their fluent communication skills in SASL was seen with some understandable jealousy among hearing teachers. This jealousy may create a potentially dangerous outcome by creating distance between hearing and deaf teachers, and thus, sensitive management is needed to develop people and bring hearing and deaf teachers together.

The SMT and several older teachers added that the Department of Basic Education is an important development partner. This relationship needs to be strengthened. It was found that teachers hold the perception that the DoE and District Officials are not as involved in the process as they could and should be. This relationship needs to be developed: teachers suggested inviting national and district level educational policy stakeholders to participate in acquiring the essential awareness and understanding necessary for implementing the South African Sign Language CAPS curriculum for teachers and d/Deaf learners.

#### *10.2.3: Principal as critical thought leader*

In the interview, the principal unequivocally set out the school's position regarding South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism with a statement of belief in the new paradigm is essential to implementation, however, on its own that has proven not to be sufficient to continue the transformation. The young generation Focus Group commented on the importance of the principal understanding the complexity of the transformation process that is happening in parallel with the roll-out and implementation process.

The principal, as critical thought leader understood the fundamental concept in sign bilingualism of separating the languages and filtered down to the teachers through the SMT. This concept was then formally adopted in the new language policy which introduced SASL as LOLT and removed Total Communication and signed English/Afrikaans and introduced SASL as a language of teaching and learning (LOLT) and the sign bilingual approach in class. The principal has the task of ensuring that the language policy is included in the transformation process and is a product of the school leadership's Bakhtinian (1999) notion of critical dialogue on transformation.

Arising from the above, the principal needed to keep up to date with how sign bilingualism is evolving and expanding theoretically, as an educational policy, and in practice in South African schools for the Deaf and as well as internationally. At the time of the interview with the principal, the concept of translanguaging had just begun emerging in Deaf Education literature. This concept also emerged in teachers' focus groups and journals through their concerns about how to handle the issue of language separation or concurrent language use, which morphed later into what Garcia (2009, 2014) described as translanguaging. The Deaf teachers raised several issues about their understanding of sign bilingualism and how to implement it that the principal needed to address as critical thought leader: 'mouthing' when signing, about language separation or concurrent use, handling the communication and linguistic diversity of learners and balancing the languages. The issue of how to handle the diversity of learners which refers to Deaf learners who are rely on sign SASL, deaf learners that rely on oral language, and hard-of-hearing learners who need a combination of languages was also mentioned by both younger and older generations of teachers in the focus groups suggesting that this is an area that needs clarity by the principal and SMT

The principal added in the SMT Focus Group that teachers' experiences particularly, their stories of success, need to be documented for future research and dissemination.

#### *10.2.4: Transformation has a moral purpose*

In the interview, the principal articulated the moral purpose of education of d/Deaf learners at this school as a sacred responsibility that must never be taken lightly because these learners are the next generation. In essence, the principal is mindful of and his teacher's accountability for their actions in the classroom. By publically declaring the sanctity of learning to teachers and learners simultaneously the principal also set the moral tone for learners to pursue excellence in their academic studies.

Since South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism have brought greater access to learning for d/Deaf/HH learners, more can been expected of learners, not less. The same expectation of higher performance from the principal applies to teachers' performance. The principle of challenge found in cognitive dissonance (Bernstein, 2000) applies to teachers as a positive disruptor to transform themselves into teachers of the Deaf that fully and practically support SASL and to align with the school's new policy and drive towards academic development through improvement in literacy. Even though teachers concurred in the Focus Groups that the process of transformation as a difficult and intensive and long-term task, they have taken unanimously up the challenge because they believe in its intrinsic moral value for connecting with Deaf learners as equals. Teachers said that is their goal but there was a concession made in the focus groups that this is a distant target. Nevertheless when hearing this, teachers reached out to support and encourage each other in the difficult process of transformation. This moral support within the focus groups exemplified the epistemology of equality found in the journals. Teachers spoke of their engagement in learning a new language (SASL), culture (Deaf culture) and pedagogy (sign bilingualism) with peers on a similar, shared journey of border-crossing (Martin, 2010. During the process, they have come to recognize and relinquish their past (audist) practices. Transformation also requires that teachers become learners without losing their role as teacher. Teachers described in their Focus Groups to each other that they realized that making the cognitive switch to SASL was a moral imperative of access and equality for them as SASL they have discovered that SASL enable them to enter the world of their learners. The critical incident had the power to catalyze the transformation of their identity as a teacher of the Deaf. Various metaphors of what it means to be a sign bilingual teacher of the deaf as a co-constructor of knowledge and collaborative partner emerged (see Table 3).

The SMT agreed among themselves that they have the moral purpose of ensuring that 'the seed of sign language is planted and nourished' as one teacher succinctly said. Meanwhile, they added that the cultural and linguistic legacy of Afrikaans remains under their guardianship. The 'older teachers' identified literacy development as a key educational imperative. The 'younger teachers' focused intensely on keeping the languages separate in their classes. This is typical of the first wave conception of sign bilingualism as teachers gained experience with using SASL, so they encountered difficulties with maintaining strict adherence to the language separation model. Deaf teacher's spoke of their purpose as signers is to model South African Sign Language

for Deaf learners and teachers. This is a role that is, and needs to be, taken seriously. At the same time, Deaf teachers need to participate in their personal transformation activities/dialogues to align themselves with where the transformation is taking the school. The Deaf teachers emphasized their moral purpose as teachers of the deaf as that of preparing deaf learners for a productive working life after school that is beyond their learners' expectations. They also saw their role as encompassing being a 'life coach/motivator' to urge learners to achieve at least what they (as teachers) have achieved. Their moral purpose and message to deaf learners is teach them to belief in themselves and that they can excel. Thus, they hold the belief that being deaf is not an excuse.

#### *10.2.5: Identity of the principal*

As the key figure of the school and the leader of transformation at the school, the principal cast himself as a navigator of the transformation, and expected difficulties ahead. However, instead of taking on the role of 'master and commander' as his predecessors may have done, he opted for the role of mediator to handle the dialogues between SMT and teachers. Additionally, the principal displayed qualities more aligned to the 'servant leadership' model of Greenleaf (2003). The central tenets of servant leadership are about delegating authority to people to enable them to perform their roles and to create space for critical dialogue to happen. Whether this model was adopted intentionally by the principal or not is unknown, however, the identity of the principal as a 'servant leader' (Greenleaf, 1970) fits with the post-audism theme of making connections with people on their level as an epistemology of empathy (Jansen, 2013). The principal's authority not only remains intact but has been expanded by leveraging dialogue as a feature of transformation.

Prior to initiating the process of transformation, the principal had to be certain about the decision to implement SASL and SASL CAPS and the principal clarified in the interview that the decision to go with transforming the school to SASL was unequivocal.

## 10.3 Metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson) and Identity (Jansen)

One of the surprise findings and indeed riches of the study was the amount of ontological and conceptual metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003) that teachers used for

imagining sign bilingual teachers sourced from the Focus groups, interviews and Journals and presented below.

**Table 4: Epistemological and ontological metaphors of a sign bilingual teacher: Imagined as an 'artefact' or as an 'agent'**

| **Sign bilingualism as 'language separation' (first wave)** | **Sign/deaf bilingualism as 'dynamic bilingualism' (translanguaging) (second wave)** |
|---|---|
| Builder of walls (SL/English/Afrikaans) | Wall-breaker (older teacher) |
| Robot (older teacher) control the flow of knowledge and strict control of languages | Catalyst (SMT, young teacher, deaf teacher) of thinking and languaging |
| Parent (Older teacher) | Big brother/sister (deaf teachers) |
| Disporist of knowledge and language | Aporist, aggregator of knowledge and epistemology, languages |
| Investor (buy-into) sign bilingual (SMT and Principal) | Delegator (SMT) |
| Immersion (older teacher) into SASL | Information-connector /consolidator (Young teacher) |
| Intimacy (young and older teacher and SMT) | Nearness as co-learner/partner, on the same wavelength as learners (deaf teacher) |
| Warrior (older teacher) of Deaf rights and Sign Language rights | Advocate for Equal rights/equality, but an adult: ambassador of dignity (a lady/gentleman of learning (deaf teacher) SMT |
| Discoverer (young and older teacher and SMT) of SASL | Discoverer of new worlds, a knowledge tourist (Principal) |
| Juggler (older teacher) between languages | Mediator (young teacher) language gymnast/athlete |
| Dispensors of the water of knowledge (older teacher) | A gymnast (flexible language-user) (young teacher and deaf teacher) |
| A bridge (to Sign language)<br>First-contact (younger teachers) | A bridge-builder linking SASL and spoken languages |
| Guardian/gatekeeper of Deaf culture (deaf teacher, older teacher, SMT)<br>Manager | Custodian of Deaf culture and curator (young teacher), artist, creator of new bilingual artefacts, leader |
| Priest: touch their soul (Older teacher) | Priest: Touch their soul (Principal, deaf teacher) |
| Made the shift: convert (SMT, older teachers, younger teachers) | Encourager/motivator: cross-cultural/cross-lingual (older teacher, SMT, younger teacher) |
| Facilitator/Preparer for employment (deaf teacher, older teacher, young teacher, SMT) | Problem-poser/ analyst/catalyst of thinking and learning (young teacher, deaf teacher/principal) |

Along with the cognitive change to SASL comes the imagining of teachers' identity in two ways: either as a bilingual language separator with the attendant metaphors as a 'disporist/parent' who controls the language practices; or as 'warrior' or 'guardian' or 'gatekeeper of knowledge', or a 'juggler' who shifts between languages with the goal of preparing d/Deaf learners with essential knowledge in order to cope in the hearing world on equal terms. Or as translanguaging bilingual teachers who expressed their identity through the metaphors of being a 'catalyst' of learning, a 'co-learner' and 'discoverer/explorer' of knowledge, an 'aporist' who gathers people and information together, a flexible 'gymnast' who mediates between the languages and ideas with the goal of building themselves and Deaf/HH learners as multilingual and multicultural critical thinkers and problem-solvers. An extensive range of both ways of imagining teacher's identity were noted and is useful information for future teacher training and research.

