DEAF TECHNIQUES OF THE BODY IN THE PRESCHOOL CLASSROOM: PRESCHOOL AS A SITE FOR ENCULTURATION IN DEAF CULTURE

by

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(Under the Direction of)

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the development of an embodied deaf habitus as part of establishing a deaf identity in young preschool children. When deaf children are introduced to deaf modes of gestures, facial expressions, establishing attention, positioning themselves in space, and given explicit reasoning for these behaviors, they can internalize these behaviors, to the point where these movements become habitual. This thesis presents and analyzes examples of children and teachers in signing deaf preschools in three countries (Japan, France, and the United States) as they employ aspects of Deaf bodily habitus. Data collected through focus group interviews, individual interviews, and microanalyses of scenes in videos of days in Deaf kindergartens suggest that Deaf signing preschools are key sites for deaf children (especially those from hearing families) to acquire not just sign language fluency, but also a Deaf bodily

habitus, which is a key aspect of cultural Deafness. The research focuses on pedagogical strategies Deaf preschool teachers use to support the development in deaf children of a Deaf habitus and Deaf identity.

INDEX WORDS: habitus, early childhood education, Deaf, techniques of the body

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my family and friends who have supported me through my entire academic career and personal life. Especially Timothy Graham, who has been so proud and supportive of my work, and been through all the ups and downs with me through my entire doctoral work and dissertation. You have helped me see the important things in my life, and patiently guided me towards the finish line.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A lunchtime conversation is underway in the elementary school cafeteria at the Maryland School for the Deaf in Frederick, Maryland. At one table, a group of four-year-old girls are engaged in a lively conversation. Ashley plays a joke on Sarah by feigning a look of shock, and pointing in the direction behind Sarah.[1]

Ashley: Look over there!

(Sarah looks)

Ashley: Ha, Ha! Gotcha! Made you look!

[1] I have used pseudonyms for the children, but not for the teachers, who gave permission to be identified by name.

Cara: That's not nice, please stop.

Having seen nothing behind her, Sarah turns back around, just in time to see Ashley signing: "I fooled you" or "gotcha!"[2] Cara, the teacher eating lunch at this table, admonishes Ashley by saying "That's not nice."

What should we make of this exchange between students? In one sense, we can say that this is a typical preschool scene: one child teases another and gets scolded by her teacher. However, I would suggest there is also something characteristically deaf going on here. On the most obvious level this difference is that the children and teacher are signing rather than speaking. But on a deeper level, there is a difference here I call embodied deaf habitus.

The children involved in this conversation are Deaf of Deaf (which means they have deaf parents and their first language is American Sign Language). In addition to learning sign language, deaf children growing up in deaf families also learn Deaf modes of gesture, facial expression, attention, and positioning themselves in space. These Deaf modes are components of an embodied Deaf habitus, which is part of a Deaf identity and a Deaf way of being in the world. A *habitus* is a set of behaviors that are typical of a culture, community, or profession, that are more implicit than explicit. When members of a community are asked by an outsider to explain

[2] The sign she uses is one that if used by an adult would be translated into English as "gullible"

how and why an aspect of their group's habitus came to be, they usually reply, "it's just the way it is." I elaborate more on habitus, and especially embodied habitus later in this dissertation.

For deaf children born to hearing parents, embodied aspects of Deafness cannot be easily learned unless they have the opportunity to attend a Deaf school, where American Sign Language (ASL) is the primary language of instruction and there are Deaf teachers. When Ashley gives the "gullible" sign to Sarah, Emily, seated next to Ashley, performs the telltale facial expression: "Uh oh, you're in for a scolding."

Ashley: "Just teasing"

Sarah pouts

Emily: "Uh oh!"

Cara: "Stop"

As Ashley teases Sarah, Sarah shows her displeasure at being teased with a visible pout. This pout is not a sign; it's a form of facial intonation that while not conventional, is also not idiosyncratic. Some would call it a "non-manual marker." Such facial expressions add depth,

feeling, and tone. Sarah does not need to use any words to convey her emotion. Similarly, Emily raises her eyes, holds her mouth partly open, and tenses her body, conveying her awareness that a social norm has been breached and a sanction is forthcoming. Emily, also, manages to communicate all of this without using any sign language. Cara shows her disapproval not just by signing ,“That’s not nice” and “please stop” but also by closing her eyes, to add emphasis, and to suggest that she is not open to any explanations or excuses Ashley is about to offer. Ashley nevertheless tries to excuse her behavior by claiming that she was “just teasing,” which she expresses with a combination of sign and facial expression, leaning her face back, and laughing while sticking out her tongue, to emphasize the word “tease” to the teacher. She then directs her attention towards Sarah, and repeats the same sign towards her.

“just teasing”

“understand?”

“teasing you!”

I suggest that in this short scene each participants’ use of facial expressions, posture, and gestures are examples of a deaf embodied habitus, an aspect of a way of being that is characteristic of cultural Deafness.

As lunch continues, Sarah reminds the other girls at the table of a time they went swimming last summer.

Sarah: Hey! Do you remember when we went to that small pool?

Emily: The smaller pool that the man was in was hot.

Ashley: Hey…

Emily: Wait a second! (to Ashley)

Emily: That pool that was rectangular and COLD?

Sarah: Yeah

Emily: Yeah, when we got out of the pool, it was freezing!

Sarah: Yeah, that one.

"We got out of the pool.."

"…and it was freezing!"

When Emily signs that the pool was cold, she shakes her body, miming shivering, and contorts her face in a marker of intensification, equivalent to changing the spoken English word "cold" to "freezing." Another clue that Emily is Deaf of Deaf is that she makes this comment without ever removing a strawberry from her mouth. A deaf child of hearing parents would be more likely to remove the strawberry before signing, out of a cultural sense learned in her hearing home that "you shouldn't talk with your mouth full." In fact, this is just what happens as another child at the lunch table, Max, who is a deaf child of hearing parents reminds Emily that it is not polite to "talk with your mouth full." Emily responds by she rolling her eyes as she takes the strawberry out of her mouth. I suggest that competing social norms are in play here, norms of hearing and Deaf cultures.

The “Scrunch”: Performing active listening

We were slower to identify another example of embodied deaf habitus in the lunch scene. As part of our research method, we showed early drafts of our videos to several Deaf education and ASL experts, including Ben Bahan, a professor at Gallaudet University and a well-known Deaf storyteller. While Ben was watching the lunch scene in the video with one of the leaders of our research team, Joseph Valente, Ben’s Deaf daughter, Juliana, an elementary student at Maryland School for the Deaf walked by, pointed at the video, and signed: “Look! She’s doing this (imitating Emily’s “scrunching” up of her face). That shows she’s paying attention.” This gesture, which we have come to call “the deaf scrunch,” functions like hearing people saying “uh huh, uh huh,” to indicate to a speaker that they are actively listening, showing comprehension of what is being said, signifying that they are following the conversation, and want the speaker to continue. Juliana’s perceptive observation spurred our awareness of this and other characteristically Deaf gestures and bodily movements. Up to this point, all of the deaf members on our research team had overlooked Emily’s gesture, perhaps because, as insiders to Deaf culture, we found it so natural and had never before considered the question how deaf children acquire such extra-linguistic aspects of being Deaf. This illustrates a common problem insiders face while studying their own culture; people often do not realize what is interesting or unique about their language use and cultural practices and beliefs (Levine, 1982).

In this dissertation, I present and analyze these and other examples of children and teachers in signing deaf preschools in three countries (Japan, France, and the United States) doing aspects of Deaf bodily habitus. I argue that Deaf signing preschools are key sites for deaf children (especially those from hearing families) to acquire not just sign language fluency, but also a Deaf bodily habitus, which I argue is a key aspect of cultural Deafness.

A word on terminology: In Deaf studies, little "d" deaf denotes a physical construction of deafness, while big "D" Deaf signals identification with Deaf culture, community, and sign language (Woodward, 1972; Christiansen and Leigh, 2002). I follow this distinction in this paper, using "Deaf" when informants seemed to be referring to cultural Deafness (that is to an identity and way of being), and "deaf" when they seemed to be referring to an anatomical reality (that is, to not be able to hearing).

My Research Question

Most studies of young deaf children focus on the acquisition of sign language. There are some studies, especially those on infants that focus on attention in deaf children (Spencer, Swisher & Waxman 2004; Guarinello, et.al, 2006) and on joint attention (for example, DeLuzio & Girolametto, 2006; Singleton & Crume, 2013). While lab-based studies have shown how deaf children develop attention and joint attention strategies, only a few studies have focused on the crucial role deaf preschool educators play in this process (Morgan, 2004; Shantie & Hoffmeister, 2000; Mather, 1989; Erting, 1985. I have found no research on the pedagogical strategies educators can use to scaffold the development of a Deaf bodily habitus.

Baumann (2008), drawing on Baker and Cokely's (1980) Venn diagram, suggests there are four dimensions of Deaf culture: audiological, linguistic, social, and political. The

audiological component is the medical view of deafness, based on a measure of hearing loss. The linguistics dimension defines deafness in terms of the use of sign language as the primary form of communication. The sociological dimension defines deafness in terms of the adherence to social norms, such as flicking on and off the lights to attract attention and participating in long, elaborated greetings and goodbye. The political dimension defines deafness in terms of a radical Deaf identity and engagement in Deaf politics, such as supporting deaf schools, signing against the oppression of the Deaf, and being a member of Deaf organizations. To this list, I propose adding a fifth dimension: a Deaf bodily habitus.

Deaf identity has been studied from the perspective of the retrospective memories of adults (Padden & Humphries, 2005, Ladd, 2003). Little research has been conducted on young deaf children to see how having access to a Deaf habitus impacts their development.

The purpose of this study is to identify strategies preschool teachers use in schools for the deaf to help deaf children acquire a Deaf identity. Guiding assumptions of this study are (1) that Deafness is a culture rather than a disability; (2) that deaf children, most of whom have hearing families, are enculturated into Deaf culture primarily in deaf signing preschools; that becoming culturally Deaf involves not only acquiring fluency in sign language, but also in acquiring a Deaf bodily habitus and a positive Deaf identity; and (3) that Deaf preschools teachers play a unique and irreplaceable role in this process. The central research question of my study is: What pedagogical strategies do Deaf preschool teachers use to support the development in deaf children of a Deaf habitus and Deaf identity? This contribution will lead to the understanding of how teachers in Deaf schools approach the teaching of cultural Deafness. It is hope that this study will contribute to improving the pre-service and in-service education of teachers for deaf early childhood education programs.

One of the most important thing young children learn in their preschools is to be members of their culture. As Jerome Bruner (1986) writes: “Meaning is a fact of public life, and . . .cultural patterns [and] social facts provide the template for all human action, growth and understanding” (p. 66) Bruner suggests that there can never be a “self independent of one’s cultural-historical existence” (p. 67). What this means is who we are can be developed in the context of our culture. When young deaf children who are born to non-signing hearing parents are exposed to native Deaf community members, they starts the process of becoming embodied members of their native culture.

There is an increasing awareness of the need for “identification with Deaf culture and the Deaf community [as an] important part of social-emotional development, akin to growing up with an ethnic or religious affiliation” (Knoors & Marschark, 2012). My study is among the first to ask Deaf teachers about their pedagogical strategies, and to explore why these strategies are effective in the education of deaf children. By analyzing videos of Deaf preschools in the U.S., France, and Japan and by asking Deaf early childhood educators about their pedagogical strategies, we can identify some shared features of Deaf early childhood educational pedagogy. Identifying Deaf-centric educational pedagogical strategies can help young deaf children become well-rounded members of their community, with a Deaf embodied sense of self and an emerging Deaf identity.

Since many deaf children are born to hearing parents, their entry in preschools or kindergartens in a school for the deaf may be their first introduction to sign language and aspects of the deaf culture. This is also where they learn to become culturally deaf, and to take on embodied techniques of their culture and exhibit the techniques of the body that mark them as members of their culture. Their teachers are key figures, but I believe most are not aware of the

key role they play in their students' acquisition of a Deaf bodily habitus. In the concluding chapter I suggest some guidelines for helping pre-service and in-service deaf teachers develop an explicit awareness of how they can scaffold the development in young children of a Deaf bodily habitus.

From the outset I need to be clear that although my focus in this study is on the contribution to young children's embodied Deafness of Deaf teachers, I am not suggesting that hearing teachers who are fluent signers cannot also model embodied deafness for the young children they teach. Being Deaf is neither necessary nor sufficient for teaching deaf children how to be culturally Deaf. There are deaf people who may not employ a Deaf habitus because they have lived primarily in a hearing environment, as well as hearing people (most of whom are CODAS) who have a Deaf habitus because they have grown up and lived in the Deaf world.

In Chapter Two, I explain my theoretical and conceptual framework of habitus. In Chapter Three I explain the method I used in my study, as well as the method used in the larger project. These first three chapters make up the first section, laying the foundation of what my data analysis will show. In chapters four through seven, I discuss varying types of attention, facial expressions, body language, which all can contribute to a deaf identity. In each chapter, I weave the data analysis with a review of literature. Chapter eight concludes my dissertation and presents some implications for the study.

This study will pave the foundation for awareness of a deaf habitus, and how it can impact the education of young deaf and hard of hearing students. When teachers learn the different pedagogical strategies to explicitly demonstrate facial expressions, body language, and different approaches for retrieval of attention, their students will be able to access these skills more readily, This will encourage a stronger Deaf embodied habitus.

Researcher Subjectivity Statement

I am a PhD candidate in the Early Childhood Education program at The University of Georgia, and I am Deaf. I am also a father of a Deaf six-year-old son. I taught kindergarten for six years prior to attending the PhD program at University of Georgia. My passion to do this research is both professional and personal. I am on a never-ending quest to improve Deaf education, to help create a world where a Deaf person is not penalized for the loss of hearing, but rather celebrated as a unique individual.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework I use for this study combines Marcel Mauss' concept of bodily habitus and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus. In this chapter, I will explain bodily habitus, and how it applies to young deaf preschool children. The acquisition of a deaf bodily habitus, which is attuned to the visual rather than auditory world, is crucial for young Deaf preschool children.

Preschools are the first cultural institutions where most children come in contact with the larger society. In preschools children learn how to interact with their peers and other educators and they become socialized into the behavior and values of the larger society (Tobin, Hsueh, & Karasawa 2009; Adair, 2011; Riojas-Cortez, Huerta, Flores, Perez & Clark, 2008; Marschark, Lang & Albertini, 2002). In preschools children learn culturally characteristic ways to regulate their emotions and they acquire culturally characteristic sets of social skills

Preschools in the United States serve an increasingly diverse population of children from a variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Often, teachers are unprepared to work with these diverse populations, especially children whose first language is not English and whose home culture is not that of the larger society. Teachers have the task of encouraging children to develop as American citizens and English speakers, while at the same time valuing their home cultural and native language (Adair, Tobin & Arzubiaga, 2012). To do this task effectively, teachers need to understand how the social norms of children's home culture may be different from, and even clash with, the norms of the larger majority culture. Many schools are

underprepared to address the cultural as well as linguistic needs of their diverse students bodies, as the majority of teachers are white and middle class (Ausbrooks, Baker, & Daugaard, 2012; Adair, 2011; Andrews & Covell, 2007).

Deaf students face many of the same struggles as immigrants and minority students. The Deaf community has long struggled to maintain a sense of positive identity, in the face of a hegemonic audist culture that has caused "uncertainty among deaf people about their own linguistic, cultural and social identities" (Hauser, O'Hearn, McKee, Steider & Thew, 2010, p. 490; Gertz, 2003). A key concern in Deaf education is that many teachers in deaf schools are incompetent in American Sign Language (Simms & Thumann, 2007; Lane, Hoffmeister, & Bahan, 1996) and may lack an understanding of and appreciation for Deaf culture and the importance of supporting Deaf identity. The solution is for Deaf epistemology (Ladd, 2003) to guide education in Deaf schools from the preschool level and beyond, to help deaf children develop a Deaf habitus that will enable them to function in their visual culture. As Peter Crume (2012) argues: "The use of visual language and visually based processing strategies make language learning more meaningful for deaf children and helps them acquire deaf ways of being" (p. 7). I would extend Crume's argument to include the need for deaf children to develop a Deaf bodily habitus. Deaf Educators can support the development of a Deaf bodily habitus by teaching eye gaze, attention elicitation strategies, joint attention, proper facial expressions and body language.

Linguists use the term "non-manual markers" to refer to the role in American Sign Language of eye contact, touch, mouth movements and spatial awareness. My approach, which is ethnographic rather than linguistic, leads me to refer to what linguistics call "non-manual markers" as aspects of a Deaf bodily habitus. Researchers who have studied Deaf culture, Deaf

identity, and Deafhood (Ladd, 2003) have focused on adults. Most of what we know about the roots of Deaf identity comes from retroactive accounts of Deaf adults (for examples, see Valente, 2011; McIlroy & Storbeck, 2011; Padden and Humphries, 2005; Ladd, 2003).

Techniques of the Body and Bodily Habitus

Marcel Mauss, in his 1935 essay "Techniques of the Body," introduced the concept of a bodily habitus. Mauss argued that techniques of the body, rather than being either idiosyncratic or universal, are characteristic of gender, social status, professions, and culture. Mauss gives examples of how differently women and men walk, how people from different cultures swim, and how French and British soldiers march. He also suggests that these techniques of the body are acquired early in life: "There are particular children with strong imitative faculties, and others with very weak ones, but all of them go through the same education, such that we can understand the continuity of the concatenations" (p. 5). What he means by concatenations is connections these children make, understanding cause and effect. When children imitate their teachers, parents, or peers, and start getting similar results they desire, they start to form a habitus.

Pierre Bourdieu built on Mauss' work in developing his notions of disposition and habitus:

> The word disposition seems particularly suited to express what is covered by the concept of habitus (defined as a system of dispositions). It expresses first the result of an organizing action, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a way of being, a habitual state (especially of the body) and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination. (1977, p. 214).

In his essay on "Bodily Habitus" in his book, Pascalian Meditations, Bourdieu (2000) focuses more specifically, following Mauss, on embodied aspects of habitus, on habitus not just as tastes and preferences and dispositions, but also and more primarily as ways of using one's body, not idiosyncratically, but in concert with others: "The body is in the social world but the social world is in the body (p. 150). He also elaborates by saying that "Habitus understood as an individual or a socialized biological body, or as the social, biologically individuated through incarnation in a body, is collective or trans-individual, and so it is possible to construct classes of habitus" (p. 157).

I use Mauss' and Bourdieu's concepts of bodily habitus to explore how deaf children acquire a Deaf bodily habitus in Deaf cultural settings, including signing Deaf preschools. I suggest that deaf children who grew up without access to a Deaf cultural habitus are at risk of alienation, unable to become fully integrated in either the Deaf or hearing worlds. In this dissertation, I identify strategies Deaf preschool teachers employ to promote the acquisition of Deaf bodily habitus in their students.

Teachers as Cultural Mediators.

Teachers in deaf schools play a key role in children's acquisition of a Deaf bodily habitus, because, as Mauss observed, a child can "imitate actions which have succeeded and which he has seen successfully performed by people in whom he has confidence and who have authority over him" (Mauss, 1935, p. 73). For example, while our family members and friends are doing such ordinary things as reading a book, ironing clothes, or climbing stairs, children imitate these ways of doing things, sometimes awkwardly. A deaf child in a Deaf family will have a chance to emulate how relatives attend to sign language, and position themselves to be

able to see others' hands, faces, and bodies. Children learn fast which strategies work well for them, and which strategies do not work well for them. Much of this learning comes from watching their environment, and watching the people they wish to imitate. When we imitate the people in our lives, we are looking at the facial expressions, the body movements, and the space surrounding the body. This gives us the clues to mediate our social spaces in the environment. By the time children attend school, they may have already internalized many of the social practices by imitating their parents and peers.

Children learn to be members of society by acquiring the bodily habitus of their class, ethnic group, and gender. We all have distinct ways of drinking, sitting, and making eye contact. All of these techniques of the body are more cultural, rather idiosyncratic. Becoming enculturated into Deaf culture is unlike most hearing children's experience of enculturation because most deaf children are born into hearing families and therefore must acquire Deaf culture outside of the family. "96% of deaf children are born to hearing parents who may initially know nothing about deafness or sign language" (Kushalnager, et. al, 2010, p.1).