The boundary between the two waves of sign bilingualism has been noticed by Garcia (2015) as a permeable barrier and flows from the 'language separator' to the 'dynamic, translanguaging' model. However, it is significant to note that reverse movement from bilingualism as translanguaging to language separation was not observed. To do so would be tantamount to a reversal to an audist identity (Bauman, 2008) and practices and in violation of school's language sign bilingual policy. This suggests that the language separation approach is an essential step before the translanguaging approach can develop, but it is does not necessarily apply to all teachers who have made the paradigm shift to sign bilingualism. There are teachers, in particular the older teachers, who have now become comfortable with the language separation model. In itself, this is a major pedagogical change for them to have made. What was noticed from younger teachers and some older teachers who had a sustained 'direct hit' experience, is that given time, like them, these teachers new to learning SASL are likely to follow the route of the teachers who have already been using language separation and have encountered implementation challenges, such as contact signing, and mouthing, and switching between languages in communication diverse classes that Humphries (2013) speaks of as heterogeneous language practices among diverse learners. This growing discomfort with language separation is seen here to fuel teacher's exploration and readiness to experiment with dynamic bilingualism and translanguaging practices that Garcia and Cole (2014), Garcia (2015) have already seen in their studies. Henceforth, teachers need knowledge and support about this second wave of sign bilingualism (Petitto, 2015, Garcia, 2016).

Looking specifically at this topic in the 16 Journals, it was found that there were 9 teachers who abide by the 'first wave' sign bilingual practice of 'language separation' (Garate, 2012; Garcia & Cole, 2014) and 7 teachers that were using 'translanguaging'. The profile of the language separation is eight 'older teachers and 1 younger teacher and one deaf teacher. The profile of translanguaging cluster was 'older teachers 2; 'younger teachers' 4 and 1 Deaf teacher. This gives an indication of the direction that sign bilingualism is taking in this school. Older teachers are more likely to use language separation, while younger teachers are more likely to have moved on from language separation or are experiencing a kind of pedagogical dissonance (Jansen, 2013) in their classroom practice and thereby seeking solutions to their challenges. The same finding applies to Deaf teachers with the caveat against making the assumption that all Deaf teachers use dynamic bilingualism, translanguaging pedagogy but the 'bitter memory' (Jansen, 2013) of their audist experiences and prior deaf epistemology needs to be disrupted through reflective dialogue (Bakhtin, 1996) and support to change their narratives (Jansen, 2014) to align with the dynamic bilingual paradigm (Garcia & Cole, 2014).

### 10.4 Cognitive transformation and i-PTSD model

For teachers, the implementation of SASL and sign bilingualism followed the three-stage process of trauma recovery (Herman, 2002) of dialogue in a safe space, retelling a narrative of post-colonial transformation (Grech, 2015), and re-integration (Turner, 1964) of praxis into the classroom as post-audist teachers. Despite the neat layout of the model, teachers revealed the complex nature of personal and professional transformation. The teachers who experienced a 'remote miss' in terms of limited contact with SASL and sign bilingualism remained substantially unchanged. This was seen in older teachers who displayed limited commitment to SASL or there was only superficial change.

Their metaphors of teachers of the deaf were closely aligned to the hearing teachers' central construction of teachers as a 'parent or moral guardian'. Along with this imagining, some of older teachers spoke of the difficulties with learning SA Sign Language and juggling between languages in class. Notwithstanding the difficulties, these teachers spoke of their de motivation to improve themselves to become signers that are more fluent. The same teachers made it clear that they are not against South

African Sign Language since they understand the logic of having South African Sign Language for Deaf/HH learners. Yet, in practical terms, these teachers said that the Total Communication/GVT/SE approach with the use of spoken language with signs added, hence, signed English/Afrikaans was deemed a satisfactory solution for them at this time.

For the older teachers, this shift away from TC understandably proved to be a difficult task. Yet, despite the enormity of the transformation, the vast majority of teachers have begun this process of transformation.

The teachers who had a 'near hit' or 'direct hit' with SASL particularly as a result of the in-service training that focused on learning sign language, spoke of the 'breakthrough' of SASL into their lives in terms of seeing Deaf learners as highly competent visual learners like [dry] sponges that are hungry for knowledge from the teacher who can now communicate and understand their world. Their audist understanding of deaf epistemology has been overturned and replaced with a post-audist Deaf epistemology (Mcilroy, 2015). While this is an expected and desired outcome from SMT, not all teachers have made this discovered SASL for themselves. Among the older teachers, there were some incidents of resistance to South African Sign Language. Teachers shared their resistance for not being at the in-service training sessions, and felt that SASL was being imposed on them. Likewise, some 'younger teachers' also displayed resistance to the imposition of South African Sign Language despite their awareness of the school's position and policy with regards to South African Sign Language. Nevertheless, several of the younger generation of teachers said that when they came to the school they were motivated to fit in as signers, which endorses the finding that younger generation of teachers are more tolerant towards learning SASL than the older generation of teachers. The narratives of this cohort of older and younger teachers speak of the challenges and nostalgia for the past (oral education). At the same time, members of the SMT, as older experienced teachers themselves, provide a powerful narrative (Clandinin, et al. 2006; Clandinin, 2016; Young & Templer, 2014; Ricouer, 1985) example of transformed mind-sets (Jansen, 2014). Nonetheless, some SMT members added that they would also benefit from support in going through this process themselves and they need to tell their stories too. This is precisely what happening in the SMT Focus Group session where a space was created for narrating the small stories of their joys, struggles as teachers, and as SMT members who have a leadership and management responsibility. Whether this kind of mentoring continued

beyond the sessions is unknown. These comments from the young generation focus group established that a transformed SMT is an essential factor in the transformation process as it serves as a two-way vertical conduit (see Figure 1) to support teachers in their transformation.

In contrast, the narratives (stage two of Herman's (2002) three stages of trauma recovery) of 'direct hit' with SASL bring hope. Briefly, to recap, a 'direct hit' refers to a direct exposure to SASL that brings about a paradigmatic cognitive transformation of such an extent that the teacher makes a complete mental changeover to SASL. Thus, a 'direct hit' with SASL generated narratives that were characterised by a moment of epiphany caused by entering the world of the Deaf and on becoming a bilingual member of the 'Deaf' community through learning SASL and finding themselves within a new, third bilingual space (Wei, 2011, p. 1234) beyond the coloniality of audism (Grech, 2015) of 'Deaf Gain' (Bauman, 2014). This lead to the teachers' awareness of breaking through cognitively into a visual space in which sign language is valued for creating access to knowledge and learning, and teachers' discovery of their nearness (Jansen, 2016) with Deaf learners through SASL.

The many of the older generation teachers commented in the Focus Group sessions and Journals of the high degree of patience of learners with teachers learning South African Sign Language and the subsequent patience that teachers now have towards Deaf learners was a result of their empathetic connection as capable equals. The teachers' disruption of the audist discourse of deaf as 'disabled' (Betcher, 2015) also means that Deaf learners are empowered with SASL and thus improve their ability to learn. From that shared platform of SASL, emerged stories of their learners' hunger for knowledge from them in class, Teachers spoke of their relief at discovering that they are 'not the enemy' and the extent to which they 'fit-into' the world of Deaf as balanced bilingual teachers with a 'voice' (Reinharz, 1994). Despite the discomfort and ambivalent state prior to their 'direct hit' and immersion into SASL, teachers focused specifically on their new state of being comfortable within the SASL community in their school and classes. Journals of the Foundation Phase teachers contained examples of their excitement of them noticing what deaf learners can do with their newly acquired SASL skills in telling stories that were not possible to express up to now. However, for some of the teachers, several older teachers, but also a young teacher, recorded in their Journals a sense of guilt for their audist past and a need to seek forgiveness with themselves and/or with others where they may have had a negative impact.