Many deaf children enter schools that do not provide access to the Deaf culture or the Deaf community. The majority of deaf children are mainstreamed, or enrolled in preschools that follow either an all-oral, or a "total communication" approach, which mixes sign language with speech, lip reading, and technology-assisted listening (hearing aids and, increasingly, cochlear implants). Many Deaf children of hearing parents lag behind their hearing peers acquiring language (Knoors & Marschark, 2012; Ladd, 2003; Erting & Pfau, 1997). Most deaf children of hearing parents who do not attend Deaf signing preschools enter elementary school lacking fluency in either ASL or spoken English. Deaf children who attend an oral methods deaf education program that offers training in speech may miss out on the chance to become

culturally Deaf and acquire a Deaf bodily habitus at a young age. Many of these mainstreamed deaf children "hit the wall" in their academic and social progress when they reach middle school or high school, and, frustrated with the failure of their hearing schools to provide them with a deaf-friendly environment, seek out opportunities in adolescence and young adulthood to learn ASL and be immersed in Deaf culture.

While in the United States, the majority of deaf students are mainstreamed and taught with oralist approaches, some deaf children attend schools for the deaf that emphasize signing and that provide access to Deaf culture. Maryland School for Deaf, which was the focal research site for this study, is one of these programs. The first exposure to a true signing environment most deaf young children experience comes when they are enrolled in a signing Deaf school for the first timer. Shantie & Hoffmeister (2000) write that the "role of the teacher of Deaf children carries with it not only the teaching of information but being a model for the acquisition of language" p. 40.

As Barbara Rogoff's work emphasizes, young children acquire language as they participate in a variety of socioculturally situated activities that are significant and comprehensible (2003). In Deaf preschool classrooms there is a need for teachers who are native signers to lead these activities (Shantie & Hoffmeister, 2000). When teachers are not native signers, they may implicitly transfer their hearing bodily habitus onto these young deaf children. These children already live in a dominant society that tells them "how to live, express, or inhibit their capabilities and experience their bodies" (Hauser, O'Hearn, McKee, Steider & Thew, 2010, p. 490). These children need educators who can show them how to use their Deaf body to it's maximum potential.

Hutchins & Johnson (2009) argue that when teachers model the behavior that characteristic of their native communities, they support the development of "mechanisms that may be steps on an evolutionary trajectory that leads to symbolic language" (p. 540). When children learn to embody the bodily techniques of their native language and culture, they are able to access more information and become more integrated into their culture.

Mauss (1934) writes that the body is "man's first and most natural instrument" (p.75). Crossley (2007) explains that techniques of the body "are also 'social facts', characterized by a sociological distribution, social origin and by their diffusion through social networks. By way of body techniques we can explore the social molding of bodily life" (p.87). Crossley (2007) tells us that bodies are "a site of experience [that] sinks in the background and does not become the object of it's own experience" (p.82). Though words alone have power, the potential for communication is maximized by the use of the body in space. A simple shrug of the shoulders can change the meaning of the content, causing confusion for the recipient. Our bodily habitus can influence our experiences, and these experiences can influence other people. Bourdieu (2000) explains there is

> no game without players' (visceral, corporeal) commitment to the game, without the interest taken in the game as such which is the source of the different, even opposite, interests of the various players, the wills and ambitions which drive them and which, being produced by the game, depend on the positions they occupy within it" (p.153).

The body has a dramatic capacity to make known these wills and ambitions by simple nonverbal nuances, such that people will understand the underlying desire of the person. Bourdieu also suggests ways to encourage this involvement would be to understand that

> the world is comprehensible, immediately endowed with meaning, because the body, which, thanks to its senses and its brain has the capacity to be present to what is outside itself, in the world, and to be impressed and durably modified by it, has been protractedly (from the beginning) exposed to its regularities" (p. 135).

The best way to encourage this comprehension would be to connect these children with mentors and peers who have a Deaf bodily habitus. When deaf children acquire an embodied Deafness they will eliminate the feeling of remorse for the loss (or lack, in the case of the congenitally deaf) of their fifth sense.

Bourdieu also states that people "occupy a position in physical space and social space" (p.131). He goes on to say "social space tends to be translated, with more or less distortion, into physical space, in the form of a certain arrangement of agents and properties." (p. 134). For the first few years of life, many deaf children may not have had much opportunity to acquire a familiarity with Deaf space, Deaf embodiment, or sign language. We can encourage children's enculturation into Deaf society by promoting a visual set up of the classroom to become "Deaf-friendly," meaning an open space where the teachers and students are visible at all times.

Examples of Deaf cultural practices include divulging background information immediately when introducing yourself, giving examples of people you may have in common to establish social ties, and stating the reason why you are in that particular place at that particular moment. In a bilingual Deaf Education environment, Deaf children learn these and rules and norms of Deaf culture. These rules and norms include using Sign Language, using facial expression for grammatical cues, and maintaining eye contact with the speaker. They also learn how to communicate using their body language, and spatial norms, so they are aware of their

environment and positioned so as to best employ their visual ways of knowing. This begins prior to the acquisition of sign language. When deaf children of hearing parents enter kindergarten in a school for the Deaf, they are quickly introduced to cultural norms of Deaf culture, such as banging on the table, waving in the air, or tapping a person to grab their attention before they start communicating. Deaf children may learn social behaviors from their parents, but they may be able to make more sense of the social behaviors in an environment that is visual, with educators and peers who share the same language.

Singleton & Morgan (2006) encourage deaf preschool children to be exposed to "ASL proficient deaf teachers [who can] capitalize on ASL's rich grammatical and narrative structures such as role play, classifiers, and facial expressions to engage [them]" (p. 364). I suggest that these ASL proficient deaf teachers also support young children's acquisition of a deaf bodily habitus, which includes such strategies as establishing a distance with others during a conversation that is close enough to clearly see the others' eyes, body, and hands, but not so close that one must choose between looking at their hands or face. Other embodied practices include responding to light signals by turning the head towards the light switch. When we encourage more awareness of the body in the space, we transform that awareness into knowledge, and then one can start to understand their body, and how their body is used in that specific context (Kelman, 2001; Bourdieu, 2000).

When teachers teach deaf children, they need to be aware of their implicit bodily practices, and to make their body movements more explicit obvious to their students, in order for the students to recognize these habits, and incorporate them in their everyday life. When educators emphasize their mannerisms, and stress the importance to include these mannerisms in their young students, the students will unconsciously take on these characteristics through

observation and practice. When teachers stress simple facial and body expression, it becomes a map for students to follow. Early childhood educators who are not native to Deaf culture may lack the ability to model the social nuances and the embodied Deafness that Deaf children need to become culturally Deaf. As Ladd (2003) explains, “Deaf epistemology is an opportunity for people to understand clearly ‘Deaf ways’ of being in the world and their own place within it, both in actuality and potentiality” (p. 19). There is a need for identification of effective pedagogical practices for incorporating social language acquisition prior to academic language intentionally in deaf early childhood education practices.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

In this study I use two different methods to analyze my data. One method is analysis of transcripts of individual and focus group interviews we conducted with teachers and administrators in the Deaf Kindergartens in Three Cultures study. The other method is a microanalysis of scenes in videos we shot for the Deaf Kindergartens in Three Cultures project. I weave these two methods through-out this dissertation, as there were situations when informants would point out key scenes and provide us with insider information that encouraged us to return to the videos and watch these scenes more closely.

Deaf education is a unique field of study, which is why the methods used need to be a good fit to ensure the validity of the data gathered. In this case, a visual approach is most needed, with accommodations for linguistic and cultural differences. I begin this chapter by explaining the two different qualitative methodologies our research team used in the larger project, and how we gathered and analyzed the data. Since this project accumulated a great deal of data, I will explain the process of how and why I have chosen to focus on specific sections of the data for this dissertation.

The Deaf Kindergartens in Three Cultures Project

The videos and the interviews that serve as the data for this dissertation were made for a larger study, the Deaf Kindergarten in Three Countries: France, Japan, and the United States (DKin3C). The three principal investigators are Dr. Joseph Tobin from University of Georgia,

Dr. Joseph Valente from Pennsylvania State University, and Dr. Thomas Horejes from Gallaudet University. The researchers' aim is to study how deaf children in Deaf preschools become enculturated into their national cultures, as well as into Deaf culture. This study was conducted in schools that use sign language as the primary mode of instruction.

Before I can discuss the methodology used for the DKin3C project, I need to go back to the origins of the method. In 1986, Joseph Tobin and his colleagues were searching for a method for what would become their study, *Preschools in Three Cultures,* an ethnographic study of preschools in Japan, China and the United States. They found their method from attending a viewing of two films. *A Balinese Trance Séance* is a film about a woman who goes into trance to speak to the dead, in order to help their families communicate with their dead relatives. *Jero on Jero: A Balinese Séance Observed,* is a film that shows the woman, Jero, watching herself in a trance state while the anthropologist Linda Conner asks her to reflect on seeing herself on the video. Linda Conner, Tim and Patsy Asch produced both videos. Tobin remarks that "The use of the Aschs and Conner made of ethnographic film to stimulate a second, reflexive level of discourse gave us the idea of using films of preschools to stimulate a multivocal ethnographic text" (1989, p. 173). Tobin and his colleagues called their version of this method "video-cued multi-vocal dialogical ethnography."

In this method, the informants and the researcher have a dialogue about the content of the videos, with the researcher asking the questions, and the informants being empowered to explicate meanings (Tobin, 1989, p. 174). Katherine Anderson Levitt used a similar approach in her study of "Teaching Cultures" (2002) as she asked primary school teachers in France and the United States about their implicit practices, to get at what she calls "what do teachers know even

when they don't know they know it" (p. 2). I am interested in deaf educators' implicit as well as explicit pedagogical practices.

Joe Tobin mentoring Patrick Graham during US visit: Frederick, MD.

Tommy Horejes watching Joe T. mentor Patrick while Jennifer Hensley films in Tokyo

The first step in the video-cued interviewing method is the production of a video to use as a cue. To make film of a day in the life of a pre-school, the researchers shoot twelve to sixteen hours of video (six to eight hours on each camera), and then edit this footage down to a thirty minute video, showing a typical day. We followed this method in the DKin3C project.

At each site we first obtained permission from the school to videotape in a preschool class, and then we got the teachers', parents', and children's permission. We spent a two days before videotaping to set up the cameras and get to know the environment and the classroom routines. This also gave the students and teachers a chance to get used to the presence of cameras and camera operators. We encouraged the teachers to carry on as they usually do.

We used two cameras to give us a better chance of capturing events that would show a typical day in the kindergartens. At each site following the filming we conducted a post-interview, asking the teachers if they felt that it was a typical day, and if there was anything they felt uncomfortable with that we should keep out of the video and anything they were eager we keep in.

We edited the ten hours or so of video shot on the two cameras down to approximately thirty minutes. This video was shown to thirty-four focus groups of administrators, parents, experts, and educators who were asked to first watch and then comment on the videos shot in preschool classrooms in France, Japan, and the United States. We also conducted video cued interviews with each of the teachers in whose classrooms we filmed, and with their administrators.

The research team asked open-ended questions to encourage the informants to elaborate more on their answers. This dissertation focuses on the comments of our informants on the topics of attention, facial expression, and bodily habitus.

The second method I employ in this study is microanalysis of scenes from the videos. After coding and analyzing the interview transcripts I returned to the videos and selected for microanalysis scenes my informants had focused on in their discussions of embodied deafness and Deaf cultural identity.

Sites

When we started the Deaf Kindergartens in Three Countries project, we knew that we wanted to work in Japan and the United States. Japan was an easy choice, since Joe Tobin had worked there extensively, and Akiko Hayashi was from Tokyo, Japan. They had connections with many people in the Japanese education system. We also knew we wanted to work in the United States, because it was familiar to many of us, and we shared the national American culture. We struggled to find a third country. We were unsure of what we wanted to do. When we travelled to New Orleans for the American Anthropological Association conference, we met Lakshmi Fjord, another scholar in Deaf studies. She suggested that we look to Sweden, as they

had advanced legislation in the linguistic rights of the Deaf child. We also thought about France, due to the fact that they brought Deaf Education using signed language to the United States. We finally decided on France. I will elaborate more on each site now.

Japan

Joe Tobin had worked extensively in Japan, and we were intrigued by how Japan's cultural and racial homogeneity impacted their perspectives on deafness. The focal school we selected for the study is Meisei Gakuen School for the Deaf, the only school for the deaf in Japan that uses Japanese Sign Language as the language of instruction. Meisei is a small private school serving approximately 60 children in the Shinagawa district of Tokyo. Their director Michio Saito, and one of their administrative staff, Norie Oka welcomed us to their school, and introduced us to the two preschool teachers, Ikeda-sensei and Sawamura-sensei. Their classrooms had approximately 11 students. One student left early in the taping due to being sick. Most of the filming was conducted in Ikeda's classroom and on the outdoor playground. Ikeda's classroom is a bright, sunny place, with three full walls and one half wall. One of the walls was completely filled with windows. The two remaining walls were covered with many pictures and Japanese writing. The room was neatly organized, with chairs stacked away, and tables in the far corners. The middle of the room was open, and had a mat for reading.

Room Layout in Japan

Whiteboard Wall in Classroom

Semi-circle shape of chairs. Meisei School, Japan.

United States

When we decided to use the United States as a site for our research, we had many schools to choose from. We needed to select a school that uses American Sign Language as a primary language. Tommy Horejes found in his dissertation that there was 19 schools that called themselves ASL based schools. One of these schools was Maryland School for the Deaf. Due to Tommy's residence in Maryland, and the close proximity to Gallaudet University, we decided that Maryland School for the Deaf was the ideal site for our study. Maryland School for the Deaf is in Frederick, Maryland, and serves approximately 315 students. While we filmed at Maryland School for the Deaf, we filmed in Nicole and Bonnie's preschool classroom. They had nine students total. One student was out sick, and the parents of two students did not consent for their children to be part of this study.

Layout of Room.

Bulletin Board with Artwork.

Whiteboard with American Flag and President.

France

We contacted a number of schools in France, all over the country. We had hoped to study at the school that Laurent Clerc attended as a child. Laurent Clerc was the teacher who came to the United States with Thomas Gallaudet; a priest recruited by Mason Cogswell, a father of a deaf daughter. Gallaudet travelled to Paris, and there he met Laurent Clerc, who was a deaf teacher at the Royal Institution for the Deaf. That name had changed to Institut Nationale Sourdes Jeunes (the National Institute for Deaf Children). We had a difficult time contacting them, but we were able to get in contact with Agnes Campredon and Marie Paule Kellerhals, who told us about a bilingual Deaf education program at the Ecole Maternelle Gabriel SAJUS, (Gabriel SAJUS preschool). They explained to us that their preschool was located in a small town adjacent to Toulouse, France, a city located in the South of France. They said Vanessa Andrieu was the primary teacher, and she had three paraprofessionals, had 19 children, ages 3 to 5. Her classroom was a large classroom with three round tables in the center of the room, and two rows of desk on the right hand of the classroom. There were four full walls, however, one wall was entirely composed of windows. All the other walls were full of posters with printed French words, and children's illustrations.

Full Wall Length Windows.

Rows of desks.

Calendar and other posters in Classroom.

Teacher Interviews

Our research team conducted multiple interviews with the teachers who participated in the study. We conducted a total of eleven interviews, some with individual teachers, and some in groups of two or three. Our intent was for these interviews to be centered on reactions to the video-cues; however, sometimes we found that the informants stopped talking about the videos and started to explain their perspectives on Deaf education. These interviews then became open-ended inquiries. The teachers often led the interviews while the researchers listened and used probes to dig for deeper meaning. Listening to these individual teachers, we could see that they "develop[ed] what they [knew] out of the experiences of their unique biographies" (Anderson-Levitt, 2002, p. 6). Feiman-Nemser & Floden (1986) as quoted in Anderson-Levitt's (2002) text define teaching knowledge as "those beliefs, insights, and habits that enable teachers to do their

work in school" (p. 7). When these teachers explain their procedures to researchers, they begin to unpack their practice, and to uncover their implicit as well as explicit intentions.

For example, Ikeda, the head teacher at the Meisei School for the Deaf in Tokyo, where we made the Japanese video, explained:

> When I was in school I had a hearing teacher, but it was really hard.
>
> Because the basis of the culture was very different from my teacher and me. In my deaf school there was one Coda, a teacher. So I found that I was able to really communicate, really communicate with the Coda teacher, and also with the deaf people from the older class, the students in the same school. But with the hearing teachers it was hard. And I think it's important to 'really communicate.'

Bonnie, the lead teacher in the MSD preschool, told us that "school is a happy place for learning, to learn language, to use language. We want students to love coming to school and to want to come to school and to want to learn. Students should feel that they can interact with other students, that they can communicate, that there's no limitations."

Vanessa explains that even though deaf children should learn their deaf identity, they also need to learn to co-exist with the hearing society "I think it's natural for deaf kids to want to be in a deaf group. It's something very natural. And I tell them I respect that. But I also want to give them the possibility to open up to another group. I've seen adolescent…adolescent deaf kids who have a real aggressive attitude towards hearing people and the hearing world." This encourages me to think about many different concepts, the most important one to be what happens when a deaf child has a fully embodied identity, will it encourage acceptance and entrance of another world?

Japan Teacher Interviews

I was present for the first two interviews with Ikeda and Sawamura, the lead teachers of the preschool classes, but did not participate in the last two interviews. The first two interviews included both teachers, while the last two interviews were only with Ikeda. Dr. Joseph Tobin led all four of the interviews.

Our first teacher interview in Japan was with Ikeda and Sawamura. This interview took place the day after the filming. The purpose of this interview was to ask the teachers if we had captured a typical day at their school and to have them give some context to the events we had filmed. Tobin, Wu, & Davidson (1989) explains their process of asking educators while they watched the tapes "if the videotapes succeeded in reflecting their schools as they saw them, and if not, how not" (p. 7). As in the *Preschools in Three Cultures* project, we asked the educators to explain the background of their day, using the videos as a cue, and when they finished their explanations, we asked them questions to clarify our outsider perspectives, to learn from the educators about their teaching praxis.

Our next interview took place the following day. This was a discussion of deaf culture and deaf pedagogy among four informants, two Japanese and two Americans. The Japanese informants were Ikeda and Sawamura, while the American informants were Thomas Horejes and myself. There were two Japanese interpreters and one American interpreter. This interview allowed us to reflect on our cultural capital, and we were able to "document the diversity of human beliefs and institutions," (Tobin, Wu, Davidson, 1989, p. 10) as well as making

connections that transcends the national culture through the deaf culture.

Jennifer, Sawamura, Ikeda, Patrick, Tommy, Two Japanese Interpreters conversing.

In January of 2012, Dr. Joseph Tobin and Akiko Hayashi were able to return to Japan for a Deaf Education conference hosted by Meisei. Vanessa and Bonnie, the French and American teachers featured in the study, also attended this conference. This conference focused on Deaf Kindergartens in Three Countries. After this conference, Dr. Tobin interviewed Ikeda two times, on January 24, and January 26. As they watched the videos made in her classroom and in the preschools in France and the US, Ikeda explained her teaching praxis. Ikeda commented on different perspectives from her national and deaf identities. For example, at one point in the interview she stated: “I understood right away; when a student really understands and is expressing himself, it comes out at more of a long length, but this child is going word by word, and then looking at the teacher with an expression like, “Is this right?” As a deaf person I can recognize that right away. But do you [Dr. Tobin] understand?”

United States Teacher Interviews

We conducted two interviews in the United States with the three MSD preschool teachers, Bonnie, Nicole, and Bobbie. We also interviewed the principal, Mary Lynn Lally and

her assistant principal. One interview was conducted with Bonnie and Mary Lynn in Tokyo. The last interview was conducted with only Bonnie as an informant.

After the days of filming were done, we sat down with Bonnie, Nicole, and Bobbie. We followed a similar process to our initial interviews in Japan. We asked them if they felt that the day we filmed was a typical day. All three educators assured us that the video did show a typical day, although their students exhibited some atypical behaviors. In May of 2011, Dr. Tobin and Dr. Horejes went back to show Bonnie, Nicole, and Bobbie the final video, and to elicit their thoughts on this version

Bobbie, Nicole, Bonnie, Tommy, Joe Valente, Jennifer, and Joe Tobin.

In January of 2012, Bonnie and Mary Lynn were interviewed in Japan about what they thought of the conference and meeting the two other teachers that had participated in this study. This interview mostly focused on Bonnie's reflection of the conference itself, of her class, and of her teaching experiences. Dr. Tobin started the interview, and allowed Bonnie to lead the interview by responding to her statements, and asking questions for clarification.

In June of 2012 Soon after this interview, Dr. Horejes and Christi Batamula went back to interview Bonnie individually about her perspectives on the process, as well as different approaches she used in her teaching.

France Teacher Interviews

There were seven teacher interviews conducted in France, three with Sophie and two with Vanessa. Two interviews were also done with Agnes, the school's director, and Marie Paule, the coordinator of the Deaf program in Toulouse. Dr. Joseph Valente and Dr. Joseph Tobin led these interviews. All interviews were done in October of 2011, January of 2012 and June of 2012.

In October 2011, Dr. Joseph Valente interviewed Sophie about her participation in the project. The interview focused on if we had filmed a typical day at the school, as well as different pedagogical strategies that Sophie used with the deaf students at the school. In January 2012, Dr. Joseph Tobin interviewed Vanessa in Tokyo, Japan. He asked Vanessa about her experiences being in Tokyo and meeting the American and Japanese teachers. He also asked several questions about the video and her teaching practices. Vanessa explains primarily about the importance of deaf and hearing people to co-exist with each other. In June of 2012, Dr. Valente was able to interview Vanessa and Sophie separately about the videos. Concerns over subtitling were discussed during the interview, and Vanessa requested that we fix the subtitles to ensure accuracy. There is also a lot of discussion about Vanessa's teaching praxis. Sophie's two interviews took place on June 11 and June 12. This interview covered Sophie's belief on Deaf identity, Deaf education, and her teaching praxis. Dr. Valente led the interview, and I was able to ask a few questions of my own during this interview as well.

Patrick, Sophie, and Joe Valente conversing.

Focus Groups Interviews

At each site, the researchers introduced themselves, and explained that the interviews would be videotaped and transcribed. The participants were given consent forms to participate in the study, and given the option of having their name not used in the study for confidentiality purposes. Participants were asked to introduce themselves and their positions. Once the participants introduced themselves, the researchers explained a bit of the background of the project, and then invited the participants to view the videos. When each video ended, we asked: "What do you think" and then followed up with questions about particular scenes in the video. We then concluded the focus group interviews by asking the participants if they wanted to add anything.

Japan

Joe Tobin and Akiko Hayashi discussed where they wanted to do their focus groups. They knew of a school program in Sapporo that was trying to adopt a bilingual approach featuring the use of JSL. They decided to put that school on the list of focus groups. For the other schools, they wanted to spread out through Japan. There were five focus groups with 37 participants. These participants were educators, administrators, or experts in the Deaf Education field. The sites for these focus groups were at public schools for the deaf in Chiba, Yokosuka, Sapporo, and Nara. They also conducted a focus group with the director of the Deaf Education Research Institute in Tokyo.

United States

In the United States, we conducted sixteen focus groups at nine different sites. Six focus groups were composed of administrators and six of focus groups of early childhood and elementary educators. Three focus groups were experts in the field of Deaf education, and there

were two focus group of parents. A total of 84 informants were interviewed in these focus groups. The schools selected for these interviews were Atlanta Area School for the Deaf (AASD), in Atlanta, Georgia, Central Institute for the Deaf (CID), in St. Louis, Missouri, California School for the Deaf, Fremont (CSDF), Indiana School for the Deaf (ISD), in Indianapolis, Indiana, Maryland School for the Deaf (MSD), in Frederick, Maryland, Phoenix Day School for the Deaf (PDSD), in Phoenix, Arizona, and The Learning Center (TLC), in Framingham, Massachusetts. Two focus groups did not take place in schools. Instead, the Austin, Texas site took place in a hotel conference room, and the Athens, Georgia site took place in a university conference room.

Atlanta School for the Deaf was chosen due to its proximity to University of Georgia. Jenny Singleton worked at Georgia Tech, and since she is a scholar in the study of Deaf people, we wanted her input. She came to Athens, Georgia, and participated in our focus group with Kyunghwa Lee, who is an expert in Early Childhood Education. Tommy Horejes graduated from Central Institute for the Deaf, and his home base is in St. Louis, so we were able to secure that site. I had taught at Phoenix Day School for the Deaf, and one of our team members was the Staff interpreter at PDSD, so we were able to set up a focus group at that site. The Texas Experts group was a group of eight Deaf Education experts that were attending the Deaf Bilingual Summit conference in Austin, Texas. California School for the Deaf, Indiana School for the Deaf, and The Learning Center responded to our request for focus group interviews and willingly participated. The majority of the participants were educators themselves. There were more hearing participants than there were deaf participants in the focus group.

France

In France, there were six focus groups at five sites. All the focus groups in France had a combination of administrators and educators. There were 51 participants interviewed in these focus groups. The focus groups were done at schools in the cities of Bordeaux, Toulouse (twice), Paris (two sites), and Poitiers.

Set-Up of Focus Group Interviews

The research team had a lengthy discussion regarding the order to show the videos. It was decided that it would be best to show the participants the most familiar school, and then end with the most exotic. Using this strategy, for the interviews in the United States, the MSD video was shown and discussed first, and then the France video, and then the Japan video.

After each video, a dialogue commenced about what the participants thought about the videos. Participants were encouraged to explain their perspectives and feelings on the topic, with minimal input by the researchers themselves. The researchers asked questions, such as, "Can you tell me more about that," and "What did you think about this scene." The format of each interview would start with a brief introduction, watching one video, then having a thirty-minute discussion, then watching a second thirty-minute video, and then having a second discussion, then finishing with the third video, with a third discussion and closing thoughts.

The Transcription Process

Transcribing the interviews in our project was a challenge due to the translation from three signed languages -- ASL, JSL, and LSF. Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) recommend that the person doing the interviews should also transcribe their interviews in order to become aware of

"their own interviewing style; to some extent they will have the social and emotional aspects of the interview situation present or reawakened during transcription, and will already have started the analysis of the meaning of what was said" (p. 180). Because Jennifer Hensley was present at eight of the nine US research sites, it made sense for her to transcribe these interviews herself. Also, her work experience with ASL to English translations became another bonus in transcribing interviews. The Japanese interviews were conducted in Japanese, with JSL to Japanese simultaneous interpretation. Akiko Hayashi translated the Japan interviews from Japanese to English. Adeline Lebeaux translated the France interviews from French Sign Language to French to English.

The translation process proved to be problematic during our study. Our informants' words were not only translated once, but twice, and through two different communication outputs. This was not a problem in the American schools, for the translations were only done once, from American Sign Language to English. In the other two countries, there were two translations, from their national signed language, to their national spoken language, and then to the English language. This can be very concerning, for "the nuances and the differences [of the meaning and the word use], the transformations and discontinuities of meaning, become the very pores of knowledge" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 186). To make sure we understood the meanings, we repeated their answers back to them, and asked if we understood what they were saying. We went back to the teachers and asked more questions, and clarified some more points they made. Through careful interviewing and re-interviewing, we were able to gather quality data from our informants.

After the transcriptions were completed, I cleaned up the transcriptions by ensuring all the transcriptions had the same font and were the same size. The reason for this is to make sure

they were ready to be transferred over to the HyperResearch software. HyperResearch is a coding tool that we used in our project to find similarities and differences in transcriptions by the use of codes and keywords. I converted all of the transcripts to an Arial 16 font. The reason for the large size is to ensure the readability of the transcripts on a computer. Additionally, the transcripts were printed and placed in a binder. I wanted to have a hard copy of the transcripts to be able to read through the transcripts to look for patterns that may have been missed by the coding protocols.

One other issue with transcription, especially in a visual world, such as the deaf world, is that

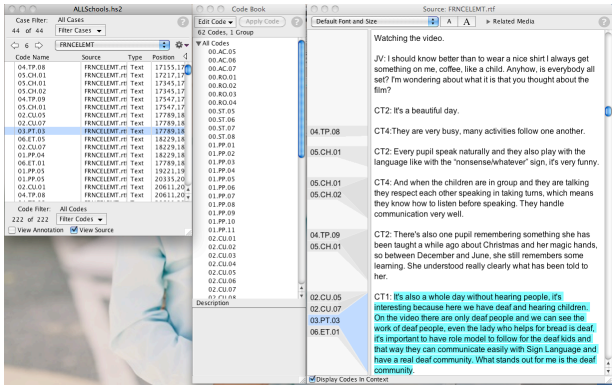
> an interview is a live social interaction where the pace of the temporal unfolding, the tone of the voice, and the bodily expressions are immediately available to the participants in the face-to-face conversation, but they are not accessible to the out-of-context reader of the transcript" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 178).

To offset this issue, I read through the transcripts, and highlighted areas of conversation and then watched the videos of those sections of the original interviews. Watching these videos helped me recognize the facial expressions that may determine the tone of the conversation. American Sign Language is a visual language, and while translated from a visual language to a written language, it becomes "impoverished, decontextualized renderings of live interview conversations (p. 178).

Coding

When we began the coding process, our team decided that HyperResearch would be the best software for our project, mostly because it can allow members of a research team to use both Windows and Mac computers with the same data. After we had decided on the research

software, Dr. Tobin and Dr. Horejes met to discuss their preliminary thoughts for the coding process. They came up with eight thematic codes, Policy & Philosophy of Deafness, Deaf Education, Disability, and Inclusion [PP], Culture & Identity [CU], The Profession of Teaching [PT], Teaching/pedagogy [TP], Children [C], Environment and Technology [ET], Parents/family [PF], and Research process [RP]. These codes were what Dr. Tobin and Dr. Horejes felt were the overall themes in the interviews in Japan and the United States. They also received a lot of input from Dr. Valente after releasing their preliminary thoughts to the research team. The research team met three times to revise the codes and add more codes to these overall themes. We finally "locked" the codebook on September 12, 2012, and the coding process started. In order to ensure accuracy, I sent out a coding protocol in August 2012 (See Appendix A) that all research team members needed to follow.



The Hyper Research Template

All of the codes combined numbers and letters. For example, in 01: Policy and Philosophy of Deafness, Deaf Education, Disability, and Inclusion, which is labeled PP, and then the sub-code, Deaf Policy and Politics, labeled 01, which focused on policies and laws that impacted the Deaf people, such as IEP goals, right to have a signing education, or appropriate

funding for deaf education programs. The overall code would be 01:PP:01. See Appendix for codes and definitions.

I coded all 44 transcripts that are used in this study. While coding the transcripts, I came up with several topics of interest for my study. These topics fall under the codes: Culture and Identity, The Profession of Teaching, Teaching and Pedagogy, and Environment and Technology. I felt these four topics would have the most statements regarding cultural identity in the profession of teaching, and how it impacts children.

While I was coding for my study, the sub-codes I found to be most helpful were 02.CU.01, which discusses all the aspects of Deaf Culture. Sub-code 02.CU.05 focused on Deaf Space and what people consider to be accessible for young Deaf students. Sub-code 02.CU.06 discussed all different Deaf bodily techniques, but when our informants said these bodily techniques were "habits," it went in sub-code 03.PT.05, Habits. These four codes focused on techniques of the body, and role models in Education, so I chose these four sub-codes as my primary sub-codes. There were other codes that were helpful, for example: 03.PT.02 discussed the experience of teachers. The sub-code 04.TP.01 discussed sign language, and any dialogue relating to teaching Sign Language. Sub-code 04.TP.05 discussed different types of teaching philosophies and approaches. Sub-code 05.CH.01 highlighted what people had to comment on the language of children. I also found sub-code 06.ET.03 to be useful in discussing classroom spaces and how they are utilized.

Closer Analysis of the Scenes and Interviews

As we coded the previous interviews with the educators, administrators, and experts, we also went back to ask other experts to watch the videos to see what we may have missed. Interestingly, one of the people who observed the video was Benjamin Bahan's nine-year-old

daughter, Juliana. After a comment by Juliana Bahan sparked our interest in embodied deaf communication practices of young Deaf of Deaf children, we decided to return to the unedited footage and carefully watch each participant for any indicators of a deaf bodily habitus. The unedited data had 16 hours from videotaping for two days at each site, as well as some pre-taping data, for a total of approximately 54 hours of raw footage. Gathering such data can take many hours of watching video data carefully. Through this careful analysis, we were able to gather several examples of what we consider educators performing bodily habitus in all three countries.

The data I gathered from the videos were sequences of teachers in deaf preschool classrooms explicitly explaining to their young deaf students appropriate social practices during specific situations and using different facial expressions to ensure comprehension of what they were discussing. I gathered pictures of different forms of expressions that can be primarily found in the deaf community. I also gathered many still images of deaf expressions and body language being imitated by young deaf children.

As I was gathering images, I also knew that the attitudes of the educators, their cultural backgrounds and thought processes about these cultural backgrounds could contribute greatly to this study. I also wanted to consider the environment in where they teach, as well as their cultural and educational backgrounds in how it influences their own pedagogical strategies. I knew these areas impacted their views of Deaf Education as a whole. In order to maximize my results, I decided to return to my coding analysis with keywords, even though I had already researched the sub-codes. I felt that using "search text sources" would allow me to maximize my data output, by focusing on several keywords, such as *foundation, model, environment, appropriate, fail, facial, access, adjust, visible, visual, natural, identity, feedback, rows, semi-circle,* and *language.* I found that when using keywords, I was able to cross categorize the data with the subcodes, and

fill in the missing pieces. I also found that using names was also useful, when teachers were discussing specific children, it was easier for me to type in their name as a keyword to get the maximum output of data.

For my analyses, I was able to mix both the data I coded from the transcripts of the focus groups and individual interviews and the microanalyses of key several scenes fin the videos. When our informants pointed out scenes that were representative of Deaf culture, I was able to find the scenes they pointed to, and closely examine the scenes to identity the features of Deaf culture they pointed out. I also did the same thing for different techniques of the body that were discussed during our focus groups. The results of my findings will be separated in four chapters:

Chapter Four: Attention. In this chapter, I observe three different sections, Attention Getting Strategies, Joint Attention, and Attention Maintenance, Loss, and Restoration. In Attention Getting Strategies, I also describe indirect and direct instruction in obtaining attention. In Joint Attention, I describe joint attention and how teachers establish joint attention in their teaching praxis, and for the section of attention maintenance, loss, and restoration, I describe how important attention strategies are for young Deaf children in schools.

Chapter Five: Facial Expressions. In this chapter, I describe emotive, linguistic, and cultural facial expressions. I explain the difference between linguistic facial expressions and non-linguistic facial expressions. I also discuss how teachers show facial expressions explicitly and implicitly through their teaching praxis. I also discuss conversations with our informants as they define the difference between sign linguistics and Deaf culture.

Chapter Six: Deaf Bodies, Spaces, and Conversational Norms. In this chapter, I discuss techniques of the body found in Deaf schools. I also discuss how Deaf space functions in schools for the Deaf. The third topic I focus on here is how Deaf children in these schools converse with

each other. I also discuss role models and explicit teaching for a smoother acquisition of bodily techniques.

Chapter Seven: Identity. In this chapter, I take all the topics discussed in Chapters four, five, and six, and discuss how all these topics can contribute to development of a positive Deaf identity in young preschool children.

In Chapter Eight I discuss implications of my findings for deaf early childhood education research and practice.

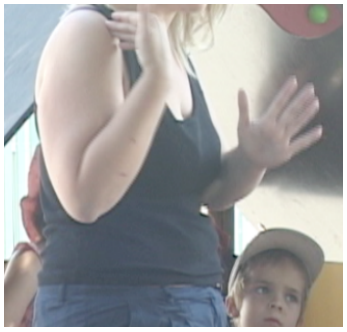
CHAPTER IV

ATTENTION

It is mid-morning, and children are playing happily outdoors in the play area at a small elementary school in Ramonville-St. Agne, a suburb of Toulouse, France. The school is home to a deaf signing school located within a larger hearing school. The play area has two small playhouses, a free standing play structure, and a large asphalt covered area where children run around, ride tricycles, and play hopscotch. Approximately sixty children ranging from ages three to five, some hearing, some deaf, are running around and playing. Suddenly, Jasper, who is deaf, runs up to Sophie, who is also deaf, and whacks her on the shoulder. Sophie, with a visible facial expression of annoyance responds:

Jasper whacks Sophie.

Sophie reacts



"Tap on the Shoulder."

"Yes, That's better."

Sophie: Ow! You really pushed me! How do you get someone's attention? Tap on the shoulder. Yes. That's better.

Jasper: Fabio and Anne kicked--

Sophie: Who?

Jasper: Raphael. His foot hurts.

Sophie: I understand. Where is Raphael?

Jasper: Over there.

Sophie used a facial expression to show shock, suggesting to Jasper that his way of getting attention was inappropriate, signed the proper way of getting someone's attention and then gave her attention to listening to what Jasper wanted to report about an incident on the playground.

Sophie commented on this scene that is crucial for young deaf children to be taught attention getting strategies, strategies that she referred to as "technical" and "compulsory." Many of the American early childhood educators who watched this scene found both Jasper's and Sophie's actions familiar. A teacher in Indiana commented: "When the student tapped the teacher too hard on the arm, the teacher showed the child how to do it softly and then she said to him, 'That's better.' There are a lot of examples there that are just like how we do it." One teacher from Fremont said of the French video: "They were tapping each other hard. You know, they weren't getting each other's attention appropriately."

Deaf educators in all three countries emphasized the need for young deaf children to master Deaf techniques for attention getting, establishing attention, and reinforcing the use of joint attention. But there was less agreement on whether these techniques should be taught by example and immersing deaf children in a Deaf cultural world, or by supplementing this learning with some didactic instruction. In this chapter, I analyze Deaf attentional strategies as an aspect of Deaf culture and provide examples of how these strategies are supported in Deaf signing preschools.

Attention Getting Strategies

Smith and Sutton-Spence (2005) stated, "If young children are to become skilled sign language conversationalists they need to learn the rules for attention-getting and initiating signing (p. 132). They conducted a study of how adults and deaf children gained each others' attention in a nursery that uses British Sign Language as the primary mode of communication. They observed children and adults interacting in the home corner, the play area, and during lunchtime. Twelve videos were made, and the researchers observed five minutes from each video. They found that adults used 33 different attention-getting strategies, and children used 17

different strategies; six of these strategies were not used or modeled by the adults themselves. The most frequently used strategies were tapping and waving. Adults would tap more than children, while the children would wave more than adults (p.140).

Other attention getting strategies used by adults were banging on the table, eye gaze, making eye contact, and pointing. Children also pointed, made eye contact, and waved objects to get the teacher's attention. In their study, they also noticed children tapping on the knee, touching different areas of the body, and moving the chin towards the speaker. These strategies were considered inappropriate and not reinforced. The authors concluded "gaining attention is clearly a complex social skill for these children, which involves learning a variety of strategies" (p. 139). They also stressed the importance for children "to learn the function of different strategies and when it is appropriate to use them. Where the children used incorrect strategies, the Deaf adults in the nursery corrected them" (p. 130). This correction of negative attention getting strategies is consistent with Sophie's correction of Jasper, by explaining to him the proper way of eliciting attention, and then continuing on with the conversation.

Studies on the development in deaf children of attention gaining and maintaining strategies include work by Mather, 1987; Coates & Sutton-Spence, 2001; Harris & Chasin, 2005; Emmorey, Thompson & Colvin, 2009; Singleton & Crume, 2013; and Lieberman, Hatrak, & Mayberry, 2014. In her study in a deaf school setting, Mather (1987) observed how children and adults participate in everyday conversation using eye gaze. She states "eye gaze is the effective turn-taking mechanism in a classroom of deaf students" (p. 29). Lieberman, Hatrak, & Mayberry (2014) observe that there has been little documentation of how deaf children gain the skills "to engage in coordinated joint attention with their caregivers" (p. 21). In their research they found that children whose parents had elicited their attention through hand-waving and tapping were

quicker in engaging in joint attention. These children were consciously aware “that meaningful linguistic information would be provided at that moment” (p. 31).