Cognitively, this was seen as an important part of their healing of their 'bitter (audist) knowledge' (Jansen, 2013) in order to engage in their personal transformation to the SASL discourse.

## 10.5 Key Findings

Seven key findings were generated from interpreting the data across and between each of the three sets of data. Findings from the Focus Groups, Interviews and Journals in this qualitative study and are presented next in point form for clarity:

1 The pedagogical identity of teachers of the deaf has shifted from that an 'authoritarian' (Jansen, 1999) to the fluid post-modern identity of the teacher of the Deaf. The descriptors of identity that emerged were as: a 'bridge/facilitator/'connector/aporist/priest/protector/partner and catalyst'. Common to these descriptors of identity is the metaphorical concept of metaphysical nearness (Jansen, 2016) of the teacher of the deaf to Deaf learners through South African Sign Language.

2 Confirmation that an 'epistemology of empathy' (Jansen, 2010) was the central driver of the process of transformation of a school's institutional identity. This required adherence to the five principles of the transformational leadership model (Fullan, 2004) as well as macro-level transformation of the school's identity. The school in this study was empowered by the institutional metaphors (Eckhard & Rowley, 2013) of itself as being in a 'marriage relationship', with a 'bridge' of communication, 'golden thread' of unity. The primary metaphor was that of the school as 'sacred space' (or 'holy ground' in some versions) of learning that runs through the whole school as a 'golden thread' of unity. The school interpreted their goal of transformation as that of implementing South African Sign Language without destruction of the school's legacy by walking a middle path of brokering reconciliation between the older and younger generations through dialogue/narratives. The school is achieving this by breaking down the cognitive walls in teachers' minds (audism) and by supporting all teachers who may have difficulties with transformation to Transformational leadership has thus proven to be an effective leadership model for the long journey of the transformation of the whole through understanding how the institutional change impacts teachers on the micro-level

(Fullan, 2004) as individuals learning SASL and sign bilingual pedagogy which re-imagines their professional identity (Jansen 2001; Madileng, 2014). This meso-level (Fullan, 2004) interaction and communication (dialogue) between school leadership (SMT) and teachers (as a cohort and individually) is paramount to successful cognitive and narrative change (Jansen, 2010).

3 The SMT was found to have an essential dual role in the transformation process by upholding the re-imagined post-colonial institutional identity (Pennycook, 2004, Johnson & Golombek, 2004) and in monitoring the teachers' transformation process and the onsite implementation of the CAPS SASL curriculum. However, unless the SMT also has its own space to talk about their own transformation experiences, there is the risk of endangering the process of transformation due to a lack of internal dialogue among school leadership. What emerged was that School leadership SMT needs to have the space to generate and share own narrative both with and without the principal's input as a safeguard to protect the epistemology of empathy (Jansen, 2010) that is at the heart of servant leadership (Greenleaf, 2003) and which drives school leadership's implementation of transformation.

4 Post-colonial (audist) Deaf teachers now have a voice (Reinharz, 1994; Martin, 2010) in the school that is disproportionate in amount of authority relation to their (small) numbers that has disrupted their audist inferior (Branson & Miller, 2002), minoritized (Garcia, 2009) silenced/unvoiced (Williams, 2012) identity of the colonised 'other' (Grech, 2015). Even though Deaf teachers are seen here by hearing teachers as the *de facto* experts in deafness, Deaf teachers remain reluctant to share their experiences and concerns with their hearing peers. Deaf teachers seem to follow a different transformation pathway, which tells a different narrative of deaf epistemology (Reinharz, 1997; Hauser, et al. 2010) that needs to collected and 'heard'.

5 For the purpose of implementing transformation, the principal followed the tenets of transformational leadership (Fullan, 1993, 1995, 2001, 2002) and more recently, of teachers and learners as learning-partners (Fullan, 2013). One point that stands out is the principal's focus on understanding teachers' personal and professional transformation narratives. This links with the empathy that is central to the servant leadership (Greenleaf, 2003) model.

6 There is a need to ensure that the process of transformation that has started is continued bearing in mind Bakhtin's point of that identity narratives are by their fluid nature, unfinalizable (1996, p.133), incomplete, and partial texts of the school as an institution and of individuals in flux. Furthermore, a reminder that the multiplicity and complexity of the teachers' narratives on their transformation experiences needs to continue to be shared onsite, documented, and disseminated among the community of teachers, the school community and the local and national educational structures. (Petitto, 2015) that 'all voices are equal' (Bakhtin, 1991, p. 117).

7 The process of transformation of a school for the Deaf is complicated by the complexity of understanding the second wave of sign bilingualism theory and praxis (translanguaging) (Wei, 2012; Garcia & Cole, 2014). For teachers of the Deaf, transformation brings re-culturing or transculturation that Garcia (2014) prefers to call it by its original term, (Deaf culture), re-languaging (SASL) and transglossia (Garcia & Cole 2014, p.111) but also involves 're-teaching' dynamic sign bilingual pedagogy (Garcia & Cole, 2014, p.114) All of which implies a new identity and teachers' re-imagining of themselves as sign bilingual teachers of the Deaf (Garcia & Cole, 2014).

## 10.6 Conclusions

The study concludes by reverting to the three research questions as set out in Chapter One.

*1 How does the leadership of a school for the Deaf, through the principal and School Management Team (SMT), understand the process of cognitive/pedagogical transformation and implementation of the CAPS SASL and sign bilingualism in the school?*

School leadership needs to understand that the process of transformation requires creating places of safety for teachers to re-tell their experiences and construct new narratives. To provide empathetic support to teacher's border-crossing journey (Martin, 2010) to sign language that involves working alongside them during through the difficult spaces of 'marginality, liminality and eventual re-integration' (Turner, 1964; Lazar,

2012). Being cognisant that cognitive transformation from a audist pedagogy to post-audist pedagogy of sign bilingualism requires de-colonising of teachers minds of audist epistemology (Eckhart & Rowley, 2013) and practices through direct and sustained, supportive contact (Gladwell, 2014) with sign language. Pedagogical transformation to sign bilingual pedagogy is a product of the above cognitive transformation that requires deep, emic knowledge of sign bilingual Deaf epistemology (Hauser, et al., 2014) to connect and navigate through the dynamic languaging practices (Garcia & Cole, 2014) of diverse d/Deaf/HH learners (Humphries, 2013).

2. *How do (hearing and Deaf) teachers of the Deaf imagine themselves within the new pedagogical space as sign bilingual teachers?*

Teachers imagine themselves as 'catalysts' of learning which marries well with the post-colonial epistemology of empathy (Jansen, 2010, 2012) within the SASL CAPS curriculum of sign bilingual teachers. The SMT is also imagined as a 'bridge' of shared respect and support of teachers and learners. The SMT is powered by the morality of 'servant leadership' (Greenleaf, 2002) to build relationships of learning.

3. *What does the autoethnographic narrative of the researcher contribute towards understanding Deaf epistemology?*

The contribution of the autoethnographic narrative has been to document the voice (Reinharz, 1996) of the researcher claiming his space as a reflective post-colonial insider/subaltern (Pathak, 2010, Ladd, 2013, Young, 2014) and professional researcher (Harrison, 2015). This has been through a parallel journey of discovery, as that of an emergent sign bilingual researcher and as a Hard-of-Hearing person operating fluidly between hearing and Deaf worlds. Thus, a post-audist bilingual Deaf epistemology (Hauser, et al.; 2010) heightened the researcher's sensitivity to the language, and metaphors of audist and emergent disruptive post-audist narratives, both within the researcher's narrative and within teachers' narratives.

## 10.7 Recommendations

The recommendations that emanate from the findings are presented below. This is arranged according to the roles of each of the key stakeholders, for teachers, principals and SMTs and the Department of Basic Education and researchers:

### *10.7.1 for teachers:*

- The process of transformation requires teachers to attend and participate intensively in in-service training to experience SASL directly (as a ‘direct hit’).
- Practice new SASL skills in class and with Deaf Teaching Assistants (DTA).
- Support DoE/DBE officials in learning SASL and Deaf culture to build collaborative partnership of understanding and shared communication practices.
- Acquire knowledge of the theories of sign bilingualism.
- Configure and share personal narratives of transformation with teaching colleagues, and SMT where appropriate.
- Observe and learn translanguaging pedagogy and practices from bilingual Deaf teachers.
- Examine pedagogical assumptions for audist epistemology.
- Acquire and integrate new language practices in the class.