In an interview on her pedagogical approach, Akiko Ikeda, the lead teacher in the kindergarten class at Meisei School for the Deaf, in Tokyo, shared some thoughts on attention getting strategies:

> A deaf person's way of calling something might be tapping their shoulders, or tapping a desk, or stamping your feet; there are various ways to refer to something depending on the time and place, and if a desk is nearby, tapping it would be correct, but if someone doesn't know that, they do all sorts of things, like stamping their feet on the floor. In terms of deaf culture, that is a mistake. That feels really strange. If someone does that to you, since it's culturally strange, you think “Huh?” And also, turning the lights on and off to indicate the beginning and end is deaf culture, but children who don't know deaf culture don't understand that.

Attention getting strategies are essential for the social development of young Deaf children. One of the first places children are socialized in is the preschool classroom where young children learn to interact with peers and teachers, and be members of a classroom culture. It is through social interaction in a Deaf world that children learn the fundamental rules of their culture and language. Children will often mimic strategies they see others use, when such strategies are reinforced positively, they gradually become part of the deaf child’s embodied habitus. When deaf children attempt to gain attention using inappropriate methods, they get negative responses, and these strategies gradually are dropped from the child’s repertoire. The process takes time. As a teacher at the Atlanta Area School for the Deaf

observed in a focus group, “We are still reminding young children to use appropriate attention getting strategies in the first grade.”

Ikeda gave an example of how her preschool students struggle to figure out the proper way to get the group’s attention:

> For the morning opening, one child each day is the daily monitor. When everyone isn't paying attention, we can't proceed. Normally, since everyone is so near, one would just beckon to the group to get their attention. But instead the monitor will deliberately go across the room to the light switch and turn it on and off to try to get everyone's attention. That's not proper deaf culture, so we shouldn’t do it. On the surface, techniques such as waving, or stamping your feet, or turning the lights on and off, are easy to understand. But there are rules you can't see about when to do those things, and the children haven't really learned these rules yet. If they have hearing parents, they pick things up from the culture they can see. The thing that takes the longest for them to learn to really do, culturally, is the part you can't see. Since children born to hearing parents first acquire simple, superficial aspects of Deaf culture, they haven't been able to acquire the deep part yet.

Several teachers in our study also emphasized the importance and the challenge of deaf children acquiring this “deep part” of culture. One teacher in Poitiers, France said it was important to have “deaf co-teachers with young children because of the linguistic role model, their identity, to build a foundation. There is a stronger attention to culture than with a hearing person.” This is consistent with Smith & Sutton-Spence’s (2005) statement that “when they have adult role models, they are able to determine appropriate rules for both how

and when to attract attention" (p. 148).

During some of focus group interviews, several hearing participants commented on the use of tapping as a way to elicit attention. They all agreed that this would not be viewed as appropriate in the hearing culture. One expert from The Learning Center called tapping an "implicit deaf teaching way of doing things." Harris & Chasin (2005) note the "important difference between the achievement of contingent naming when signing to deaf children and speaking to hearing children: signs have to be seen, whereas speech allows hearing children to have access to contingent naming by listening and looking" (p. 1). Even though tapping would not be appropriate in the hearing culture, there is still a limit on how much tapping can be done before it feels excessive. An administrator from California School for the Deaf, Fremont commented on the need for exposure to appropriate techniques of the body, observing that some students at the schools we filmed were

> tapping each other too hard. They weren't getting each other's attention appropriately. Also, when someone wasn't looking, they just kept tapping and tapping and tapping. There are different ways to get the attention of a deaf person, not just tapping, but they just kept tapping each other.

When students use techniques of the body inappropriately, it can affect their relationship with their peers. As Sophie explains the thinking behind her correcting Jasper:

> This is part of his culture; I correct him so in the future he won't keep this habit, because when he becomes an adult, this strength could make the interlocutor angry. You need to correct them at an early age to show the proper way to do things. If you

don't, then these little details can end up becoming bad habits when they become adults.

In their 2005 study, Harris and Chasin noticed that parents who had deaf babies would elicit attention by either physical contact or moving their hands in the line of vision of their children; hearing parents with hearing children often used vocal attention strategies to get the attention of their child (p. 4). They also noticed a higher percentage of successful tapping responses in deaf babies or babies exposed to deaf parents than hearing babies of hearing parents (p. 4). This shows that tapping can be viewed as a cultural marker specific to the visual need of communication. Attention getting strategies can lead to a successful eye gaze, resulting in a successful conversation in American Sign Language. One teacher from INJS in France commented, "In a hearing class, where there are no deaf children, the children can turn their head away from the teacher, but they still hear the teacher. Deaf people can't do that. You always need to call their attention." She also remembered her Deaf mother telling her to always look at her when she is talking to her.

Many of the participants agreed that tapping as a strategy to achieve attention in order to share information is paramount in Deaf culture. Three participants from a deaf school that uses the oral method mentioned if a child does not respond to their name, then tapping or using physical touch to elicit attention were appropriate. One teacher said, "We do the same thing. If you want to talk to somebody and they don't respond to you, you have to think of some other way of getting their attention without smacking or screaming their name" (CID Interview).

Another strategy that participants discussed was the use of eye gaze to instruct

students where their eyes should be attending. One teacher said, "You just see where the teacher looks, or getting a student's attention and pointing to another student, using her eyes to tell the student where they should be looking. That is the spirit of deafness" (CSDF interview). After viewing all three videos, one teacher said, "in all three of them, you can tell they all instinctively follow Deaf culture. That's deaf. I mean, I just think what we talked about before, getting the students' attention, waving your hands to get the attention of the students" (Indiana Teacher Interview).

When we asked Nicole, one of the teachers at MSD, why it was important to be aware of attention getting strategies in both hearing and deaf worlds, she said that Bobbie, the hearing paraprofessional in the classroom, was the one to help the students to understand how to behave in the hearing world, but when it comes to deaf-related strategies, the responsibility was on her and Bonnie, the other Deaf teacher in the classroom:

> It's up to us to teach them things like how to bang on the table or wave in the air to get attention, and how to do these things appropriately. Instead of reaching across the table to bang on it and interrupting a conversation between two people, you can tap another person on the shoulder or make eye contact and wave to the person, and ask that person if they could tap the person you want to talk to on the shoulder to get them to look at you.

Indirect and Direct Instruction in Attention Getting Strategies

Do Deaf preschool educators explicitly teach Deaf bodily techniques of attention? Teachers interviewed at Indiana School for the Deaf said of their professional preparation: "No one

teaches you how to get all the students' attention and make sure that they're paying attention." Another teacher agreed: "It's just a teacher skill that you pick up, or maybe it's innate."

Although all of our informants agreed that tapping and waving hands to elicit attention are strategies that children need to learn, there was disagreement about some of the strategies captured in the videos. Many informants said that Sophie handled Jasper's hard tapping to get attention very well. But criticisms were made in some focus groups of how Sophie used a stuffed animal to gain a child's attention. In the French video we see Sophie, during morning opening, seated on a chair with the students sitting on the floor in front of her. At the beginning of the calendar activity, David is looking away from Sophie, conversing with another student. Sophie first stomps her feet to get his attention. When that does not work, she waves the stuffed animal to try to get David's attention. Finally, Sophie leans over, and uses the stuffed animal to tap David's shoulder. After gaining his attention, Sophie points and directs her eyes to Marisol, the girl leading the activity.

Sophie stamping her foot.

Sophie waving the stuffed animal.

Sophie tapping David.

Using her eyes and finger to direct attention.

One professor from Gallaudet said he did not like the idea of using the stuffed animal as a "weapon." Another teacher said "It seems disrespectful to me; that is disrespectful here. You would never see a teacher here, I mean you didn't see it at the school in Maryland." A teacher in Indiana thought it was funny that Sophie used the stuffed animal to get David's attention. Another teacher said: "Sophie has children in front of her and wants their attention, so she uses a teddy bear. She doesn't let the children move their head around. She makes them look at her. It's the need of visual contact."

Informants in several focus groups commented on what they saw as the overuse of tapping by the children in the video. One administrator from California School for the Deaf said: "They weren't getting each other's attention appropriately. When someone wasn't looking, they just kept tapping, tapping, and tapping. There are different ways to get the attention of a deaf person, not just tapping." Smith & Sutton-Spence (2005) also noticed this in their study, with the children tapping continuously in five different instances (p. 140).

How can appropriate attention-gaining skills for the establishment of joint attention be reinforced in the preschool classroom? Smith & Sutton-Spence (2005) encourages us to consider a Deaf classroom as "an important environment for deaf children's development of social and

linguistic skills" (p. 149). When deaf children are exposed to Deaf adult role models, they "have learned what is expected of them in terms of asking for and giving attention" (p. 149).

Joint Attention

Singleton & Crume (2013) describe strategies for establishing joint attention in young deaf children including "the use of visual attention-getting behaviors like waving at or tapping the child" (p. 8) and signing to children in their line of vision. DeLuzio & Girolametto (2006) define joint attention from a sociological perspective as "shared mental focus between the adult and the child, [which] is positively related to the language development in children with typical hearing abilities" (p. 214). Singleton & Crume (2013) suggest that this type of interaction is necessary to expand the process of socio-cognitive understanding (p.3). Joint attention is also viewed as a form of psychological and socio-emotional development, as well as process of self-awareness (Singleton & Crume, 2013; Nowakowski, Tasker, Schmidt, 2009; Dube, MacDonald, Mansfield, Holcomb, & Ahern, 2004).

Joint attention can be categorized as occurring on three levels. First, children need to fixate and maintain eye contact on an object to learn about it. This is basic *joint attention*. Once this is established, they can move on to *coordinated joint attention*, which is when two or more people share an object of focus. (Nowakowski, Tasker, Schmidt, 2009). Once this interaction is established, the next category is *symbol fused joint attention*, which allows the use of symbols in interactive dialogue (Nowakowski, Tasker, Schmidt, 2009). These categories help children become motivated, for this type of attention "is central to the normal development of object and spatial representations during social interactions, since it helps to determine objects in the world to fixate or manipulate, and to follow gaze and share attention" (Grossberg & Vladusich, 2010, p. 956).

While there have been several studies of eye gaze and joint attention of children with hearing loss (Lieberman, Hatrak & Mayberry, 2014; Tasker, Nowakowski, Schmidt, 2010; Guarinello, et. al 2006; Harris & Chasin, 2005; Papparella & Kasari, 2004; Jamieson, 1995), as DeLuzio & Girolametto (2006) point out, there is a "paucity of literature on the establishment of joint attention between preschool children and their educators with and without hearing loss" (p. 215). Studies of the development of joint attention conducted in Deaf school settings include those by Mather, 1987, DeLuzio & Girolametto, 2006, and Singleton & Crume, 2013.

"Deaf children with deaf parents have clear advantages over deaf children with hearing parents with regard to development of visual attention" (Lieberman, Hatrak & Mayberry, 2014, p.21). They can acquire academic and social information earlier. They may become more aware of their surroundings and acquire language earlier. In their study, Lieberman, Hatrak & Mayberry, (2014) found that when deaf children are exposed to joint attention strategies earlier, they do not show any language delays. The researchers encourage the idea of early exposure to joint attention, leading to stronger academic achievement and accelerated cognitive development in young children. This is crucial because "visual attention lies at the heart of successful communication for *all* deaf children and for the perception of sign, speech and affect: at this level there is a fundamental difference between the nature of successful communication with deaf and hearing infants" (Harris & Chasin, 2005, p. 2).

DeLuzio & Girolametto (2006) argue that an awareness of the importance of joint attention is critical for "educators with typical hearing [for they] may not have prior experience interacting with children with hearing loss and may not be aware of the types of strategies that can be used successfully to ensure joint attention" (p. 215). Mather (1987) found in her research that "in the native signer's class, students responded to questions better than in the second-

language signer's" (p. 14) and speculated that this "probably has to do, in part at least, with the ability to use eye gaze effectively and consistently as a regulator in a group activity" (p. 14-15).

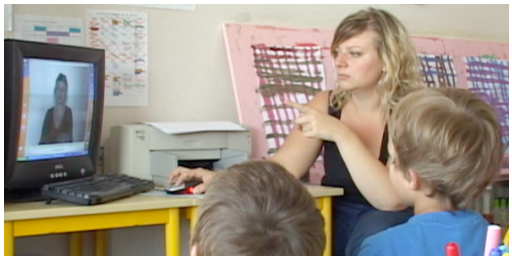
It is necessary for children to acquire the ability to participate in joint attention, for it allows children to initiate communication, showing interest in different items, and expressing their feelings or ideas through discourse (DeLuzio & Girolametto, 2006; Paparella & Kasari, 2004). In order for an interactive exchange of information, the interlocutor first must establish the receiver's attention using several strategies, such as visual engagement, gesticulation and linguistic prompts (Singleton & Crume, 2013; Nowakowski, Tasker, Schmidt, 2009; Jamieson, 1995). Through the establishment of such attention strategies, the interlocutor can then interact and guide the attention of the receiver to the purpose of this shared experience (Nowakowski, Tasker, Schmidt, 2009; Guarinello, Berberian, Santana, Massi, 2007; Jamieson, 1995). Once the attention has been established, then both parties can construct meaning of the shared experience, and internalize their conceptual knowledge based on social interaction.

When teachers establish coordinated joint attention, then they can effectively tell stories to their students. When students watch teachers sign the story, and look at the pictures, they are shifting their attention from the pictures in the story to the teacher signing the words to the story. The following images show Bonnie, Ikeda, and Sophie use gestural cues, such as pointing and eye gaze while telling stories to emphasize what the students need to be looking at.

Ikeda and her student look

Bonnie and her student look at book

at the book together.



Sophie and Henri both point at image.

together.

After Sophie looks at Henri, she checks on others.

While children and the teacher are participating in the lesson together, the teacher often will need to point at the speaker in order for children to internalize turn taking sequences and to pay attention to each other. The following images are the teachers from the study, using the teaching strategy of pointing at the students when they want to answer, in order for the other children to see the answer. An administrator from Indiana applauded this, saying these teachers were giving students skills or, I would say, techniques of the body:

> For some of the skills they were able to do, such as pointing to things and answering questions, they had the support and the advanced language, and the teachers did not lower the language. Instead they were trying to pull out more language from them. It was very natural.

In images 4m-4o, we see each teacher from each country using their finger to point at objects that they are discussing, in order to draw the participants attention to the respondent. In these instances, all three teachers asked a question, directed their eyes to the person that happened to answer the question and then pointed at the person answering the question, in order for the other participants to direct their eyes at that person to get the answer.

Three teachers using the pointing strategy.

An administrator from California School for the Deaf said that it was an important part of Deaf culture to ensure people are paying attention to each other, and sharing mutual joint attention at the speaker. “When she was reading a story and someone made a comment, she made sure the other students were looking and paying attention, because that’s an important part of Deaf culture, to be looking at the person who is talking.” In an interview, Jenny Singleton cautioned that while it may be important for students to look at each other, it is also important for the language to be congruent to the story. When children go off tangent, it can lead to confusion. She expressed concern that one of the teachers in our video teacher was

> just pointing at the words and saying, “What’s this? What’s this?” She’s labeling the picture. I’m not sure if she’s reading it to him. I don’t know if there’s actually a story there. I would be so concerned about “What’s this in what picture?” because that’s not really giving enough, but some story books should be that way, like picture books, to elicit language.

When teachers label the picture without explaining it, it can lead to confusion. Sometimes when there is a picture, and a lot of words, teachers use a strategy to describe the picture, as

Vanessa explains, to make it more vivid and pictorial. Sometimes, teachers like Sophie, "adapt the story to become more pictorial when there are a lot of pictures." The storyline would remain the same, however. Because sign language is a visual language, they are able to describe the pictures in vivid detail.

Singleton and Morgan suggest that teachers who are Deaf are able to introduce attention strategies they use in their own lives to their students (Singleton & Morgan, 2006). Corina & Singleton (2009) argue that deaf "teachers' cultural and linguistic practices that structure visual attention may even *enhance* a deaf child's executive functioning— or at the very least builds in resilience, or protection from the possible disadvantages of sound deprivation" (p. 957). When children engage in joint attention, they are going through "a fundamental cognitive process requiring perceptual, memory, categorization and information processing abilities" (Lieberman, Hatrak & Mayberry, 2014, p. 19). Explicit awareness of joint attention strategies in early childhood deaf education is crucial, especially in a "visual language community where children [can] learn to rely on complex eye gaze signals in order to gain access to linguistic input (signed language) and acquire the social interaction norms for visual language exchanges" (Singleton & Crume, 2013, p. 11).

In our focus groups many teachers and administrators commented on the importance of attending to others, and how teachers need to encourage this technique of the body for social interaction. As one administrator from California School for the Deaf in Fremont observed in the video of the American school: "They aren't watching each other. When one student is talking, all the other students are looking somewhere else and the teacher is just calling on them in order around the circle." Another administrator from the same school

mentioned that in Japan, during the tug of war scene, “The teacher made sure that the other students were watching the conversation. So they did get a lot of information from her, but she didn't have to interrupt the process to give that information.” A teacher from Indiana had a different opinion; saying that she felt the teacher wasn’t doing enough:

> I noticed that some of the students seemed to have a lot of language and some of the students didn't seem to have as much language. It was interesting to me that the teacher just sat back. I thought she should have been involved with those students and exposing them to more language, because the students weren't paying attention to what the other students were saying.

Nicole explained one of her strategies for encouraging internalization of attention would be to position her students in a way where Deaf of Deaf students would sit with students who are struggling with this bodily technique:

> During circle time, I try to make sure the kids sit together in their own places. For example, one day, Sarah was out, Grace was out, and Jeff was out, and it was hard, because I tend to have Jeff sit with other students that struggle because he helps a lot. He would tell the student to watch me, and pay attention.

Other teachers mentioned using this strategy, and saying that Deaf of Deaf students’ parents are classroom assets when it comes to demonstrating techniques of the body such as attention maintenance.

As we see in Vanessa’s lesson, young Henri is learning to attend to his teacher and the lesson. Vanessa helps her students, including Henri by pointing at the class, and then pointing

at the object she is referring to, allowing the students to have a reference while she is explaining the lesson. Henri is watching the teacher, but in his peripheral vision, he notices she is pointing at the bowl, and looks at the bowl, however, while he looks at the bowl, Vanessa continues to explain the lesson. Vanessa is aware of this, and repeats her sentence twice. This shows that Henri is still learning to balance his joint attention skills, and getting all the information presented to him. He is missing some of Vanessa's explanation while looking at the bowl, but quickly makes up for it by looking back at her in time. Vanessa is aware of the fact that young children are still learning to balance their attentional skills. When we interviewed Vanessa, she explained that while teaching she makes sure to "give short instructions and I repeat them several times. I repeat them for the child to take them in and be able to do the activity." As we learn from Vanessa, when the child misses the information the first time, if repeating the instructions, the child is able to see the object, look back at the teacher and get the rest of the instructions.

Vanessa pointing at the group.

Vanessa pointing at object while Henri watches.

Henri looks at object.

Henri looks back at Vanessa.

Henri responds to Vanessa.

When joint attention is introduced to deaf children using visual methods early, they can then adapt to this modality and begin to access "visual information available on the speaker's face, and possibly on signed communication to receive linguistic input" (DeLuzio & Girolametto, 2006, p. 221). Deaf educators can use their prior experiences to determine which strategies of joint attention will or will not be successful in their classroom. This is essential, for the "differences in visual attention that develop during a deaf person's childhood may impact aspects of social interaction" (Corina & Singleton, 2009, p. 954).

One administrator at Indiana School for the Deaf brought up how difficult joint attention strategies could be for young children. While watching Vanessa's crossword puzzle activity, he pointed out that while the students were standing at the board, and writing their names, they were looking at the board, and then up at the teacher. He said it would be better if:

> the teacher is on the student's eye level. Then it's more of a level playing field. They're not equal, but it's less threatening. It's more interactive when the teacher is the student's eye level. But when they're standing above them and scolding them, for example, when they were doing the puzzle and the students have to write in the letters and the teacher is standing up above them. So the students are looking at the puzzle, looking up at the teacher, looking at the puzzle, looking up at the teacher. It's very hard.