### *10.7.2 for principals:*

- Consider transformation as a complex process with many connected events and interactions between teachers.
- Connect with SMT and teachers as the primary change-agents of the school.
- Develop a strong SMT to model, and monitor cognitive, pedagogical and transformation of teachers and implementation of CAPS SASL curriculum.
- Provide safe places and spaces for dialogue (individual) and with teachers as a cohort about their transformation.
- Adapt and follow transformational leadership and servant leadership models.
- Maintain connection with DBE and local district office on transformation and implementation tasks. Involve DBE in the transformation process to assist teachers with implementation of CAPS SASL.
- Network with teachers, SMT and principals of other schools for the Deaf in a supportive dialogue of school transformation.
- Support DoE/DBE officials who are directly involved with their school in learning SASL.

### *10.7.3 For Department of Basic Education (DBE):*

- Support teachers, SMT and principals by acquiring detailed understanding of the needs teachers of the Deaf and d/Deaf/HH learners from onsite experience with South African Sign Language and sign bilingualism.
- Revise the imagination of identity of teachers of the Deaf in CAPS SASL to match with translanguaging practices of teachers of the Deaf.
- Include sign bilingual identity as a valid ontology of deaf persons (teachers and learners).
- Revise CAPS SASL curriculum and training to include the second wave advances in sign bilingual theory and pedagogy as dynamic languaging practices in diverse multilingual classes.
- Revise the CAPS SASL curriculum policy imagining of teachers of the Deaf within a post-colonial, post-audist framework of connection and empathy.
- Learn SASL and Deaf culture and sign bilingual theory in order to understand deeply (achieve nearness) what teachers of the Deaf experience in class and what is needed, and to be able to communicate with teachers of the Deaf, Deaf/HH learners and school leadership (SMT) members in SASL.

### *10.7.4 For researchers/autoethnographers:*

- Recognise that researchers have a voice, find it and use, and understand your voice.
- Recognise that Deaf researchers have a unique epistemology and ontology, which needs to be narrativized and analysed.
- Tell your story as a researcher for other researchers to be encouraged on the long, difficult journey of becoming an academic.
- Critically and courageously reflect on your narrative and assumptions and personal history
- Examine your language and metaphors to understand your underlying discourse and epistemology and its impact.
- Document/record and reflect on your key moments and its significance on your identity that happened along the research journey.
- Design research to that prioritises your participants as subjects rather than as objects by thinking like a bricoleur. Recognise that what people say about

themselves is what really matters. Find out what they are experiencing and what this tells us about them.

- Recognise the impact that you may have on a study as an insider with your subaltern knowledge, and be open and humble enough to learning from the participants along the way.
- Respect insider's right to say what needs to be heard of signed, or to be silent. Insiders know what it is like inside this world, but as researchers, we also need to understand the forces that influence and hinder us from 'speaking-out', being a post-colonial subject requires performativity on our part in taking up our agency and representivity to be seen and heard in our research.

### 10.8 Closing Comments

The implementation of SASL CAPS is directly dependant on the completeness and thoroughness of 'whole school transformation' (WST), if such a term exists, now would be an appropriate time to use this term. While teachers are the primary agents of transformation, the vision, moral and managerial investment of the principal and SMT in the teachers' transformation and development is key to transforming a school for the Deaf. This returns to the opening quote by Margaret Mead, both and together, the SMT and teachers make up a 'group of committed people that can change [their school and] the world'.

From the narratives and ontological and epistemological metaphors, this study evidences the diversity of post-modern, post-colonial identities of teachers of the Deaf: there are many ways to be a teacher of the Deaf within an epistemology of empathy. Thus, the transformation of teachers of the Deaf disrupts the apartheid lie that one's 'identity cannot change' (Jansen, 2013).

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# 12 Appendixes

## 12.1 Appendix A: Letter of Information and Informed Consent

'Dear Participant 29 July 2013

**Letter of Consent to participate in a research study**

The topic of this PhD study that you are invited to participate in is:

*'Sign Bilingualism in a South African School for the Deaf: an in-depth case study'*

The purpose of this research study is to explore how Sign Bilingualism is implemented in a school for the deaf, from conceptualisation to planning and to implementation. Understanding the journey (with its success and failures, strengths and weaknesses), will provide valuable insight into this journey.

You are invited to participate in this research study. When you agree to participate in this study it will mean participating in four ways:

- A survey of 15 questions (for all teachers), this should take about 20 minutes of your time.

- A journal in which there are 14 different topics relating to bilingualism for you to reflect on. This will provide you with the opportunity to write about your own bilingual journey as a teacher at this school. This should take you about 10 minutes per day for 6 weeks until the last week of term 3. The researcher will arrange for the collection of the journals on 13th September.

- An individual interview during the week of 29 July – 2 August, which should take about 30 minutes.

- A focus group interview, which is a group discussion during the week of 29 July – 2 August, which should take about an hour.

Although there are no foreseeable risks to you as the participant, if you do not feel comfortable in the survey, focus group session, and the interview or with the journal, you may decline from participation in this study at any time without any consequences.

All data from this study are confidential and will be used for research purposes only. Having said that, absolute confidentiality and anonymity cannot be guaranteed especially in a small community, such as at De la Bat where many people know each other, and for this reason I will be sure to exclude as much of the personal information that I can and provide each participant with a pseudonym.

Due to the visual nature of sign language, it is necessary to film conversations for later analysis. For this purpose, a separate consent form for filming is provided below for you to sign if you agree to this. Once again, please be assured of confidentiality of all this data, which will not be shown to anyone but myself, as the researcher, and my supervisor.

I,_____give my consent to participate in the Survey/Focus Group/individual Interview/Journal of this study.

Signature:_____Date:
_____/_____/__201_____

Thank you for your participation

Researcher: Guy Mcilroy 083 793 3787 sms (011) 717-3750 guy.mcilroy@wits.ac.za
Supervisor: Prof Claudine Storbeck 083 324 1588 claudine.storbeck@gmail.co.za'

## 12.2 Appendix B: Ethical Clearance (Wits)

**Wits School of Education**

27 St Andrews Road, Parktown, Johannesburg, 2193 Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa
Tel: +27 11 717-3064 Fax: +27 11 717-3100 E-mail: enquiries@educ.wits.ac.za Website: www.wits.ac.za

Protocol Number:
2012ECE205

Date: 20-Dec-2012

Dear Guy McIlroy

**Application for Ethics Clearance: Doctor of Philosophy**

Thank you very much for your ethics application. The Ethics Committee in Education of the Faculty of Humanities, acting on behalf of the Senate has considered your application for ethics clearance for your proposal entitled:

**Sign Bilingualism in a South African school for the Deaf: an in-depth case study**

The committee recently met and I am pleased to inform you that clearance was granted.

Please use the above protocol number in all correspondence to the relevant research parties (schools, parents, learners etc.) and include it in your research report or project on the title page.

**The Protocol Number above should be submitted to the Graduate Studies in Education Committee upon submission of your final research report.**

All the best with your research project.

Yours sincerely

MMabeta

Matsie Mabeta
Wits School of Education

**011 717 3416**

Cc Supervisor: Prof. C Storbeck

## 12.3 Appendix C: Consent from Research Site

De la Bat

DE LA BAT-SKOOL, POSBUS 98, WORCESTER 6849 TELEFOON (023) 342 2560
DE LA BAT SCHOOL, P.O. BOX 98, WORCESTER 6849 TELEPHONE (023) 342 2560
FAKS NR./FAX NO. (023) 342 5563

E-pos: hoof@delabat.wcape.school.za
ALLE KORRESPONDENSIE MOET GERIG WORD AAN DIE HOOF
ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO BE ADDRESSED TO THE PRINCIPAL

26 July 2012

Mr Guy Mcilroy
Deaf Eduycation
Centre for Deaf Studies
University of the Witwatersrand
JOHANNESBURG

Dear Guy

Herewith the letter of consent for your attention. I am sure that the journey will be interesting as well as challenging.

As we all are aware that researc forms part of literature. It is of great importance that since De la Bat will be named, we need to be sensitive in how you deal with your findings.

So much damage has been inflicted through "politics", jealousy, inconsiderate statements, professional assisination in our field. It is a tragedy.

May this study form part of an adventure, development, support and contribution to learning.