Gabrielle writes her name and then looks up at her teacher.

His colleague agreed with him, saying, “The students have to look up. The teachers should make eye contact so the students can pay attention. If the teacher is way above the students, they aren't going to look up. They're not going to pay attention.”

In order for children to establish a stronger strategy for joint attention, they first need to learn how to pay attention and maintain their attention. Learning to pay attention is one of the very first things children learn to do when they attend preschool. As Ikeda explains, “We have these basic rules, like don't hit the other person's head when you want their attention, but tap them on the shoulder. Or look at each other when you're talking, don't look away when somebody's talking to you.” Sophie agrees, saying that as teachers, “We need to pay attention to these rules. Now, I can correct the kids so I do as early as possible because I wish them to have

an appropriate attitude to live in society." If we show students the proper techniques of the body, it can provide a smoother foundation for integration in society, as Sophie explains:

> We need to correct them at an early age to show them the proper way to do things. If they don't know these little details, then they can end up with bad habits when they become adults. This can jeopardize the integration in society or give the impression that 'they are like monkeys.' Just because of they lack comprehension of the little things in their education back to childhood.

An administrator from Central Institute for the Deaf had similar views, saying "We work on that through social skills, pragmatics on how to communicate with each other and people have their personal space and how to get someone's attention. It is a skill that we work on." It is a skill that many deaf children struggle with, how to maintain their attention and use their eyes for visual information.

Attention Loss, Maintenance, and Restoration

One of the challenges of teaching deaf and hard of hearing children is maintaining attention and eye gaze right after initiation of attention. Children are naturally very curious, and constantly taking in visual cues. Teachers are constantly redirecting attention back at them, in order to complete a lesson or a story. Many of our participants commented on how teachers reestablish attention once they have lost it, and how it can be a difficult process. A teacher from Poitiers said

> I don't know if it's the same for hearing people, but teachers need to get children's attention all the time, the teachers need to give essential information when they have all

> the children's attention. We see children moving their head around when the teacher is not talking and go back to the teacher when needed.

Other teachers in other focus groups had similar concerns when it came to maintaining attention in order for students to receive essential information. When children are not looking, they lose the ability to have the information. A teacher from Atlanta Area School for the Deaf explained

> When I am signing and their level of understanding is getting only snippets, and it is to the point to where they can't understand what I am signing then I'm losing them, I don't have their attention then I show them what I'm trying do, I get their attention and hopefully they will look at me and catch a little of what the language I'm trying to give them.

A teacher from CSD Fremont said, "One of the subtle things of implicit teaching can be like getting a student's attention and pointing in the direction they should be attending to."

In their study of how Deaf teachers establish joint attention with their Deaf preschool students, Singleton & Crume (2013) found that the Deaf teacher used three different types of prompts, which they categorize as "linguistic, physical, and non-manual" (p. 17). Linguistic prompts can be defined as the use of language to gain attention, such as waving in their visual field, and then using a linguistic command ("Look at me!") or their name. Physical prompts use the body or touch to allow the other person to be aware of the initiation of contact, such as tapping the person on their shoulder, or pounding on the table to draw attention. Non-manual prompts are the use of the body to invite the participant in the conversation, such as a sudden jerk of the head, crossing of arms, tapping of a foot, or a smile. Deaf educators use these prompts to establish joint attention in the classroom for delivery of instruction. DeLuzio & Girolametto (2006) conducted a study of how the type of classroom activities impacts attention strategies.

They looked at four different types of attention initiation strategies teachers can use to engage children: tactile, visual movement, visual language, or waiting (p. 216). An example of tactile attention getting would be tapping the child, or banging on the table to elicit attention. Visual movement would be waving in the child's line of vision to reduce attention. Visual language can be the use of American Sign Language, to inform the child of a start in discourse. Educators can also position themselves in the conversational stance, and attempt to establish eye gaze while waiting for the child to engage in dialogue. This study found that Deaf educators used mostly tactile and visual strategies, and waiting was not very successful in the preschool context (DeLuzio & Girolametto, 2006).




Eye gaze towards teachers signifying attention.

In our focus group interviews many teachers emphasized the importance of eliciting and maintaining attention in young deaf children. For example, a teacher in a focus group we conducted in Paris commented on the importance of monitoring attention:

> From what I saw and know, deaf teachers give group instructions where they wait for

every child to look at them before starting. Then they adapt to each child if needed. It's often like that with deaf pedagogy; there are group instructions, but also individual work.

This comment is consistent with Mather's (1987) finding that deaf educators are more likely to wait to start a lesson until they have ascertained that every child is ready and knows where to place their attention. There is also a difference between deaf children with deaf parents and hard of hearing children who, as then Principal of the MSD elementary school, Mary Lynn Lally mentioned in her interview, have different needs and approaches in receiving and maintaining attention. Bonnie responded to Mary Lynn's statement by saying that she has different approaches with children from different backgrounds, and a teacher needs to know her students well in order to find a strategy that is effective for them.

There were also comments in focus groups about using bodily techniques to maintaining attention. For example, a teacher from Indiana commented, "some hearing teachers are just very expressive with their hands. They are very active and move around a lot. They stay active to get the kids' attention. But when teachers touch the kids to get their attention, then it's deaf."

Smith & Sutton-Spence (2005) conclude that understanding more "about the way that Deaf adults use and teach these strategies to children will help intervention programs for hearing parents and teachers who need to communicate with Deaf children" (p. 149). This implies the value of giving direct explanations and demonstrations of Deaf techniques of the body to young children. As Vanessa and Nicole explained in their interviews, deaf children live between the hearing and Deaf worlds. Nicole explained that Bobbie, the hearing paraprofessional in her classroom at MSD, serves as a hearing example of the hearing world, as Nicole explains:

We do things such as banging on the table or yelling across the room to get attention. Bobbie tends to handle all the noise related issues. She would help them understand that

> if you go out in the hearing world, such as a restaurant, would that be appropriate? She would help them be aware of their surroundings and how to use their voice better.

Ikeda said that it is important for her students to have role models who can demonstrate appropriate techniques of the body, so students can become confident in themselves after having an established Deaf identity, and then "with self confidence as a deaf person, and also out of that deaf confidence as a deaf person comes their confidence that they are equal peers with the hearing world." Sophie emphasized the value of role models and systematic instruction in deaf communication:

> I have a child who arrived last year aged 3. He didn't know any sign language. His family is hearing and his parents were just starting LSF. He couldn't focus his eyes while communicating, as he grew up in a hearing environment where hearing sounds is more important than looking at each other. He didn't have the habit that to communicate with deaf people you needed to look at each other and at the beginning it was really hard for him. The first important thing was to teach him how to use his eyes. He went to see a person specialized in that kind of re-education who taught him to look, look at the object you want to reach, follow a launched ball with your eyes, and so on. Once the re-education was over, he was back at school and step by step, looking at his school friends, LSF pictures, signing adults, he constructed himself alone and now he is in his second year and has the same signing level as the other kids his age. It is really fast.

More research is needed on how deaf children learn to incorporate strategies of maintaining attention and participating in joint attention in everyday life. As Lieberman, Hatrak & Mayberry (2014) write: "There is little understanding of how children adapt to the cognitive

requirement of continuously alternating their own visual attention to achieve joint attention with their interlocutors" (p. 22). It can be a complex process for deaf children to go through, learning how to communicate and attend to the people they are communicating with, while looking at words and pictures in a book or a mathematics problem on the whiteboard.

When children attend school for the first time, typically the first lesson before they can learn about anything else is how to attend to their teachers and other peers. These students are exposed to a visual environment that needs the skills of attention. Teachers can help students internalize the process of attention by modeling the process of initiating attention through tapping on the shoulders, and maintaining attention. When teachers become role models in attention, the students are able to easily repliciate the process and learn to internalize the tools for attention.

CHAPTER V

FACIAL EXPRESSIONS

It is time for a story at Meisei Gakuen School for the Deaf. Akiko Ikeda, seated in front of her students, starts telling a story about a donkey making backpacks for his friends. The plot of the story is straightforward: When the donkey gives his friends their new backpacks, his friends thank him profusely, and make plans to take their lunches in their new backpacks. They invite Donkey along, and this is when he realizes he had forgotten to make a backpack for himself. He goes back home, and works all night making a backpack for himself. At the end, they all enjoy their new backpacks.

> Ikeda: Is everybody ready? We're not going to start until Miyako has arrived. Put your books away. We're going to start story telling. What is the book today? What? It's a story about a donkey. Is this the same book as yesterday? Is it?
>
> Children: watching Ikeda
>
> Ikeda: "'What shall we do? Everybody may want one so I am going to make a backpack for everybody.' The donkey starts making backpacks." Mr. Donkey made backpacks for everybody! Is that amazing? This one for Mr. Bear, and that one is for Mr. Fox.
>
> Chiyo: Give it.
>
> Riu: Beautiful! Very beautiful!
>
> Ikeda: "'I am done! Pretty backpacks, everybody is going to be happy!' Mr. Donkey is satisfied to see that everybody is happy. 'Thanks for the pretty backpack! Hey, let's put lunchboxes in the backpack and go on the field trip tomorrow. Yes, let's go, lets go!'"

Well, why does Mr. Donkey have this face? “They made plans to go on the field trip, but Mr. Donkey totally forget to make his own backpack!”

Riu: Is he OK?

Hiroki: Is he OK?

Ikeda: “Mr. Donkey went home.” “Donkey-san kept working until the morning.” He didn’t sleep.

Riu: Wow.

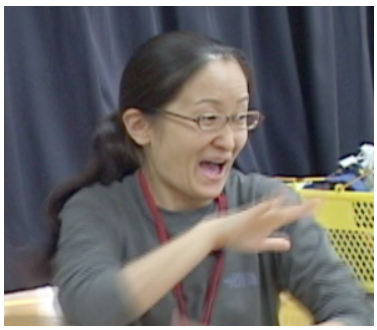
During this story, Ikeda uses a variety of linguistic and emotive facial expressions to tell the story. She shows happiness with her face, body, and a JSL sign while Donkey’s friends thank him for the wonderful backpacks, and she shows a serious working facial expression while Donkey is making his backpacks. She also raises her eyebrows to indicate when she is asking students questions.

The following pictures presents two images of typical linguistic expressions, and two images of typical emotive facial expressions. I end with the cultural facial expressions, along with a student imitating the same cultural facial expression. This facial expression is what Ikeda calls a “snake tongue.”

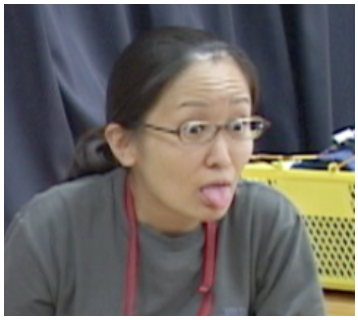
Facial Expression “Why?”

Facial Expression “seriousness of topic.”

Sad Facial Expression



Happy Facial Expression



Sticking out tongue to show the word “amazing.”

Akira imitates Ikeda here.

When interviewing Ikeda, she said, “That's a habit I have. Sticking out my tongue. It was worse when I was in college. People even called me “snake girl.” I'm aware that I do it. It's gotten better recently.” When Joe asked if it was a Deaf culture thing, Ikeda responded, “Hmm, I wonder. There are other deaf people who do it, too, not just me. Is it deaf culture? Or is it a kind of sign language grammar thing?” In this chapter I attempt to answer these and related questions about the role of the face in sign language communication and how these facial modes of Deaf communication are taught and learned in Deaf preschools.

Young hearing children with hearing parents and young deaf children with Deaf parents acquire the foundations of embodied communication at home. But for deaf children with hearing

parents, which accounts for the great majority of deaf children, the acquisition of Deaf modes of communication takes place mostly outside the home. For those deaf children who are enrolled in Deaf signing preschools, this learning takes place mostly at school (Scheetz, 2004; Marschark, 1993). But most Deaf preschool teachers have been given little preparation in how they can most effectively scaffold the development of embodied aspects of deaf children's education. And there has been little research on this topic.

When young children communicate with their teachers and peers at preschool, they are participating in discourses different than their discourses at home, especially if their parents are immigrants (Adair, Tobin, & Arzubiaga, 2012) or if the parents are hearing and the child is deaf, or vice versa (Brahim & Sumantri, 2010; Gay, 2002; Erting & Pfau, 1997). As Bobzien et al. (2013) write, it is "critical at an early age to provide opportunities to learn effective social communication skills from peer or adult models" (p. 340). One of the most implicit forms of social communication skills is children's use of facial expressions. Facial expressions are a "rich source of social signals" (Gu, Mai, Luo, 2013, p. 1) in academic exchanges, narratives, and social interaction. Since one of the main ways children communicate with each other is through the use of facial expressions, it becomes important to understand what these facial expressions are used for. Corina, Bellugi & Reilly (1999) lists several functions of facial expressions, for the purpose of "alerting, threatening, greeting, displaying affection, playing, and so forth" (p. 309). In American Sign Language (ASL), facial expressions also carry linguistic meaning. The linguistic aspects for facial expressions are linked to syntactic components, such as eyebrows rising for yes, no, or "wh" questions. It can also be used for adverbs, to give emphasis to a signed word (Corina, Bellugi, & Reilly, 1999). There is a large body of research on the use of facial expressions in linguistic input, especially among the Deaf (Letourenau & Mitchell, 2011;

Singleton & Corina, 2009; Penn, Commerford, & Ogilvy 2007; McCullough, Emmorey, & Sereno, 2005; Corina, Bellugi, & Reilly, 1999).

In visual linguistics, the use of facial expressions has been categorized in two categories: for showing emotion, and as a grammatical feature (Singleton & Corina, 2009; McCullough, Emmorey, Sereno, 2005; Corina, Bellugi, & Reilly, 1999). Although hearing people do not often use facial expressions as a linguistic grammatical feature, they do use facial expressions coupled with tone of voice to add emotional nuance to their utterances (Letourneau & Mitchell, 2011; Singleton & Corina, 2009). Deaf people, who cannot depend on tone of voice to communicate emotional nuance, use facial expressions in place of voice tone. As a result, Deaf people develop "unique processing mechanisms that maximize their ability to gather information from expressive faces" (Letourneau & Mitchell, 2011, p. 563). Due to the lack of sound, deaf people need to pay close attention to the emotional aspects of facial expressions. This allows them to recognize and act upon these emotions, leading to better social interaction skills (Hosie, Gray, Russell, Scott, & Hunter, 1998).

Although facial expressions have been extensively researched as linguistic markers in deaf communication, there is much less research on the use and development in deaf children of facial expression as a social communication skill. Williams (1999) conducted a study on preschool children using sign language while participating in writing activities. She found that "facial expressions were a significant part of these children's face to face communication" (p. 193-194). She also observed that "the children use facial expressions and gesture without signs to communicate" (p. 194). An example she provides is children expressing a need for help by raising their eyebrows and using their eyes to indicate what they need help with. She also found that the children in her study used facial expressions to "demonstrate personal pleasure and

satisfaction with their drawn and written accomplishments" (p. 204), and they also used their facial expressions to demonstrate "the evaluation nature of their signed comments. Sometimes the children used facial expressions or gestures without signs to signal approval or disapproval of a classmate's work" (p. 205). She concludes by saying that further research must take in the consideration of facial expressions as promoting writing development in young deaf children. She encourages more research on how we can "incorporate facial expression and body gesture in early writing development" (p. 209). She cautions against missing "much of the meaning potential of these performances unless we attend to nonverbal expression" (p. 209).

Hosie, Gray, Russell, Scott & Hunter (1998) stress the importance of appreciating how the "appropriation of certain facial expressions as linguistic markers may refine and enhance deaf children's expressive knowledge and control, [however], the appropriation of some expressions for linguistic purposes may diminish their import as indicators of read emotion" (p. 295). This is why it is important for young deaf children to have opportunities to interact with a native sign language user, (Singleton & Morgan, 2006). Native signers, who have extensive experience living in Deaf culture, are indispensable for helping deaf children learn to employ and to read both emotive facial expressions and linguistic facial markers.

While we asked our participants about what being "Deaf" feels like to them, many of our participants brought up Ikeda's storytelling style, saying that it felt authentically Deaf. It is noteworthy that deaf educators in the U.S. had no trouble recognizing characteristically Deaf modes of communicating in a teacher speaking a sign language (JSL) different from their own. A teacher from the Atlanta Area School for the Deaf said, "When the Japanese teacher was signing the book, I liked what she was saying, showing the book, she was showing her facial expressions, the body movement and the physical involvement the teacher had while she was

telling the story." A teacher from the Central Institute for the Deaf said: "When she was reading a story out loud she was modeling how you read and how you are thinking. Her facial expressions were showing the emotions of the characters." The same teacher also said she felt that Ikeda was "modeling those kinds of behaviors." Peter Hauser, a professor from Rochester Institute of Technology and expert on Deaf linguistics, commented after watching Ikeda's storytelling, that "the eye contact was there, signing, the facial expression, the way she used the book to tell the story for referencing, pointing; all of that was the very first thing that stood out for me."

Penn, Commerford & Ogilvy (2007) argued in their study that "Facial processes in sign discourse seem to be an exquisitely complex and attuned process" (p. 387). Through their research, they concluded that sign discourse not only includes the signs itself, but also "non-language aspects, (such as facial recognition and visuospatial skills), grammatical aspects, and extragrammatical aspects, (including evaluators, intensifiers and the use of multichannel signs) which emerge in discourse" (p. 387). With this information, it becomes apparent of the need of visual role models in the teaching of not only sign language, but also other linguistic and cultural additions to sign language, such as facial expressions.

Deaf teachers are visual role models who can be examples of "not only the teaching of the information, but being a model for the acquisition of language" (Shantie & Hoffmeister, 2000, p. 40). The acquisition of the language not only includes the vocabulary words, but how we present ourselves in that language. As one Administrator at The Learning Center said

> As a deaf person, I look at things like facial expression, how one signs, and the way they move their body. That's how I identify that person's identity. I knew the teacher is deaf in

Maryland, but she moved stiffly and was almost robotic. In France the teacher was interacting with ease and comfort. As a deaf person, I relate to her.

I suggest that we should view facial expressions in Deaf signed communication, as not just as linguistic and emotive, but also as deeply cultural, and as ways of signaling membership in Deaf culture. For example, the scrunch, to signify "go ahead" or "I'm following what you're explaining" is a very Deaf use of the face, but not exactly either a way of showing emotion or adding nuance to a sign. The scrunch can be nuanced to the point that it can only be discernable to the native linguistic user. Another example of a cultural facial expression that is typical to ASL is the PUFF, which can linguistically mean "a great deal or a large amount" (McCollough, Emmorey, & Sereno, 2005 p. 196), but culturally, with a shrug of the shoulder, can mean, "I don't know or I don't care."

Sophie points at her mouth as she demonstrates the puff.

Progression of her scrunch. Notice Emily raises her cheekbones and nose in a scrunch of comprehension.

Emily responds

After she does the scrunch that shows her comprehension of what is being said, she then initiates her response by moving her hand in the space to signify she has a response to make.

In Chapter One, I explained briefly about Emily's scrunch, and how Juliana Bahan noticed this scrunch, even though the Deaf researchers hadn't noticed it. We asked our research participants about this scrunch, and they had a variety of opinions regarding this scrunch. Bonnie, the teacher from MSD, said that there were no words to describe the "scrunch," but acknowledged it was visible. A teacher at CELEM, a school in Paris, commented, "Children all have the same way of moving the nose and the eyes. They also play with the Sign Language, it's

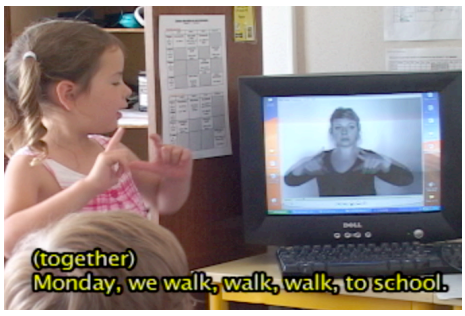
subtle.” What is this “subtle” commonality that this teacher was able to identify in the deaf children in all three videos? She was referring not just or primarily to their signing, but to their use of facial expressions. This comment suggests that there are aspects of facial communication and more generally of Deaf bodily habitus that are shared across nations and sign languages.

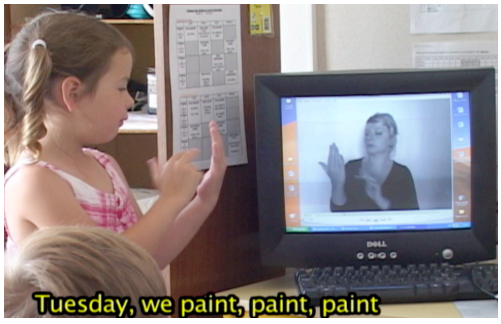
When we pointed out the scrunch example during an interview at the Insititut National Jeunes Sourds (INJS) in Paris, France, one deaf person described the scrunch as “made to show the interest in conversation. Just like for hearing people, they don't keep a fixed face without expressing anything, they nod, they mutter, and here, it's the same meaning, but for deaf people.” One deaf teacher in Toulouse said that it was not appropriate to use the scrunch in schools, because he regarded it as “slang.” Several others in this focus group disagreed with him, as we see in the transcript below

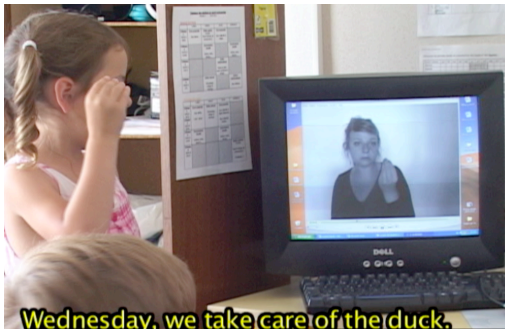
> Julien: If the child says “Yes” through the “scrunch,” we will say that it needs to be signed properly with the hand, not with the “scrunch.”
>
> Jérôme: For example if he says “Okay, I know, I know, I know, I get it, okay” you would say, “You just need to say, “I know.” You don't need to exaggerate.”
>
> Julien: Wait, wait, and imagine, someone does the “scrunch” on you, how would you react?
>
> Jérôme: It depends on the context, the situation. It's something innate.
>
> Julien: I understand if it is the environment, or the family making us assimilate things. But at school for deaf children with hearing parents, they don't know that they didn't assimilate it. It's the outside environment that is going to pass it down.
>
> Valente: I want to be clear, are you saying that you don't teach it or you do teach it?

Catherine: No, no we don't teach it. I'm going to sidetrack a little bit but you're right, the "scrunch" is natural and linked to Deaf culture, not to the learning of sign language. I have three deaf children of my own and I will never forget when the first is born he was grabbing my face and pulling it in front of his for me to look at him and that's something I never showed him or anyone else, it's deaf culture to be willing to have your interlocutor's face in front of yours. My second child did the same and I had to tell them both that it wasn't the proper way of calling someone; they should tap the shoulder. That was like basics for them. They did it very young without anyone showing them and my third child did it, too. It's deaf culture just like the "scrunch." It's natural and innate.

Sophie, one of the teachers in Toulouse, taught about the importance of using facial expressions while signing in a lesson in which she used a video of a poem conducted in French Sign Language (LSF) plays. Before the school day began Sophie made this video of herself signing a poem. She then sat down with students, in groups of three or four, and had them watch the video and then watch it again, signing along with it. We see Nathalie sign the poem along with the computer.







Sophie: Ready?

Video: Monday, we walk, walk, walk to school. Tuesday, we paint, paint, paint. Wednesday, we take care of the duck. Thursday, we play, play, play with dolls. Friday, we ride, ride, ride, the horse. Saturday, we wash, wash, wash, the car. Sunday, we rest!

Sophie: Look here, wash.. wash.. With your mouth, like this.. And then, rest. What's this? Why did we blow air here, like this?

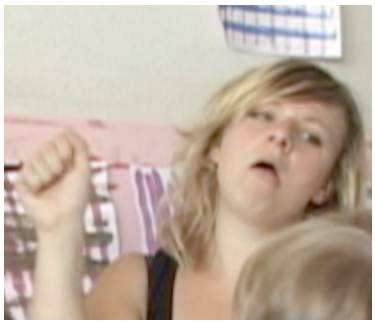
Henri: Really tired.

Sophie: Yes, it means really tired. Why do we do the last sign like this? What's the meaning?

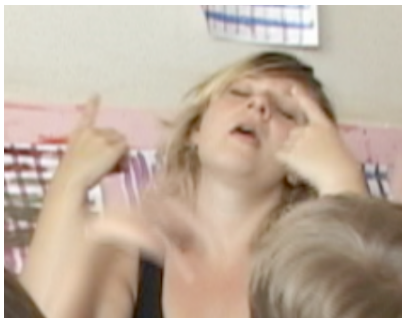
Henri: Rest.

Sophie: Yes, it means rest, or to sleep.

Intensity Facial Expression to show work.



Getting tired of the work.



Getting ready to rest.

Showing rest gesture.

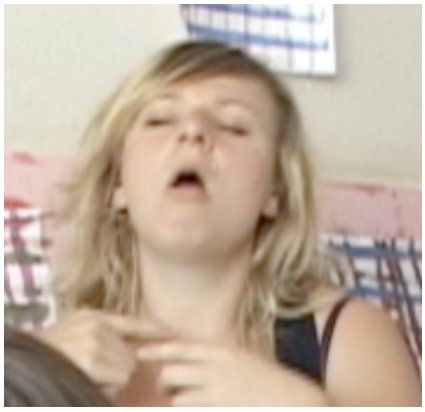
Sophie emphasized to the children that they should use their faces to communicate the feelings of the words in the poem, freezing the video on her face at various points in the poem and asking the students to imitate her expressions. Sophie shakes her head "no" when Gus over-exaggerates his face, puffing his cheeks out too much. She reminds him to look at her face, and shows him again how to do the tired look. At the end of the lesson, she says that it is very important for the children to have exact facial expressions to go with the signs they are using, in order to communicate with each other effectively.

Pointing out the facial expression of rest gesture.

Here, Henri shows understanding of the work facial expression. He signs, “hard.”

Sophie says to look out for the mouth movement.

Not too much puffing out, Sophie says, this is incorrect.



Instead, you would show a

tired expression.

with your lips jutting out, and

breathe air as you were giving a sigh.

Sophie here reminds her students always consider your facial expressions to be exact.

When we asked Sophie about her reasons for doing this video-based lesson, she responded that it makes it easier for her to monitor her students' understanding of the poem, and to point out specific examples she felt important for her students to know.

> I just thought, in that scene I question the kids about the facial expressions and I correct them, do you remember? This is something typically deaf. You need to say "tired" with a tired facial expression, you cannot say it while smiling. Most of the time the children disconnect their signs from their facial expressions, they do not completely have the knowledge of the inseparable link between both. There, I ask them, "Why do I blow out like that?" I don't know, but I imagine that a person who masters LSF completely but nothing more, a hearing person for instance, will not think of questioning the children about this facial expression. The person will think that the children are already aware of the fact that blowing out that way is linked to the "tired" sign. But children don't have this awareness and sign while smiling. They need to be taught that facial expressions give a specific meaning. At this point, children will do the sign again with appropriate facial expression and will understand better. These are little details we need to emphasize.

Sophie's lesson and her comment on the lesson make a strong case for the value of giving deaf children explicit instruction in facial expressions to be able to understand emotion properly. Many participants in our focus groups made positive comments on Sophie's lesson. For example, a teacher in Poitiers, France commented: "The teacher here dissects the language. She goes deeper in the details of what she's doing with facial expressions, hand-shapes, space, movement, everything. Grammar. In short, all the parameters of the language." While this can be classified as a language lesson, I would argue that it is also a language in Deaf bodily habitus.

We asked if Sophie if her being Deaf influenced how she taught this lesson she replied:

> I cannot know if I do it as Sophie, or as a deaf person. How can we know? We would have to have several deaf persons doing the same educational activity with the computer, to spot the differences among them. Then, we will be able to see what is idiosyncratic to the person, and the things they all do the same we can say are deaf."

If, as Sophie's comment suggests, much of the way Deaf people communicate, including the use of facial expressions, is implicit rather than explicit, how can Deaf teachers pass these skills on to their students. Is it pedagogically useful to explicitly present, as Sophie does in her poem lesson, embodied Deaf cultural practices to young preschool children? While many educators in our focus groups acknowledged the importance of facial expressions, there was not much discussion on how to approach teaching facial expressions explicitly. One administrator at CSD-Fremont said:

> We need to develop language and watching facial expressions and changing and just practicing and signing back and forth with each other. When people talk, they can hear themselves talk, but it's really hard for me to assess my own signing, because I can't see myself sign. So we expect our students here to do that. It's very social, and building social skills and social language.

Another participant agreed, adding a critique of one the teachers in the US video:

> She seems to not have much expression or affect. I thought, "Wow, if I were a kid, I would be afraid of that teacher." In Deaf culture, facial expressions are critical. So what are the kids picking up really? She's one of their first language models.

Since learning facial expressions is of critical importance for deaf children, then do educators take the time to teach these expressions explicitly? When we asked our informants if they ever explicitly teach facial expressions, many said that they tried to support children's acquisition of

appropriate facial expressions, but they were uncertain about the value of teaching this skill explicitly or didactically. As a teacher in Indiana commented: “We don't really separate things like pointing out specifically like, your facial expression should look like this when you make that sign. Or, you know, just really the students just copy the signs and they get it close enough.” Another Indiana teacher added:

> It depends on the teacher, their experience, and their skill level. Some teachers are more comfortable talking about it and really expanding on ASL as a language, and others are not. I feel like I'm not really as qualified to expand too much on the ASL as maybe some others.

When we asked the educator in Indiana who would be qualified to expand on the ASL, she responded

> I think as a hearing person, I'm really not comfortable discussing ASL very deeply. I think that should be up to a Deaf person to do, like in an ASL class. You know, I can sign in class and have discussions, but you know, for the deep discussions, I prefer that to happen in ASL class. That's what I think. I just think because I'm hearing, it should be a deaf person who does that. And it's a challenge. For some other teachers, they may say, oh, it's no big deal, but really it's a challenge to reach a common ground on what's okay.

While we interviewed the main teachers in the study, they acknowledged the importance of facial expressions, with Bonnie saying “When I’m doing read alouds, I make sure to show my facial expressions because it helps conceptualize the story. That is both taught by me and learned spontaneously with the kids. There’s no black and white, only gray areas.” What are the gray areas she means? Are these the implicit teaching that needs to become explicit? Ikeda mentions her observation of Hiroki,

> I think Hiroki is good at explanations. He doesn't have many deaf-style ways of using sign language. Ah, excuse me. He knows a lot of vocabulary in sign language, but there is such a thing as very deaf-style expressions in sign language. I can't translate it into Japanese, it's hard, but there are deaf expressions that deaf people often use, and Hiroki doesn't know many of those. He knows a lot of words that are easy to conceptualize in Japanese, and he uses those to explain things, but Riu can readily use deaf-style sign language that is suitable for the situation. That's why her sentences are so short.

While Ikeda praises Hiroki's ability to communicate with his peers, she makes a distinction between his manner of expression and a Deaf way to communicate. He knows a lot of vocabulary, but he does not know how to express himself. Riu can use facial expressions and body language, shortening her word choice, but still expressing herself effectively.

When we asked our informants in focus groups about this difference between the deaf way to communicate versus people who are new to sign language. One teacher from CELEM said it was easier to teach

> children who have a good level of Sign Language comprehension and when their language is already developed because they have deaf parents or signing hearing parents. But here children arrive with no language, no facial expressions, no understanding of finger pointing, which means that we have a lot to do here.

This same concern were shared by many of our focus group participants, as one teacher from AASD explained to us, "Our kids when they start here are three, and they have been at home without language, they come in with no language, no language skills at all, and they are like 'nothing'." A teacher from Phoenix Day School for the Deaf said there were many children on the video who had language, but she wondered what is being done for children who had no

language. Another teacher from the Learning Center explained "We rarely get a group of typically developing kids with no language delays. We focus on language use; with typically developing kids, you can joke and they understand. You can't joke if they don't understand. It's such a different experience." Facial expressions are an important component of the joking process, and when children cannot distinguish the difference between the different visual emotions, it can lead to confusion.

The conversation continued with two teachers in the focus groups reflecting on their classrooms

> Teacher 4: Well…some of the kids in my class were talking and watching each other…This morning they were responding to what one another were saying. One girl was talking about flying somewhere, and another child said she hadn't been on an airplane yet. They are able to talk like the kids in the video. I think it depends on the kids and the group, and even the situation itself. It varies.
>
> Teacher 1: Are they joking, and understanding it?
>
> Teacher 4: I think it depends on the group here, and how they can learn from each other.
>
> Teacher 1: I'm not saying they can't learn. I'm just wondering if they know what the language means. Some arrive without any language. Your approach will be different than if it's a typically developing child verses a child with language. That's my point.

As the first teacher explains, when children knows what the language means, in this case, which facial expressions can signify which point, then they can clearly watch and communicate with each other. Teachers have different ways to approach children with linguistic knowledge than they would approach a child without any linguistic knowledge.

The following is a conversation between two teachers from INJS in Paris, with Joe Valente. As both teachers struggle to explain if facial expressions are an example of a cultural phenomenon, or if it's a linguistic tool:

> Teacher 1: Everything is linked to the facial expressions, in Sign Language there are 5 parameters that comes into play and facial expressions are one of them, it's a language element. You can do it with your face only or combine it with your hands.
>
> Joe Valente: Is that deaf culture?
>
> Teacher 1: For me it's language.
>
> Teacher 2: For me it's deaf culture. When you have facial expressions and body movements, everything is included in culture.
>
> Teacher 11: Can't we say that at the root, culture is when a community shares a certain amount of things together, so language is inevitably part of the structure. We can't say that language is culture, but it's an integral part of culture and so inevitably, even just when a deaf person teaches with sign language, the person pass on a little bit of culture. But we can't say deaf culture is just that, it's a part of it, and we can find thousands of examples but we can never say exactly "this is deaf culture" or "that is not", it's part of it.
>
> Teacher 4: Actually, in culture there are many things, we agree that language is part of it but there can also be deaf habits like when people say that deaf people eat cold because they talk too much, these are everyday life situations, "deaf people are chatterboxes." So we have habits, but there is also what I call "tics," like the nose crunch to say yes or to say that we follow what someone's saying. But I don't feel capable of pointing out other examples, I know they're there but I won't be able to explain them. Yes, there is language but there are other things, these everyday life things, or typically deaf things.

This conversation between two teachers at INJS show us that they cannot explain what habits they have, even though they are aware of it. If they are aware of it, are they passing on these examples to their students implicitly? How can we explicitly show facial expressions and model these expressions to our students explicitly, in order to show the reasoning behind these facial expressions? Sophie's lesson may have the answer to this question.

When Sophie was modeling facial expressions, she used eye gaze and referential pointing at the computer to implicitly communicate to students the emphasis of the lesson. Once children have established referential pointing and eye gaze, they develop their cognitive functioning skills (Singleton & Crume, 2013). They also become motivated to learn about their environment and start "normal development of object and spatial representations during social interactions, since it helps to determine objects in the world to fixate or manipulate, and to follow gaze and share attention" (Grossberg & Vladusich, 2010, p. 956). This can lead to more awareness of their deaf bodily practices, which Miller & Goodnow (1995) describes as "language and cultural behaviors that are repeated and packaged with values and are part of a group identity" (p.6).

While Vanessa watched Sophie's lesson, she had a discussion with Joe Tobin:

Vanessa: Some of the children are not…don't really yet understand how important facial expression is for LSF. There are some that don't sign with facial expressions and you have to make sure that they understand that they need to be there.

Joe Tobin: And so is it common for you teachers to explicitly encourage the children to use their faces in particular ways to complement the signing? Or is this kind of unusual, that it is such an explicit lesson?

Vanessa: Well, it's very explicit here. It's clear, what we're doing, but most of the time we're just communicating naturally and not pointing things out. But this one is really a

particular expression of a facial expression that goes with this sign. She's asking the children: "Have you understood it?" "What does it mean?"

Joe Tobin: Yeah. And if you are tired, you should look tired, or you lose the meaning. It has no meaning if you look energetic while you are talking about being tired.

Vanessa: Right. You can't have happy and tired at the same time on your face.

Joe Tobin: Did the way I talk about that idea make sense on Saturday? In terms of acquiring a bodily dimension of sign that's just as important as the sign itself.

Vanessa: Yes, right.

What Vanessa was explaining here is it is important not only to learn sign language, but also to learn how to use sign language appropriately. Sign language is not only using the hands. It is using the face, body, and the space.

When children learn to combine facial expressions with their signed language, they are learning one of the fundamental rules of signed communication. Children can learn emotive and linguistic facial expressions through modeled teaching from native signers. When facial expressions are explicitly explained during teachable moments, children can acquire these expressions and use them quicker, due to understanding their purpose, and when to use these facial expressions.

CHAPTER VI

DEAF BODIES, SPACES, AND CONVERSATIONAL NORMS

Baynton (2008) encourages us to think about the importance of bodies, because "they shape how we experience, understand, and interact with the world, and because they affect how others view us" (p. 296). Historically, there has been a negative association with the deaf body, mainly from the medical perspective (Baynton, 2008; Rosen, 2003; Lane, Hoffmeister, Bahan, 1996). A lot has been written on the abilities and non-abilities of Deaf people (Baynton, 2008; Ladd, 2003; Rosen, 2003). In this chapter I do not discuss the abilities of the Deaf body, instead, my focus is on the *use* of the Deaf body. When Deaf people learn how to use their body to the best of their ability, it becomes a "special habit" (Mauss, 1934, p. 71). As "people of the eye" (Lane, Pillard, Hedberg, 2010; Baynton, 2008), the Deaf have distinctive bodily habits (Mauss, 1934; Bourdieu, 2000).

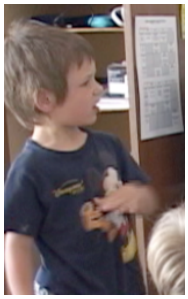
For example, in the video we made in Toulouse, France, in the scene discussed in the last chapter, where the teacher, Sophie, has the students recite a poem she recorded earlier on the computer, Henri volunteers to mimic the poem. Sophie calls on him, and he stands up and walks over next to the computer. Sophie motions for him to move back a little bit, so everyone can see. When she notices that Zoe still cannot see, she motions for Zoe to move to another seat, the one previously used by Henri. Henri protests, saying, "That's my place!" Sophie then responds "She can't see you from over there." Sophie says this in a matter-of-fact way.

Move over a little

(points to Zoe)

Sophie: Come here….

Henri: Hey!



Henri: That's my place!

Sophie: She can't see…

When we asked Sophie about the this interaction, she said,

> I know what would be my needs in such situation. I always bend forward and ask people to move over for me to see. It is automatic. If I don't see, I need to make the person bothering me move, and I do the same for the children.

As deaf people, we adjust our locations and sometimes the locations of others to make sure communication stays visible. Most of the time, these bodily movements are done without conscious thought, as Sophie explains:

> When I teach kids, I don't have the concepts in my head saying “This is that, here it's this.” It is more like the typical deaf needs that include both points. When I teach, I don't say to myself ‘Now I'm teaching this specific deaf need’. It is more of my knowledge I need to give that is influenced by my deaf culture.

As Sophie tells us, when asking her student to move she is not explicitly thinking about what she is doing. She is more conscious about the lesson she is teaching. She does not realize she is also teaching another lesson implicitly, showing a student how to advocate for herself, and insist on positioning that allows for visual communication. These students are constructing their knowledge through life experiences, as well as learning academic content.