Regards

P.A. Cook
**PRINCIPAL**

## 12.4 Appendix D: Consent from Western Cape Department of Education

Western Cape Government
Education

Directorate: Research

Audrey.wyngaard2@pgwc.gov.za
tel: +27 021 467 9272
Fax: 0865902282
Private Bag x9114, Cape Town, 8000
wced.wcape.gov.za

**REFERENCE:** 20121018-0042
**ENQUIRIES:** Dr A T Wyngaard

Mr Guy Mcilroy
Centre for Deaf Studies
Wits School of Education
University of the Witwatersrand
Johannesburg

**Dear Mr Guy Mcilroy**

**RESEARCH PROPOSAL: SIGN BILINGUALISM IN A SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF: AN IN-DEPTH CASE STUDY**

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. Approval for projects should be conveyed to the District Director of the schools where the project will be conducted.
5. Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
6. The Study is to be conducted from **01 February 2013 till 30 September 2014**
7. No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
8. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number?
9. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
10. Your research will be limited to the list of schools as forwarded to the Western Cape Education Department.
11. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.
12. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

    **The Director: Research Services**
    **Western Cape Education Department**
    **Private Bag X9114**
    **CAPE TOWN**
    **8000**

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.
Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard
for: **HEAD: EDUCATION**
**DATE: 18 October 2012**

## 12.5 Appendix E: Sign Bilingualism Survey

**A PERSONAL INFORMATION**

Please complete the following personal information:

1 Your full name: _____

2 Your Gender Please circle: Male/ Female

3. Age: _____

4 Are you a deaf/hearing teacher (circle one)

5. What phase do you teach?

Foundation/Senior Primary/Intermediate/FET (circle one)

6. Your qualifications (and institution where you studied):

_____

_____

_____

7. Total number of years teaching: _____ Number of years teaching at this school: _____

8. Contact cell: _____

9. Email: _____

10. Which times would suit you to participate in a Focus Group discussion on the topic of discussing teacher's experiences of bilingualism at your school and an individual interview?

Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday at 1-2pm or 2:30-3:30pm or 4-5pm.

Confidential

**Survey on Bilingualism**

**The purpose of this survey is to collect information on the trends among Teacher is on the use of bilingualism at this school.**

**This is an internal survey restricted to the teaching staff at this school, and all information you provide will be confidential. Trends identified here will be shared with staff but all names and identifying characteristics will be withheld in communications with both the school and the research community.**

**Your participation and honesty is appreciated.**

Mark the box with an **X** for the answer that best applies to you. For example:

| |
|---|
| **X**1 |

1 How do you define sign bilingualism?

**1: It is the use of two languages: English and Afrikaans,**

**2: It is Sign language and spoken English**

**3: Sign Language and written English**

**4: Signed English and Signed Afrikaans**

**5: Speaking (English/Afrikaans) and signing at the same time**

2 How has the school changed over the last 3 years?

**1: Major negative changes;**

**2: A few minor negatives changes;**

**3: No Change;**

**4: Some positive changes;**

**5: Major positive changes.**

3 How much has the sign bilingual approach improved the literacy of the learners?

**1: Made it worse;**

**2: No change;**

**3: Some good and some bad;**

**4: A little improvement;**

**5: A large improvement.**

4 Looking back, how did you feel about sign bilingualism last year?

**1: Strongly negative;**

**2: Negative;**

**3: Neutral;**

**4: Positive;**

**5: Strongly positive.**

5 How do you feel about bilingualism in deaf education this year?

**1: strongly negative;**

**2: Negative;**

**3: Don't know;**

**4: Positive;**

**5: Strongly positive.**

6 How satisfied are you with the rate of change of the school to sign bilingualism?

**1: very dissatisfied;**

**2: dissatisfied**

**3: Not sure/don't know**

**4: satisfied**

**5: very satisfied**

7 How do you rate your knowledge of sign bilingualism?

**1: I have no idea what it is;**

**2: I do not understand it enough;**

**3: I need to know more about it;**

**4: I have good understanding;**

**5: I would say that I am an expert.**

8 How well does this statement describe you as a sign bilingual teacher: **'I support bilingualism because it is worth doing this to improve the deaf learners' academic performance and their future".**

**1: Strongly Disagree**

**2: Disagree**

**3: Neutral**

**4: Agree**

**5: Strongly agree.**

9 How well does this statement describe you as a sign bilingual teacher:

**"I support bilingualism, but it is hard to do well in class."**

**1: "Strongly Disagree**

**2: Disagree"**

**3: Neutral**

**4: Agree**

**5: Strongly agree**

10 How well does this statement describe you as a sign bilingual teacher:

**"I am comfortable with how I use bilingualism in class"**

**1: "Strongly Disagree**

**2: Disagree“**

**3: Neutral**

**4: Agree**

**5: Strongly agree**

11 How well does this statement describe you as a sign bilingual teacher:

**“I am satisfied with this approach but…”**

**1: Strongly Disagree**

**2: Disagree**

**3: Neutral**

**4: Agree**

**5: Strongly agree.**

12 How well does this statement describe you as a sign bilingual teacher:

**“I support bilingualism in my class fully”**

**1: Strongly Disagree**

**2: Disagree**

**3: Neutral**

**4: Agree**

**5: Strongly agree**

13 In what ways has your teaching changed since the shift to sign bilingualism?

**1: I sign more now;**

**2: I prepare more;**

**3: I write more;**

**4: I use the teacher-assistant more;**

**5: I am more relaxed in my use of both languages.**

14 How would you rate your signing skills in class?

**1: No skills;**

**2: Basic communication only**

**3: Reasonably skilled**

**4: A good signer**

**5: A fluent/natural signer**.

15 How do you use Sign Language (SASL) in your class?

**1: I use English/Afrikaans and sign at the same time;**

**2: I sign in class without voice;**

**3: A little and only when I am with a deaf learner/signer;**

**4: I use SASL exactly half the time;**

**5: I use both SASL and English/Afrikaans a lot and easily.**

16 How supportive are you in having a regular meeting for teachers to discuss implementation of bilingualism?

**1: Strongly disagree;**

**2. Disagree**

**3: Neutral**

**4: Agree**

**5: Strongly agree**

17 Do you have any other comments that you would like to add about sign bilingualism for teaching deaf learners that have not been covered?

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your participation in this survey.

Confidential

## 12.5 Appendix F Poem: You have to be Deaf to understand’

What is it like to "hear" a hand?

You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like to be a small child,

In a school, in a room void of sound --

With a teacher who talks and talks and talks;

And then when she does come around to you,

She expects you to know what she's said?

You have to be deaf to understand.

Or the teacher thinks that to make you smart,

You must first learn how to talk with your voice;

So mumbo-jumbo with hands on your face

For hours and hours without patience or end,

Until out comes a faint resembling sound?

You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like to be curious?

To thirst for knowledge you can call your own,

With an inner desire that's set on fire --

And you ask a brother, sister, or friend

Who looks in answer and says, "Never Mind"?

You have to be deaf to understand.

What it is like in a corner to stand,

Though there's nothing you've done really wrong,

Other than try to make use of your hands

To a silent peer to communicate

A thought that comes to your mind all at once?

You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like to be shouted at?

When one thinks that will help you to hear;

Or misunderstand the words of a friend

Who is trying to make a joke clear?

And you don't get the point because he's failed?

You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like to be laughed in the face?

When you try to repeat what is said;

Just to make sure that you've understood,

And you find that the words were misread --

And you want to cry out, "Please help me, friend"?

You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like to have to depend?

Upon one who can hear to phone a friend?

Or place a call to a business firm

And be forced to share what's personal, and,

Then find that your message wasn't made clear?

You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like to be deaf and alone?

In the company of those who can hear --

And you only guess as you go along,

For no one's there with a helping hand,

As you try to keep up with words and song?

You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like on the road of life?

To meet with a stranger who opens his mouth --

And speaks out a line at a rapid pace;

And you can't understand the look in his face

Because it is new and you're lost in the race?

You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like to comprehend?

Some nimble fingers that paint the scene,

And make you smile and feel serene,

With the "spoken word" of the moving hand

That makes you part of the word at large?

You have to be deaf to understand.

What is it like to "hear" a hand?

Yes, you have to be deaf to understand.

(Willard J. Madsen, 1971)

## 12.7 Appendix G: School Language Policy




**Taalbeleid van De la Batskool**

**1. Begronding van die Taalbeleid:**

1.1 Die Taalbeleid omvat die wese van die onderrig aan Dowe leerdes en dit is dus die spilpunt waaromheen alle aktiwiteite draai.

1.2 Die Taalbeleid is 'n voortsetting van die goedgekeurde visie en missie van De la Batskool. Erkenning word verleen aan die regte van die Dowes en hul keuse van watter kommunikasie-medium gebruik gaan word.

1.3 Die Taabeleid voldoen aan die primêre kriterium van De la Batskool se goedgekeurde toe-latingsbeleid. Die skool maak voorsiening vir leerders wat vanweë hul doofheid, genoodsaak word om d.m.v. Gebaretaal onderwys te ontvang. Asook om deur spesifieke onderwysme-todieke en ondersteuning agterstande t.o.v. verbale taalontwikkeling in te haal.

**2. Vakke aangebied en tydstoewysing**

'n Leerder moet aangespeek / onderrig word in die taal waarin hy / sy gemaklik is.

**2.1 Kleuterskool:**

2.1.1 Die Taalbeleid begin met hulpverlening t.o.v. taalontwikkeling onmiddellik na doofheid geidentifiseer is. Ouerleiding tot en met skooltoetrede (Kleuterskool) vorm die integrale deel van taalontwikkeling. Tydens hierdie fase word klem geplaas op blootstelling aan visuele taal en die skep van *'n positiewe ingesteldheid teenoor 'n visuele kommunikasiemedium.* Leerders word ook blootgestel aan spraak en spraakontwikkeling.

2.1.2 Tot en met die voltooiing van die Kleuterskoolfase (± 6 – 7 jaar) is die taalbeleid se hoofdoel die vaslegging van die natuurlike visuele taal (Gebaretaal), met toepaslike ouditiewe opleiding en spraakontwikkeling. Onderrig geskied in Gebaretaal gelyklopend met ouditiewe en spraakont-wikkeling of word so ver moontlik op 'n individuele basis hanteer.

2.1.3 Die volle duur van die kleuterloopbaan word gespandeer aan taalonderrig gelyklopend met ouditiewe en spraakontwikkeling of word op 'n individuele basis hanteer.

**2.2 Grondslagfase & Meervoudiggestremdes:**

2.2.1 Vanaf die Grondslagfase word die onderrig van Gebaretaal verskerp deur die bestudering van Gebaretaal as taal. In die onderrig van die tweede taal (verbale taal: Afrikaans of Engels), is die fokus die aanleer van die geskrewe vorm en daarna die aanleer van die gesproke vorm. Die onderrig medium is Gebaretaal en die geskrewe vorm van die tweede taal word in toenemende mate gebruik as basis vir ouditiewe- en spraakont-wikkeling. Die onderrigmedium is Gebaretaal, behalwe wanneer die verbale taal aangebied word. Verbale taalbegrippe moet waar nodig deur Gebaretaal verduidelik word.

2.2.2 Vir die meervoudiggestremde Dowes by wie die bevatlikheid van 'n verbale taal beperkend kan wees word grotendeels op Gebaretaal gekonsentreer en die aanleer van verbale taalvaardighede en die geskrewe vorm daarvan word as lewensvaardighede op 'n basiese vlak gesien.

2.2.3 50%+ tyd word gespandeer aan taal (Afrikaans, Engels, Gebaretaal)

Volgens die KABV beleid moet die tydstoekenning asvolg verdeel word:

**Huistaal:** Onderrigtyd vir graad R, 1 en 2 is 8 uur en graad 3 is 7 uur.

**Eerste Addisionele taal:** Onderrigtyd vir graad 1 – 2 is 'n minimum van 2 uur en 'n maksimum van 3 uur en graad 3 'n minimum van 3 uur en 'n maksimum van 4 uur .

**2.3 Intermediêre Fase:**

2.3.1 In die Intermediêre-, Senior- en Verdere Onderwys en Opleiding Fase word die onderrig van Gebaretaal en verbale tale (tweede en derde taal) verder gevoer ten einde verfyning van vaardighede te bewerkstellig. In die kursusstrukture vorm hierdie taalaanbiedings die basis vir die leerarea Taal, Geletterdheid en Kommunikasie. Meer as een taal word onderrig, maar nie gelyktydig nie. Die leerder se individuele potensiaal tot die verfyning van vaardighede (bv. spraak) speel 'n bepalende rol in die mate waarin verfyning van vaardighede nagestreef word (verwagtinge gestel word). In hierdie fases word die gebruik van Gebaretaal as onderrigmedium in 'n toenemende mate beskou as 'n onderwyshulpmiddel en behoort dit eerder tussen die onderrigmediums Gebaretaal en verbale taal te beweeg soos nodig. Hiermee word egter nie Gebare Versterkte Taal bedoel nie. Dit is óf Gebaretaal óf verbale taal afgewissel. Dit is die professionele verantwoordelikheid van onderwyspersoneel om te verseker dat hulle ook vlot gebruikers van Gebaretaal sal wees ten einde die individuele behoeftes van leerders aan te spreek (m.a.w. net soos die leerders tussen die onderrigmediums beweeg.)

2.3.1 20% - 25% tyd word aan tale toegestaan .(Afrikaans, Engels, Gebaretaal)

Volgens die KABV beleid moet die tydstoekenning asvolg verdeel word:
**Huistaal:** Onderrigtyd vir die Intermediêre Fase is 6 uur .

**Eerste Addisionele taal:** Onderrigtyd vir die Intermediêre Fase is 5 uur.

**2.4 Senior Fase:**

2.4.1 In die Senior- en Verdere Onderwys en Opleiding Fase word die onderrig van Gebaretaal en verbale tale (tweede en derde taal) verder gevoer ten einde verfyning van vaardighede te bewerkstellig. In die kursusstrukture vorm hierdie taalaanbiedings die basis vir die leerarea Taal, Geletterdheid en Kommunikasie. Meer as een taal word onderrig, maar nie gelyktydig nie. Die leerder se individuele potensiaal tot die verfyning van vaardighede (bv. spraak) speel 'n bepalende rol in die mate waarin verfyning van vaardighede nagestreef word (verwagtinge gestel word). In hierdie fases word die gebruik van Gebaretaal as onderrigmedium in 'n toenemende mate beskou as 'n onderwyshulpmiddel en behoort dit eerder tussen die onderrigmediums Gebaretaal en verbale taal te beweeg soos nodig. Hiermee word egter nie Gebare Versterkte Taal bedoel nie. Dit is óf Gebaretaal óf verbale taal afgewissel. Dit is die professionele verantwoordelikheid van onderwyspersoneel om te verseker dat hulle ook vlot gebruikers van Gebaretaal sal wees ten einde die individuele behoeftes van leerders aan te spreek (m.a.w. net soos die leerders tussen die onderrigmediums beweeg.)

2.4.2 10 – 15% tyd word aan tale toegestaan. (Afrikaans, Engels, Gebaretaal)
Volgens die KABV beleid moet die tydstoewysing asvolg verdeel word:
**Huistaal:** Onderrigtyd vir die Senior Fase is 5 uur.
**Eerste Addisionele taal:** Onderrigtyd vir die Senior Fase is 4 uur.

**3 Hersiening van die Taalbeleid:**

Word op gereelde basis met ouers, personeel, beheelliggaam en WKOD gekonsulteer.

**4 Regte van die leerders:**

Gebaretaal word as onderrigmedium en as amptelike Huistaal erken.

**5 Tale vir assessering:**

Afrikaans, Engels, Gebaretaal

**6 Tale van kommunikasie met die ouers:**

Skriftelik: Afrikaans en Engels
Mondeling: Afrikaans en Engels.
Gebaretaal.

**7 Planne om veeltaligheid te verbeter:**

7.1 Die Taalbeleid is 'n beleid van Meertaligheid waarin Gebaretaal as Eerste Taal (Huistaal) of Eerste Addisionele Taal erken en hanteer word. As Tweede Taal (Eerste Addisionele Taal) en Derde Taal (Tweede Addisionele Taal) word Afrikaans of Engels aangebied. Die taalbeleid sal binne perke van beskikbare fasiliteite (tyd, personeel e.a. ) vir elke leerder verbesonder word. Met in agneming van:

7.2 Deurlopende opleidingskursusse in Gebaretaal.

7.3 Samewerking met Wes-Kaap Taalraad.

7.4 Ontwikkeling van visuele hulpmiddels, bv. plakkate, CD's, powerpoints, e.a.

**8 Taalaanleerbehoeftes van minderheidsgroepe:**

Diverse taalbehoeftes word met kennisgewings, saalbyeenkomste, aantekeninge en assesserings geakkommodeer.

**9 Status van amptelike tale:**

Samewerking met toepaslike rolspelers om hierdie doel te bereik moet op 'n voortdurende basis plaasvind..

**10 Taalversoeke:**

Alle leerders word eers toegelaat ná deeglike evaluering wat baie prominent die leerder se taal-behoeftes insluit. Hul taalvordering en voortspruitende behoeftes word kwartaalliks bespreek en die nodige aanpassings word aangebring.

**11 Monitering:**

Geskied tydens kwartaal-evaluasies en ontledings van jaarlikse uitslae.