Teachers in our focus groups commented on Sophie’s action as typical. For example, a teacher at INJS stressed the importance of being aware of our “positioning when we are in front of an interlocutor to be sure we’ll be understood.” A teacher at CELEM noticed that the deaf children in all three videos “moved their whole bodies. They weren’t frozen, they were lively, and they had the ability to express themselves with their body.” She also commented that the children learned how to use their bodies in situations where their vision is obstructed, saying, “moving their body allows them to see everything.” Another CELEM teacher commented:

> When a child wants to speak, he needs to stand up and go in front of everyone for them to see him properly. That’s Deaf culture. Hearing people can stay in line, talk at the end of the line, and the ones in front will hear it anyway.

Deaf children adjust themselves differently in their environment so they can access the information they need. The example the CELEM teacher used shows that she is aware the deaf child needs to walk up to the front of the classroom, turn his body towards the entire class so they can see his facial expressions, his hands, and his body in order to comprehend him.

Deaf Bodies

Singleton & Morgan (2006) encourage deaf preschool children to be exposed to "ASL proficient deaf teachers [who can] capitalize on ASL's rich grammatical and narrative structures such as role play, classifiers, and facial expressions to engage [them]" (p. 364). I would add to this list the value of teachers explaining and demonstrating Deaf body language, so deaf preschool children can learn to embody Deaf bodily strategies, such as establishing a visual stance during conversation, ensuring the distance between the two people is close enough to be visual communicators, but not too close where they cannot see the signing space, and responding to light signals through turning the head towards the light switch.

When teachers lack a full understanding of Deaf techniques of the body, it is harder for them to engage deaf children in rich communication. As Ikeda says

> When I scold the children, I scold them according to Deaf culture. But that's not possible for their hearing parents. So there is that difference. Even if hearing parents try hard and they understand our objective, it's different from really being scolded by somebody who really knows, who has Deaf culture herself. It also influences the method, the way in which we communicate.

Many teachers in the focus groups agreed with Ikeda, saying that it is important to have a teacher who "really knows." One teacher commented that with children who can hear, "hearing teachers use their vocal intonations, whereas we have to use our body more so to show the inflections and so forth, the body movements to show that, the facial movements, and the positioning in space." One educator from France mentioned that

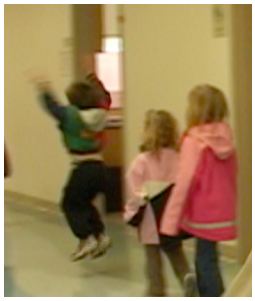
> A hearing teacher who teaches hearing children, he would be sitting at his desk and reciting the lesson, while a deaf teacher can't do that. We need visual movements to

> attract the eye. If we were sitting on our chair and signing without moving we would not attract the children and they would not follow the lesson.

Deaf people can notice when something seems off, as one deaf administrator at the Learning Center in Massachusetts, mentioned:

> I look at things like facial expressions, how one signs, and the way they move their body. That's how I identify that person's identity. I knew the teacher is deaf in Maryland, but she moved stiffly, almost robotically. In France, the teacher was interacting with ease and comfort. As a deaf person, I relate to her.

When deaf educators use their body in everyday conversation with their students, their students are constantly watching and learning, picking up social cues. During one scene in the US video, Bonnie is scolding Max about jumping while he was standing in line. Max is a very energetic boy, who has a hard time controlling his body. After sending Max to the back of the line, and reminding him to walk properly, Max starts to jump again. Bonnie stops Max, and squats down to his eye level. She looks at him in the eyes and says:



Max Jumping

Bonnie points to the end of line.

Bonnie taps Max.

Bonnie: It's wrong.

Bonnie: Get back here.

Bonnie: Right?

Bonnie: Walk…

Bonnie: Understand?

Max walks.

Bonnie: It's wrong to jump up and down like that! If you do that again, I'll take away your green card.

Max: No….

Bonnie: Do you want that to happen?

Max: No….

Bonnie: Get back here. I'm not finished talking. You want to remain green, right?

Max: Yes.

Bonnie: Walk, in a single file line. Do not jump. Got it?

Max: Yes.

This scene elicited a lot of response from our focus groups in all three countries; some deaf educators expressed concern that this approach was too strict. For example, one administrator from Phoenix Day School for the Deaf said: "When she scolded that kid jumping in line, I

thought, he's four years old. He's still in line. He's just jumping. I mean, if the kid skips, hops, or walks, as long as they're in line, it's fine." A teacher from the same school added:

> I thought at times she focused on the negative instead of being positive. When the boy was jumping, instead of like, "Oh, let's walk," telling him what to do, she was like "Stop. Don't do that. Listen to me. Listen to me." He's four. You just say, "Oh, we need to walk." That's more validating how she feels than trying to correct the behavior. She pulled him apart to talk to him about that.

A teacher from Sapporo, Japan said "I'd rather have a kind teacher than a strict teacher." Another teacher from California School for the Deaf said that having

> knowledge of child development is really important, and her behavioral expectations was not appropriate for four-year-olds. When the boy was jumping and the teacher was saying he's wrong, he's just moving his body. He can't sit that long. It's really impossible.

On the other hand, there were deaf educators and deaf specialists who were supportive of Bonnie's approach, seeing in her approach evidence of key elements of deaf pedagogy. Jenny Singleton commented on this scene:

> In her comment to the boy, "No jumping," there's a reason: "I'm not strict, no, but I'm explaining it to you. If you jump away or go off, then I can't get your attention, so I become stuck. I can't get you back on track." So her point was that we're all working together. We are all showing good behavior.

Singleton added that many of Deaf bodily techniques may be viewed as inappropriate by those unfamiliar with Deaf culture, as for example, banging your fist on the table to create vibrations. She said she has heard hearing educators comment critically on the behavioral approaches used by teachers of deaf children, but stresses that we need to remember that these teachers in deaf

schools are "clearly elaborating about how to be Deaf, and how to learn in a visual language in the community." Thinking about this scene led to her ponder about "All of the kinds of things that probably may not have explicit language attached to them, but are embedded in habitus."

As Jenny Singleton predicted correctly, Bonnie explained that the reason she said "Get back here" was because Max was slowly walking away from her. She also added

> I don't want to seem too strict, but if I don't stop the kids from jumping in a line, our lines and transition times get out of control. So the rule is that the kids have to walk quietly, and if they don't, they have to go to the end. They know that. They know they're not allowed to jump around in the line.

Teachers and administrators who agreed with Bonnie's approach emphasized that expectations need to be set for living together and managing our bodies in a deaf community. As one teacher from Central Institute for the Deaf explained:

> It was interesting when they were walking down the line and the little boy was jumping. It is funny because we have walking in line issues. But that is just their growing and learning how to walk in a line. But she said, "Oh, you got out of the line, now you are at the end of the line. You were jumping. End of the line!" And that is exactly what we do here.

An administrator from Indiana School for the Deaf had a similar opinion, saying that there is a need for teachers to "remind them what is positive behavior, what's appropriate. So then they get warnings and then sometimes you have to pull the student aside, but it becomes positive with the negative. We see that. It's the same with our students." Another teacher from Indiana School for the Deaf said "When the student was jumping around in line and the teacher made her go to the end, you know, we do the same here. If you jump around in line, you have to go to the end." A

parent from The Learning Center applauded this approach saying there was need for the teacher "to pull him aside and explain. He knew the rules. I mean, in my job I believe in structure and discipline, the earlier the better."

These comments suggest that some deaf educators feel a special urgency to help young deaf children acquire a sense of the behaviors required to function in a deaf community. As a parent from the TLC said "It's better to teach children how to behave in our society earlier, for it will lead to better social interaction later."

This scene also sparked discussion about the importance of having deaf role models for deaf children, teachers who share the same "deaf body" and who have "deaf techniques of the body." As Kimihito Harada, of the Japanese Institute for Deaf research explained, "By receiving individual instruction, the children get goals, and a role model, in other words, who they want to be. From there, their achievement depends on the teacher's ability. That and the language environment." Ikeda said that she thinks

> really communicating is very important. Here we are the same. We have the same basic deaf culture, the children here, and me. So, as a deaf teacher I can be a role model for the students. And the children can grow up with confidence. And with self confidence as a deaf person, and also out of that deaf confidence as a deaf person comes their confidence that they are equal peers with the hearing world.

When children replicate the actions and behaviors from their role models, and these social interactions are met positively, children are more likely to repeat the social process, having success with it. This also can apply to conversations, as we see how Chiyo tries to join in a conversation, and is rejected by Hiroki.

Deaf Conversational Norms

On the playground at Meisei School for the Deaf in Tokyo, Japan, Hiroki and Riu are engrossed in their conversation. Chiyo attempts to interrupt their conversation twice. The first time, Chiyo taps on Riu's shoulder, leading Hiroki to tell her to "stop interrupting." The second time, Chiyo attempts to get Riu's attention again, this time, physically turning Riu's chin towards her using her hands. This leads to a tussle between Hiroki and Chiyo as Riu laughs. After they tussle, Chiyo walks away crying as Hiroki and Riu continue their conversation.

Hiroki: You shouldn't interrupt because I am talking with Riu

Chiyo: I know, but I want to tell her. . .

Hiroki: (uses the sign akin to "this is between us")

(Hiroki and Chiyo tussle)

Riu: This is funny!

Hiroki: The white team…

(Chiyo returns, attempts to turn Riu's face).

Chiyo: Hey, look at me.

Hiroki: This is our business. Don't butt in.

Chiyo: You are not being fair!

Chiyo interrupts.

Hiroki: "don't interrupt."

Chiyo interrupts again

Chiyo interrupts again.

Hiroki: This is our business.

Hiroki and Chiyo tussle again.

Chiyo walks away crying.

When children socialize or converse with each other, they are constantly attempting to understand social and conversational norms. They use their techniques of the body, such as Chiyo attempting to turn Riu's face towards her, because Chiyo knows that she needs Riu's eye contact in order for conversation to happen. Chiyo appropriately goes up to Riu and taps her on her shoulders, but breaks conversational norms by forcefully turning touching Riu's face.

Several informants in our focus groups had mixed feelings about this exchange between Hiroki and Chiyo. A teacher from Phoenix Day School for the Deaf noticed that Chiyo was learning how to understand how to socialize with her peers. She clarified that one of the goals as teachers is to encourage children to communicate and solve problems with each other. She explains "We want children to communicate with each other. Here, in this situation, the child is saying, don't interrupt me; I'm talking. To say that, don't interrupt me, at three and four, knowing that interrupting is inappropriate is great. Jenny Singleton added that "there are rules and expectations that if someone violates conversational norms, then it has to be handled." She, however, disagrees with the way it was handled, saying:

> She was appropriate she came in and she had important information to share in that situation and she goes "you better pay attention to me because I have something to say that's going to help your case or whatever it was very important, he was not having it, so that from a Deaf culture he's being a bully in that sense he is not letting her just interrupt very courteously, she was very courteous in her interruption.

Other informants in our focus groups said that they felt negatively about this exchange. An administrator from the Learning Center in Massachusetts said "obviously, we see that the girl couldn't interrupt. The boy was controlling the conversation. He was just basically saying "Shut up. Wait a minute." He was having the discussion and pushing her aside. I didn't like that." When we inquired more, he did admit that he was impressed because

> you don't normally see kids that age having that kind of deep discussion. It's just not normal. Usually they have simpler sentences, stop and go play. "I'm going to go tell the teacher." But not "Oh, you scared me. I don't like that. I'm sad." Without any adult intervention, usually an adult has to facilitate that kind of discussion. So that kind of

knowledge is impressive. It's very strong.

The minimal adult intervention also was a big topic among our informants in all focus groups. A teacher from the Learning Center applauded it, saying "when the boy pushed the girl, rather than jump in to stop it, she let them resolve it on their own. That was great." Another teacher from CELEM in Paris said this process is great for learning conversational norms, because "they can be more independent and express their own ideas, they learn how to be convincing but if an adult interrupts the exchange, their interaction will stop and they will not be able to develop their own words." So here, she is explaining that we need to allow children to use their language and solve their problems. When children are able to follow conversational norms, they are able to socialize with each other appropriately.

After Chiyo walks away crying, Hiroki and Riu continue her conversation. Little did they know, Chiyo has retreated to Ikeda's side. Ikeda takes this as an opportunity to explain conversational rules to Chiyo, by using a real life conversation between Hiroki and Riu. While they are observing the conversation, Ikeda points out specific exchanges, and gives reasoning to Chiyo, providing her with language and social norms.

Ikeda and Chiyo watching

Ikeda: Hiroki's talking is long!

Ikeda: So Riu keeps quiet.

Ikeda: …talk with each other.

Ikeda: Hiroki keeps talking.

(points at Hiroki and Riu)

Chiyo observes them.

Ikeda: Hiroki's talking is very long. It's better to talk more briefly.

Chiyo: (nods)

Ikeda: Hiroki keeps talking so Riu keeps quiet. This is not a good way.

Chiyo: Nope.

Ikeda: They should talk with each other, to listen to what the other person says.

Chiyo: Yes.

Ikeda: Look, Riu keeps quiet.

Ikeda: This is not a good way. It's better to not only tell your opinions, but also to talk with each other.

When we asked Ikeda about this exchange, she said "I think it's necessary to listen to each other's opinions in order to build strong human relationships, instead of just speaking one-sidedly." An administrator from PDSD said she was impressed with "the teacher's ability to teach the kids to problem-solve rather than tattle telling to the adults. It's a real life situation. They started that topic so early. That might be a good lesson for us to learn." Jenny Singleton commented on this scene:

> That was just a great moment of the teacher talking about. . . it seems very cultural to me. How we resolve conflict is similar to what I have seen in previous work. It's important for kids to work it out but, there are better ways to work it out, and there's a not so good way to work it out. And she is very explicit. She asked the girl: "What do you think? Do you think that was the best way? What do you think?" She tried to get her out of her misery by helping her analyze the situation. And also the boy who just can't let it go. He just keeps going, and she is saying, "that's not so good, but they are discussing it, that's good. But he is beating a dead horse you know? He just went on too far." That kind of meta- analysis of social interaction, telling this 4 year old about it, that is very interesting.

Informants in other focus groups had similar praise for Ikeda, such as one administrator from Central Institute for the Deaf, who said:

> She certainly was a great facilitator. I think she did all the right things as far as, kind of instructing on the side when it was appropriate, but then letting them try out their skills. I thought it was a great, a great way to model that kind of thing.

Her colleague agreed, saying she liked Ikeda's

> lesson to the child explaining that the little boy had talked way too long. That was such a great instructional moment. She didn't say that to the boy to criticize him, but she used it as an opportunity to say to the girl who was feeling so bad about the way he had treated her to say, 'You know, he is not so perfect.'

The TLC teacher had a similar thought, saying that "the teacher always paid attention and knew what was going on, and provided support to the other little girl. She explained and helped her understand the process, while still allowing the others to solve it."

As Jenny Singleton explained, Ikeda's interactions with her students were a good example of inquiry based learning, and she thought part of this model was through "interacting with them. It provides rich language exposure and it's not focused on how they can articulate the words, instead of doing that, they're learning how to ask questions, and how to find answers, and that's good for preschools."

Several informants in our focus groups discussed the different approaches Cara and Ikeda used to model appropriate behaviors. During their lunchtime activities, both Cara and Ikeda had an opportunity to explain to their students how they were behaving inappropriately.

Girls eating butter

Cara: Please don't eat…

Cara: the butter.

Gallery: Children watching.

At Maryland School for the Deaf, Cara is eating lunch, when she notices two students eating butter with their fingers. As the students are eating the butter, she approaches them and says “It’s not acceptable to eat the butter like that. Please don’t eat the butter like that again.” The girls do not say anything, instead, they obey immediately. They have a gallery watching them, two students who are taking in this exchange of words.

At California School for the Deaf, a dialogue between administrators focused on this incident between Cara and her students:

> Administrator 2: I wish they did more celebrating of the students than discussing their behavior, ‘Oh, why are you under the table eating butter and you shouldn't be eating butter.’ Those kinds of discussions don't really inspire thinking.
>
> Administrator 1: Well, I'm a father of two children and I was a little bit like conflicted because the students were eating butter at the lunch table, but I felt like it was a little overreaction. The students are hiding because they want to eat the butter, but that's just my personal perspective.
>
> Tommy: So if you were a teacher in that situation, how would you approach it?
>
> Administrator 1: Well, I would talk to the students about it. It's kind of silly. You know, make it silly. But also at the same time talk to them about it, but it should be a very lighthearted conversation.

> Administrator 3: And I saw the dialogue, the conversation, you know, the teacher comes in and says, "No! That's wrong. Don't eat butter." Instead, you could say something like, "Eating butter? Ew. Why are you eating butter?" And have a dialogue on eating butter.

Other informants agreed, such as a teacher from Central Institute for the Deaf who wondered "How do they handle behavior management? Because when the teacher came to talk to them and they looked away, like what do you do next? And that's just me not knowing, like I would have to learn." Her colleague added

> The teacher was very attentive to the children eating butter, but she wasn't attentive to the boy who was just sitting there quietly and not engaging. The teacher's role should be to facilitate conversation with the students. Not, "Don't eat butter," when the boy is just sitting there not engaging with anybody. It should be supporting conversation and social interaction.

A teacher from the Learning Center also explained that she thought "You could explain or expand the language use. "It's not acceptable to eat butter." She could have expanded on that by explaining why, for health reasons. To explain why you wouldn't want to eat butter like that." Adam Stone, a doctoral student from Gallaudet University also added

> studies show that teachers who sit with their students, even in normal conversation make a great impact on their development, but if they just sit there in a supervisory role it does nothing for them, it's a waste of time actually. She should be in conversation that's meaningful, and that'll really be a positive impact, but she's missing that opportunity.

When teachers and students interact with each other in social situations, the teacher can use social language and provide students with conversational norms. Teachers who take the time to

explain to students will contribute to understanding the implicit rules of language, and why these rules are made.

An example of teacher explained interaction can be found at Meisei School for the Deaf. In this scene, Ikeda is eating lunch with her students. She is having a conversation with Akira, when suddenly Hiroki jumps in the conversation and says “No!”

Hiroki says “No”

Ikeda taps Hiroki on his shoulder

Ikeda: Is it better to…

..explain than just saying “No?”

“Do I say ‘No’ to you?”

(waving in Student’s direction to get attention)


Ikeda: I don't say "No" like that. I usually ask, "What's going on? I was talking with Hiroki-kun about that. (notice here, another child's hand waving to get attention).

Hiroki: No. (taps Ikeda) She just holds it.

Ikeda: Put it behind you or put it on the table.

(few moments pass by, everyone is eating)

Ikeda taps Hiroki; Hiroki looks at Ikeda.

Ikeda: Is it better to explain instead of suddenly just saying "No"?

Hiroki: Yes.

Ikeda: First, how about asking what happened? Do I usually say "No" to you? I don't, right? I usually ask you what's going on. Let's do it that way.

Ikeda notices a child was getting her attention, so she waves at him, and signifies she is acknowledging him.

Taoshi: What?

Ikeda: Akira-chan asked to eat lunch together, so I am sitting next to her. I was wondering where I could put the lunch box strap, then Akira-chan said she could hold it, so I asked her. Then, Hiroki-kun suddenly said "No" to Akira-chan. It's not nice, is it, to suddenly say "No." It's better to ask what happens first. That makes people feel bad if

> suddenly somebody says “No” to you. I don’t say “No” like that. I usually ask “What’s going on? I was talking with Hiroki-kun about that.

Several informants in our focus groups discussed this exchange. One parent from the Learning Center noticed that Ikeda was “explaining how the behavior was inappropriate, saying she wouldn’t do that. She expanded on the concepts and gave reasons why, she didn’t just say ‘No!’ and leave it like that. Or say “That’s not nice!” but she explained why.” A teacher from Indiana School for the Deaf said that she thought “it was obvious the teacher had already modeled problem solving. When the student said no, the teacher intervened and explained a better way to approach.”