**12 Toelating:**

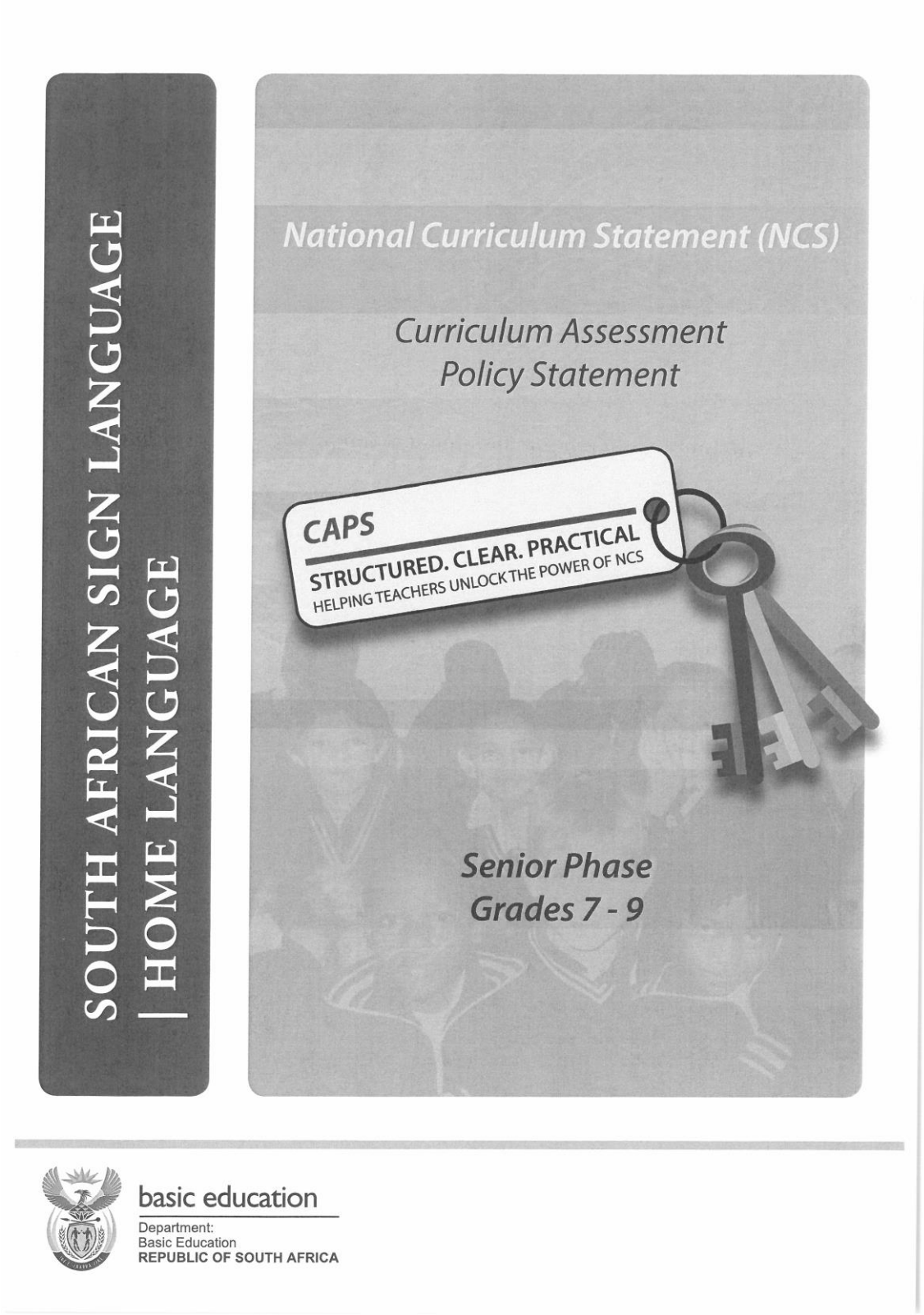
Die Taalbeleid word met elke voornemende ouer deurgepraat. Vanweë die sentrale rol wat dit in Dowe onderwys inneem, is dit die mees bepalende aspek van die leerder se uiteindelike opname en plasing. Dit word gedoen in samewerking met die ouers.

**Voorsitter:** _____

**Sekretaris/Sekretaresse:** _____

**Datum:** 16 Oktober 2014

## 12.8 Appendix H Extract on Sign Bilingualism from CAPS SASL



## SECTION 2: INTRODUCING SOUTH AFRICAN SIGN LANGUAGE HOME LANGUAGE

Language is a tool for thought and communication. It is also a cultural and aesthetic means commonly shared among a people to make better sense of the world they live in. Learning to use language effectively enables learners to acquire knowledge, to express their identity, feelings and ideas, to interact with others, and to manage their world. It also provides learners with a rich, powerful and deeply rooted set of images and ideas that can be used to make their world other than it is; better and clearer than it is. It is through language that cultural diversity and social relations are expressed and constructed, and it is through language that such constructions can be altered, broadened and refined.

### 2.1 LANGUAGE LEVELS

Language learning in the Intermediate Phase includes all the official languages in South Africa, namely, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sepedi (Sesotho sa Leboa), Sesotho, Setswana, Siswati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga

– as well as non-official Languages, such as South African Sign Language (SASL) . These languages can be offered at different language levels. SASL is offered as a subject at Home Language level. This is in anticipation of the officialisation of SASL at which time it can be offered as a language.

Home Language is the language first acquired by learners. However, many South African schools do not offer the home languages of some or all of the enrolled learners but rather have one or two languages offered at Home Language level. As a result, the labels Home Language and First Additional Language refer to the proficiency levels at which the language is offered and not the native (Home) or acquired (as in the additional languages) language. For the purposes of this policy, any reference to Home Language should be understood to refer to the level of the language and not to whether the language is used at home or not. SASL is offered as a Home Language, as it is the language in which Deaf learners are most naturally proficient.

The **Home Language (HL) level** provides for language proficiency that reflects the basic interpersonal communication skills required in social situations and the cognitive academic skills essential for learning across the curriculum. Emphasis is placed on the teaching of Observing, Signing, Visual Reading and Recording skills at this language level. This level also provides learners with a literary, aesthetic and imaginative ability to recreate, imagine, and empower their understandings of the world they live in. However, the emphasis and the weighting for Observing and Signing from Grade 7 onwards are lower than those of the Visual Reading and Recording skills.

**The First Additional Language (FAL)** refers to a language which is not a mother tongue but which is used for certain communicative functions in a society, that is, medium of learning and teaching in education. The curriculum provides strong support for those learners who will use their first additional language as a language of learning and teaching. By the end of Grade 9, these learners should be able to use their home language and first additional language effectively and with confidence for a variety of purposes, including learning.

For Deaf learners the medium of learning and teaching is SASL. Since SASL does not have a written form the FAL serves as the language of literacy. Therefore both languages need to be used alongside each other in a bilingual-bicultural approach to teaching and learning. All face-to-face teaching and learning takes place through the medium of SASL while written text is in the FAL (such as English or any other spoken language).

In South Africa, many children start using their additional language, English, as the Language of Learning and Teaching (LoLT) in Grade 4. This means that they must reach a high level of competence in English by the end of Grade 3, and they need to be able to read and write well in English. For Deaf learners the language of learning and teaching will remain SASL through to Grade 12 alongside a written language which is the language of literacy and provides access to all written text. For this reason Deaf learners, too, need to be able to read and write well in English.

The **First Additional Language level** assumes that learners do not necessarily have any knowledge of the language when they arrive at school. The focus in the first few years of school is on developing learners' ability to understand and speak the language – basic interpersonal communication skills. In Grades 2 and 3 learners start to build literacy on this oral foundation. They also apply the literacy skills they have already learned in their Home Language. However for the majority of Deaf learners the FAL can only be accessed in its written form and is their language of literacy.

In the Intermediate and Senior Phases, Deaf learners continue to strengthen their reading and writing skills in the FAL. At this stage the majority of Deaf children are learning both through the medium of SASL and through their First Additional Language, English, and should be getting more exposure to written English. Greater emphasis is therefore placed on using SASL and the First Additional Language for the purposes of thinking and reasoning. This enables learners to develop their cognitive academic skills, which they need to study subjects like Science. They also engage more with signed and written literary texts and begin to develop aesthetic and imaginative ability.

By the time learners enter Senior Phase, they should be reasonably proficient in their First Additional Language with regard to both interpersonal and cognitive academic skills. However, the reality is that many Deaf learners are still not adequately competent in the FAL at this stage. The challenge in the Intermediate Phase, therefore, is to provide support for these learners at the same time as providing a curriculum that enables learners to meet the standards required in further grades. These standards must be such that learners can use the FAL at a high level of proficiency to prepare them for further or higher education or the world of work. It is therefore recommended that, where possible, learners in the senior phase be exposed to the same concepts in the weekly cycles in both language levels.

## 2.2 INTRODUCING SOUTH AFRICAN SIGN LANGUAGE (SASL)

The Minister of Education appointed a ministerial committee, the Curriculum Management Team (CMT), to oversee the development and implementation of South African Sign Language (SASL) as a subject to be taught in schools. The Department of Basic Education (DBE) and the CMT appointed a writing team to develop CAPS for SASL. It was decided to develop SASL as a Home Language (rather than a First Additional Language) to parallel the process of attaining official status for SASL in South Africa. The decision by the SASL CMT was to make the CAPS of SASL as close as possible to the other Home Languages in terms of structure, content and sequence.

"As long as we have Deaf people on earth, we will have sign language" (George W. Veditz, 1913).

South African Sign Language (SASL) is a visual-spatial language used by the Deaf community of South Africa. SASL is a natural language on par with spoken languages that allows users the opportunity to learn and communicate and to express thoughts, feelings and abstract ideas.

Signed languages use a different modality to spoken languages with meaning being made by non-verbal forms of communication including movement of the hands, upper body and face. Signs in SASL are made up of five parameters: hand-shape, location, movement, palm orientation and the non-manual features such as specific facial expressions that carry important grammatical information. SASL has its own distinct linguistic structure that includes syntax, morphology, phonology and language conventions. It is not based on any written or spoken language. Fingerspelling is not signed language, but is used by signers to represent the written form when needed (e.g. proper nouns, acronyms and technical jargon).

"Sign Language is a real language, equivalent to any other language. Deaf persons can sign about any topic, concrete or abstract as economically and as effectively, as rapidly and as grammatical as hearing people can. Sign language is influenced by equivalent historical social and psychological factors as spoken language – there are rules for attention-getting, turn-taking, story-telling; there are jokes, puns, and taboo signs; there are generational effects observed in Sign Language and metaphors and 'slips-of-the-hand'" (Penn, 1993: 12).

Historically, SASL has emerged with regional variations that mirror the country's oppressive past which segregated the education of deaf learners. Research has shown that despite these regional and historical differences, there is a cohesive and commonly used South African Sign Language that unifies Deaf people across the country. All **local/ regional** language variations (dialects) of SASL are acceptable as part of the richness of the language. SASL is not yet accepted as an official language of South Africa although the South African School's Act (November, 1996) states that, "A recognised Sign Language has the status of an official language for purposes of learning at a public school" (Chapter 2, 6.4). Civil society organizations continue to lobby for the recognition of language rights of deaf learners.

Signed language is acquired by Deaf children who are raised in Deaf families in the same way hearing children acquire spoken language from their hearing parents. The overwhelming majority of deaf children are born to hearing parents and acquire sign language from their peers and Deaf teachers in schools for the Deaf. It is important to establish an age appropriate SASL language base for all learners from which they can access the curriculum and develop literacy skills.

In developing this curriculum several assumptions were made including that the CAPS for SASL would match as closely as possible other Home Languages in terms of structure, content and sequence; that teachers of the curriculum would be skilled in SASL and appropriate teaching methodologies and that appropriate SASL learning and teaching support material (LTSM) would to be identified and developed.

It is acknowledged that there is as yet insufficient research on SASL. This means that there has been borrowing from the research done with other signed languages around the world and addendums to the SASL curriculum will be included based on on-going research here in South Africa and internationally. Teachers of SASL are encouraged to use their classrooms as a research resource and all language variations (dialects) are recognised as part of the richness of the language.

**Notes on terminology:**

**Deaf** (with a capital **D**) is used to denote a distinct cultural and linguistic group of Deaf people who use South African Sign Language as their language of choice. The Deaf Community has a distinct identity and their experience of the world is particularly shaped by the fact that their communication is expressed by their bodies and perceived visually. This group may include hearing children of Deaf parents and other hearing people who are users of SASL and immerse themselves in the Deaf Community e.g. SASL interpreters.

However **deaf** (with a lower case **d**) is an adjective referring to hearing loss from an audiological point of view. Many deaf people use spoken language to communicate. This group includes people who have lost their hearing through e.g. age, illness and trauma.

Some verbs in common usage have a connotation of being associated only with spoken languages. These verbs appear in the curriculum documents in inverted commas and must be used and understood in a signed context. Examples: "listen to", "tell", "listening"," say", "a speech", "something to say", "read", "voice".

Throughout the SASL CAPS the term 'text' used to denote a body of work should be understood as signed texts. These texts e.g. stories, poems, reports are presented in live SASL or may be recorded in SASL. These are NOT written texts.

Where it is necessary for clarity, the capitalised first letter of the word is used to denote the skill or outcome and the one in lower case is the action or the verb i.e. Signing (the skill) versus signing (the action).

Where SASL GLOSS (the signs represented in English written form) is used, it is presented in upper case as per convention.

or across different genres and relate them to events in real life situations. They can make judgments about the character's actions and comment on the theme.

Regarding the **genre approach,** learners can classify, compare and contrast different types of literary genre, e.g., the difference between the plots in a longer story/ short story/drama/folklore.

**Approaches to teaching language usage**

The teaching of language structure should focus on how language is used and what can be done with language, i.e. how to make meaning, how to attend to problems and interests, influence friends and colleagues, and how to create a rich social life. The teaching of language structures should be a means to getting things done.

The teaching of language structures/ grammatical structures should therefore be text-based, communicative and integrated.

The following principles should be taken into consideration when teaching language use:

- Grammar should be taught for constructing texts in their context of use.
- The application of grammar should not be restricted to the analysis of isolated sentences – it should explain the way in which sentences are structured to construct whole texts such as stories, essays, messages, reports which learners learn to view and record.
- The use of authentic materials such as dialogues, interviews must be encouraged.
- Link the language structure with functional uses of language in different social settings, e.g. expressing one's thoughts or feelings; introducing people; talking about or reporting things, actions, events or people in the environment, in the past or in the future; making requests; making suggestions; offering food or drinks and accepting or declining politely; giving and responding to instructions; comparing or contrasting things.
- Use classroom activities that relate language forms with functions, e.g. the past tense with a narrative essay and report writing.
- Focus on meaningful tasks. Acquiring the grammatical rules of the language does not necessarily enable the learner to use the language in a coherent and meaningful way. What interests us then concerns the structure and function beyond the sentence level, i.e. the way in which people use either live signed language (discourse) or recorded texts in coherent and meaningful ways.

## 2.5 SIGN BILINGUALISM

Sign bilingualism is the use of two languages in different modalities, that is, a signed and either a spoken or written language, and is distinctly different from using two spoken languages. In deaf education, sign-bilingualism uses the signed language of the Deaf community and the written/spoken language of the hearing community amongst whom the deaf live. In South Africa, the signed language is SASL and the written/spoken would be one or more of the several indigenous languages, such as Afrikaans, isiZulu, Sesotho, Xhosa or English. Acquisition of the signed language is prioritized and there is a parallel strong influence on teaching reading and writing of the second language which is introduced through the signed language to explain syntax and abstract concepts. The intention of the sign bilingualism philosophy is to enable Deaf children to become bilingual and bicultural, and to participate fully in both the hearing society and the 'Deaf-World'. Rather than regard deafness as an obstacle to linguistic development, educational achievement, social integration and linguistic pluralism is encouraged.

Researchers are of the view that for the deaf child to achieve first language competence in the formative years, the child must be assured the right of access to signed language early in life, in an environment with skilled signers. The national signed language should be the medium of teaching and learning for all subjects in the academic curriculum, while one of the spoken languages will be the language of literacy. In facilitating bilingual educational programmes, both languages should exist independently but be equal in status. Learners are taught face-to-face through the medium of SASL and will read text and write in English or in the indigenous spoken language of the respective ethnic group in which they were born or raised.

## 2.6 TIME ALLOCATION FOR THE HOME LANGUAGE (SASL)

The teaching time for the Home Language and the First Additional Language is 5 and 4 hours respectively per week as per policy prescription. However, in the Senior Phase, it is recommended that 5 hours be allocated to the language of learning and teaching and 4 hours to another compulsory language. Schools that are using First Additional Language as a language of learning and teaching, should therefore allocate 5 hours for that language.

All language content is taught within a three-week cycle (15 (12) hours). **Teachers do not have to stick rigidly to this cycle but must ensure that the language skills, especially Visual Reading and Recording are practised.** The time allocation for the different language skills in Grade 7-9 is 36 weeks. Four weeks are for examination purposes – two weeks for June examination and another two weeks for December examination.

Timetabling should make provision for continuous double periods per week. In a three-week cycle the following time allocation for the different language skills is suggested.

**Recommended time for SASL**

| Skills | Time allocation per three-week cycle (hours) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Grade 7 | Grade 8 | Grade9 |
| *Observing and Signing | 3 hours | | |
| *Visual Reading and Viewing | 5 hours 15 minutes | | |
| *Recording | 5 hours 15 minutes | | |
| Language use and Conventions | 1,5 hours | | |
| | *Language Structures and Conventions and their usage are integrated within the time allocation of the four language skills. There is also time allocated for formal practice. Thinking and reasoning skills are incorporated into the skills and strategies required for Listening and Speaking, for Reading and Viewing, and for Writing and Presenting. | | |

**Recommended time for another compulsory language – for Deaf learners**

| Skills | Time allocation per three-week cycle (hours) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Grade 7 | Grade 8 | Grade 9 |
| *Listening and Speaking (Observing and Signing) | 2 hours | | |
| *Reading and Viewing | 3 hours<br>( 1 hour 30 mins for comprehension and 1 hour 30 mins for literary texts.) | | |
| *Writing and Presenting | 2 hours | | |