At The Learning Center, this scene started a dialogue between teachers on how important it was for them to model how to handle situations, but there were also acknowledgement of how hard it could be to model implicit techniques of the body in explicit ways:

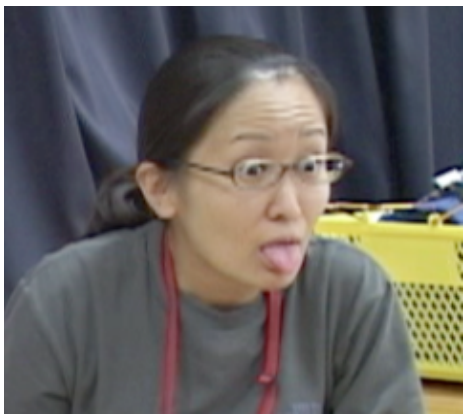
> Teacher 6: She modeled to them how to talk, and why it was important, which was nice. She modeled the turn taking, as listening and responding.
>
> Teacher 5: One thing I noticed that might be different depending on the teacher. All teachers have different approaches. Some teachers take the time to explain things like that and why something might be wrong, while other teachers might just handle the matter quickly without a lot of explanation. I have to support whichever way the teacher addresses these things. Sometimes I feel bad if the child doesn’t understand. If children are fighting over something it might just be quickly addressed by telling the child at fault that it doesn’t belong to them. Often I would rather explain why, like the teacher did in the video. She was more patient and explained regardless of how long it took. I notice when some teachers are quick to respond and wrap things up they do not have that type

> of patience. Maybe I'm mistaken, but that's what I'm good at.
>
> Teacher 4: I've tried to set up those types of modeling situations, but not like that. She's so good at it. She was really good at pulling the language out of the kids rather than just giving it to them.
>
> Teacher 6: It was nice to see her expand on the situation during lunch when the children asked what they were talking about.

All of the teachers agreed that it was important to be good role models, to explain to the students why we behave in certain situations, and it was important to understand the social rules. When children learn how to incorporate deaf bodily techniques, they then become socially constructed in their world, and can understand how their bodily actions can make an impact. As a teacher from the Learning Center explains,

> I think if you are teaching deaf children it is important to embrace deaf values, deaf culture, a positive deaf model, a good language model. In my opinion it's not acceptable to not have high expectations for learning and teaching from the teachers and aides. It needs to be perfect, well not perfect, but we should be doing our best. To provide good models and have good language use.

When teachers are good role models, children can easily internalize these examples, as we see with Ikeda's snake tongue, and Akira's imitating her,



Sticking out tongue to show the word “amazing.” Akira imitates Ikeda here.

An expert from the Learning Center noticed this, and said “in fact it was interesting that you could almost see the kids were modeling what the teacher did. Because if you saw the kids they were doing this, trying the facial expressions as they pulled it through.” A teacher from INJS commented:

> Children play with language and all of this is part of culture. They construct themselves and grow up thanks to all this by using imagination. They can do all this because they have learned things, because they have a role model showing them their language, how to play with it.

They have learned things, and internalized their technique of the body, paving the way to a stronger deaf identity, with help from role models modeling techniques of the body that are specific to their culture.

There is very little research on the importance of the Deaf body in education (Nikolaraizi & Hadjikakou, 2006). Much of the research in Deaf education is focused on pedagogy (Marschark, Lang & Albertini, 2002; Knight & Swanwick, 2002), language (Corina & Singleton, 2009; Corina, Bellugi, & Reilly, 1999), and culture (Ladd, 2003; Lane, Hoffmeister, & Bahan, 1996), and while there is growing research on the need of Deaf role models in education

(Singleton & Crume, 2013; Singleton & Morgan, 2006; Hoffmeister & Shantie, 2000), there is still need for more research on these Deaf role models and how they present themselves in their "everyday talk" (Singleton & Morgan, 2006, p. 364). There also needs to be more research on how techniques of the body can be further accentuated with the space the body occupies.

Deaf Bodies in Deaf Space

When children interact with their teachers and peers successfully in their environment, they start to establish connections and become aware of their existence in these spaces. If these interactions are positive, then their social awareness becomes intensified. Nikolaraizi & Hadjikakou (2006) define this course of action as 'a socially constructed process, which emerges through present and past experiences, and interactions between oneself and the surrounding social environment' (p. 477). As Kannapell (1994) writes: One of the goals of educating deaf children should be harmonious identification with both Deaf and hearing cultures, but educators should strengthen the Deaf identity among deaf children first" (p. 47-48).

Singleton & Morgan (2006) suggest that a key to deaf children developing cognitively and socially is the strength of their intersubjective relationships with the adults who educate and care for them. They define intersubjectivity as:

> the sharing of attention and intentions in the communicative practices between caregiver and child. As communication is likely to be asymmetrical between adults (experts) and children (novices), intersubjectivity is achieved when adaption and shifts in understanding occur on the part of both adult and child (p. 345).

When children are exposed to techniques of the body in a space that is open and welcoming, they then will "develop ways of being that are consistent with being a visual communicator and consistent with a trajectory towards full participation in a Deaf bilingual community of practice

(Singleton & Morgan, 2006, p. 358).

An example: It is mid-afternoon in Toulouse, France, and Vanessa's class is outdoors working on a mapping activity. Vanessa instructs them to walk around the obstacles, and then draw the obstacles and the path they took to get around the obstacles on paper. The students follow her instructions, and then sit down on the pavement to draw their paths. While the children are drawing their paths, Vanessa notices one of the students François is struggling.

Vanessa: Remember before we did loops in the air? This is very different. What is the difference?

François: It curves back and forth.

Vanessa: Yes, curving around, not making vertical loops… That's difficult.

Henri walks up and shows his picture

Vanessa: Let me see. No, turn it around. Yes. That's good.

This seems to be a normal exchange between a teacher and student, but something implicit is going on here. Vanessa is positioning her body alongside François, showing him visually what he needs to do. As the images below show, François is given the opportunity to mimic his teacher, to internalize the techniques of the body. When François looks up while still drawing, Vanessa backs away, in order for her to have the space to sign. François then turns his body fully, to allow his vision to have ample lines of sight. When she explains to him about how to "curve around," François raises his hand to mimic Vanessa in the proper "curving" around gesture.

Vanessa moving her body to meet the needs of Francois.

When Henri comes to show Vanessa his path drawing, she says to turn it around, and when he doesn't understand, she raises two hands; both with index fingers up interchanging them, to show a flip turn gesture, which clarifies what she is trying to explain to Henri.

Vanessa telling Henri to turn his picture around.

At first, Vanessa explained the purpose of this activity to us:

> This is the middle group working on drawing, working on curved lines, and we do this often in kindergarten. We do something concretely with our bodies and then give them a blank page where they should trace their trajectories. First, I explain to them what to do as a group, because I want them to all have the same information at the same time, the same quality of information before they start,

> and any child who doesn’t understand when the explanations are given in the beginning then while the others are working I will go and make sure that they do understand my directions.

When we asked Vanessa about the reasoning for her positioning with François in this activity, she explained

> I don't remember my parents getting signing behind me, I don't. They were in front of me and I know that as a little girl, I was clumsy copying them like a mirror but then, while growing up I identified the difference between left and right, and then I understood I was using more of my right hand to sign and understood that the others signs were opposite from mine, so the way we cross our signs becomes natural. It's often at the age of six or seven that the automatic reflexes start. Now as a teacher I am aware that LSF is a real language with a clear structure and that I need to pay attention on how children sign, I evaluate them and if I see mistakes I correct them. I am aware that the fact that LSF is a real language is important. This is also the reason why I am careful when I sign in front of the kids and that I rectify them if they copy me in the mirror way, I sit next to them and show them they need to use the same hand and make sure they keep it that way when I am in front of them again.

When Joe Valente asked Vanessa to clarify, she explained that she sat alongside Henri

> to avoid him looking at me from the opposite direction. I sit next to him for us to see the same way and to draw the line and for us to go the same way. Being on my side makes him understand right away what I explain. The link is direct from what I do and what he must do. It's more natural than being in front of me because if so, he would do it upside down. Besides, being in front of him I would draw my line in his direction while he

should do his in my direction. The important part is to have the same viewpoint regarding movements, gestures and space. That way, when I show him how to do the line, he understands immediately.

A teacher from INJS in Paris recognized this activity, and called it "a work about space and language, that are extremely linked." He added an example, "When we want a child to work on how animals walk differently, we don't ask the child to do all of it right away. First we put a line with a thread taped on the ground to visualize the animal path and then we ask the child to follow it. We try to link space and body. A teacher from California School for the Deaf also made a similar observation, calling this activity "very child focused, and making connections with your body. Really, I think that was just an example of quality education practices."

The physical space of these classrooms was another major topic of focus in our focus groups. As Tsymbal (2010) explains, the physical space must be visually appealing, with no barriers that can be detrimental to the learning process. As we see in Vanessa's classroom, a student self advocates during a lesson, saying "I can't see!"

Marie is looking at the student.

Marie gets teacher attention, saying I can't see!

Vanessa says “It’s the same for everyone. Be patient.


Marie answers, Vanessa points at another student to help the visual process, but Marie misses what student says, turning her head too late.

> Marie: I can’t see!
>
> Vanessa: Shh! It’s the same when you were at the board before, they couldn’t see! Be patient.

Vanessa looks at her, and admonishes her, saying “Be patient.” Marie complies, and waits for instruction. As the lesson continues, we see Marie turning her entire body around in order to see the student signing behind her. Many of our informants responded negatively to this set up of two straight rows, saying it was a barrier for students using a visual language. In Fremont, California, a teacher explained her reaction

> CSD Teacher: I didn't like the chairs. They were seated in two rows and they couldn't

> see each other. So you can't interact. I thought it was odd that they were sitting that way and not in a semicircle.
>
> Christi: What do you think the impact of that was?
>
> CSD Teacher: Well, then they're unable to respond to other students' comments. You have to rely on the teacher to interpret what the student said, so there's a lot less interaction.

Many of our informants in focus groups across France and the United States agreed. An administrator from Indiana School for the Deaf mentioned that it was "It was hard for them to see and communicate with each other," and his colleague added:

> They have to look behind them to see what someone is saying. It doesn't seem very deaf friendly to have to look back and say, "Oh, what did you say?" And then look back ahead. Some students just didn't bother to look back. They just ignored the person who was talking behind them. Sitting in a semicircle, students are able to see everybody when they're speaking.

Another administrator added that sitting in the semi-circle was "very deaf friendly." A teacher from the Learning Center said "The only concern that I had was the chairs being in rows. That was so odd. The kids can't see each other if they are seated in rows facing forward. There is no interaction." Her colleague added, "It's always important that they can see each other. Just like we are sitting now. We automatically adjust so we can see everyone. That happens in the classroom too. We sit in a circle so everyone can see." They pointed out Marie's dilemma, saying that she tried to advocate for herself. Jenny Singleton also commented on this scene:

> She [Marie] was very patient. That's participatory cues, it's not immediately looking, and

> it's about waiting. So, they are sitting in rows with the desks. That would be difficult for them to look at each other. So see the girl in the front row, she turns around to see what the other kids are saying, but they're finished by the time she turns around, So the teacher points at the kids, but by the time she turns, she already missed it. I would think the teachers in America would do the same, but they made it difficult for the students to shift their eye gazing. If it was in a circle, they could easily see each other.

The focus group at the Learning Center also compared this scene to the scene described at the beginning of this chapter, where Sophie advocates for the young girl, Zoe, but telling her to move to another seat to see better, and explaining to Henri the reason why she couldn't see. A teacher explained:

> With the three year-olds we explicitly explain to them why we set the chairs in a semi-circle rather than a straight row, why they can't grab people's faces to look at them when they want to talk, or why you can't stand in-between of people that are talking to each other. We explain these things.

Another teacher from the Learning Center also noticed when the students aren't sitting in rows, for example, during outdoor play or at lunch, "They were free to converse and there were more expressions from the students." A teacher from Poitiers explained: "Being in a semi-circle makes everyone visually accessible to each other. The rows are more for hearing people, because they can hear each other." As a teacher from AASD explained, we as teachers need to be more thoughtful about space and bodies in Deaf Education, compared to teachers of hearing students. She added while teaching hearing students, teachers "use their vocal intonations, where as we have to use our body more so to show the inflections and so forth, the body movements to show that, the facial movements, and the positioning in space."

Many of the teachers agreed it was important to consider space as what Clark (2007) calls a "third teacher" (p.4). A teacher from the Learning Center said:

> I think that many things were happening throughout their day where they are learning, but not explicitly from the teacher. They are learning from their environment. They were learning so much more, how to express themselves and how to think. They were learning how to learn.

Her colleague agreed, and added:

> Two things I think are most important are the teacher's role and that children are viewed as competent people. The teacher supports the kids, by talking and watching, which helps to create the environment. There are many different roles that happened in the video. The children are seen as capable learners. We don't necessarily teach students for them to learn, but we provide an environment for them to learn in. Learning will happen. If you teach them how to think, provide the environment for them to learn within, and give them the thinking skills they will pick things up, expand their knowledge, and progress naturally.

An administrator from the Learning Center was very happy about the classroom in France, saying he felt the space was

> open and social. There was a lot of documentation on the walls. You could see what the kids are learning. The kids were free to use the materials around the room and interact with each other, and the teacher-led activities involved the kids much more.

Vanessa mentioned that she liked the "open" feel of the spaces at Meisei, in Japan. Several teachers in the United States also commented on how the spaces in all three classrooms were visually appealing and open. One teacher from AASD noticed that "the environment around the

school they had artwork everywhere. The classroom was just awesome; it had a huge play area. It was just a great place for kids. It's obviously important for them." Another teacher from Indiana mentioned that "It felt like more of an open, clean space. There was a lot of sun in the windows, natural light. That's good. I feel that here at our school, everything is decorated and we have posters everywhere. At the school in Japan, it was just very simple and natural."

Baumann & Murray (2013) explain Deaf Space as not "focusing on accommodation, but rather on Deaf cultural aesthetics that are embodied in the built environment." (p. 250). They go on to list the components of deaf space as "organic, curvilinear, and bathed in light." (p. 250). As Sawamura, one of the teachers in Japan said

> The space is really important, so that you really have a good identity of your own deafness. Maybe it's if you really do grow up in a purely deaf environment and don't have to think about your deafness so much maybe that's really a happy environment.

In this chapter, I explained how techniques of the body can contribute to the students' cultural awareness, and the need of visual space in order to maximize the acquisition of techniques of the body. Much of our bodily habitus is implicit. When we asked teachers about specific bodily techniques, Sophie explained that:

> It is hard for me to examine my own thoughts and experiences, and to categorize what is my habit or deaf habit. In fact, I did not grow up the same way kids do now. There was no bilingual school or any LSF lessons. My LSF comes from my family who is deaf, that's all. For my job, I have no diploma, no real full training. It is learning in the field and the five years of experience. Now it is my fifth year working here so maybe this is the reason why I can not answer you clearly, or maybe other people are just like me and cannot answer either. It would be interesting to try to find out.

What she means here is, it's so implicit and natural for many teachers to behave the way they do that they may not realize that children are depending on them as models. As Jenny Singleton explained in her interview, deaf children need

> visual displays of knowledge and the opportunity to ask questions and try to get them to talk about thing that happened in their own lives. Because that does not happen very often, to narrate your own life, to even know how to say it. Kids without a strong foundation in language don't know how to report their life, and so the teachers are modeling these elaborations naturally.

There is an encouraging idea that with a combination of an open visual environment and role models that use Deaf techniques of the body, a positive identity formation can begin in preschools. When children are given the techniques of the body and the tools to adapt their space, adjust their conversational norms, and maximize their socialization skills, then they may be able to have a stronger identity formation.

CHAPTER VII

IDENTITY

The Deaf Soul

When we went back to interview teachers we filmed in our study, several of the teachers discussed the need to provide young deaf children with an identity, and provided us with several definitions a native Deaf identity. Several of our focus group participants connected this sense of deaf identity to the need to be part of a community, to feel whole. During her interview, Bonnie explained that when she meets Deaf people, it's easy for her to identify who is Deaf:

> I see it in their eyes. What I mean is, deaf individuals, some have what I would call a "Deaf soul." Does that make sense? You see, Deaf teachers who have Deaf parents may have a better understanding of their students. Deaf students may be able to relate to them more quickly. You can almost see it in the child's eyes. When I met Vanessa, I immediately saw it in her eyes. There are some teachers at MSD, and in other schools, who seem to be missing that connection with their students.

Mary Lynn agreed with Bonnie: "Its something you feel inside that allows you to be able to relate." Joe Tobin asked her to explain:

> Joe Tobin: Do you feel it's the same when you have children who come from hearing families?
>
> Bonnie: It's interesting. I discussed that with another teacher today. She talked about how there are some deaf individuals that grew up oral, but felt inside that they wanted to learn

sign, and to become deaf. . . I mean they were already deaf, but they wanted to belong to the Deaf community. They had that desire.

Mary Lynn: It's a desire for identity. Asking oneself, "Who am I?" Feeling discomfort in different worlds and needing to find belonging.

Bonnie: Yes, it's as if something is missing.

This chapter uses a combination of video analysis and focus group interviews. In a focus group at the Atlanta Area School for the Deaf we asked teachers if their preschool students have a deaf identity:

Teacher 2: When you see children who have aspects of social language, you can see that they know who they are inside. Our kids are not really in a Deaf world yet. They have not yet learned that their peers understand them. These kids need to know that other people understand them [when they sign].

Teacher 1: We noticed that in first grade and kindergarten that these kids are still not completely understanding that they are deaf, and that they are part of Deaf Culture.

Teacher 3: They really don't know what the word "deaf" means. Like some people are deaf, and some people are hearing.

Teacher 1: They are still sort of grappling with that. Sometimes they think we [hearing teachers] are deaf, and we say "No, we are hearing," and then we have to explain what that means. We started incorporating time for Deaf culture, where we talk about what it means to be Deaf. We have Deaf adults come in and do activities with them.

Tobin: Do you do any other kinds of activities like that where you talk about being Deaf or what it means to be Deaf or to be part of Deaf culture?

Teacher 3: Maryland School for the Deaf has a very strong Deaf community, and it's obvious that the kids there have grown up around Deaf people and a lot of them have Deaf parents. Kids with hearing parents understand the [Deaf] culture because they have had Deaf of Deaf friends as models. They're able to pick it up more naturally. Here, at our school, we have only a few deaf children from deaf parents, so it's more of a mystery for our students. They don't understand that hearing people can sign. We have two girls who are from deaf families, and they understand the difference between hearing and deaf people.

Teacher 2: Many of our kids just don't have that exposure to Deaf adults. There are no Deaf people in their lives other than some of their teachers.

Teacher 3: To answer to your question: we are starting to feel like we need to start addressing that issue with our students now because they need to know more background knowledge about the Deaf world that they live in, so they can feel good about themselves and their identity as Deaf children.

Sophie explained that all deaf children have what she calls a *Deaf Core*. This is similar to what Bonnie calls a *Deaf Soul.* When we asked Sophie to define the Deaf Core, she clarified:

Sophie: Deaf children have their Deaf core, the roots. They are born deaf that means they don't use their hearing sense, they're a lot more visual. They are ready to learn sign language. If they don't have any sign language, and grow up isolated, the day we give them language, then they will assimilate it real fast and will get into the Deaf world. You just need to awaken the core.

Patrick: Suppose that a child grows up surrounded by hearing people and has not been exposed to deaf role models. Will the roots still be there?

Sophie: Yes it's still there; it's dormant there. Some day there will be this urge to learn sign language. Many people learn sign language late in life, and find that at last they find their own language and feel better, so it's still there, dormant inside them.

How do teachers help change young children's "Deaf core" from dormant to active?

At Maryland School for the Deaf, two little boys are playing with little cars, sliding them down a ramp constructed of wood blocks. Bonnie sits down and joins them and starts an impromptu tale of a car driving down the road, and suddenly they reach the train tracks. Bonnie picks up the sign for train tracks, and starts to explain about the purpose of this sign; The following is a transcript of Bonnie's interaction with David:

Bonnie: if you were driving a car along a road and you see a train coming down its tracks toward you. Yikes! You would need to stop. Once your car is stopped, the train goes past super fast! After the train has left, then you can go again, right?

David: Yes.

Bonnie: (points at train sign)

Bonnie: You are driving…

Bonnie: You see a train coming…

Bonnie: Stop…

Bonnie: Right? David: (nods)

As you can see, David does not say a word, until Bonnie signs "Right?" David automatically nods his head slightly for yes, although his nod comes hesitantly.

When we asked Bonnie about this activity, she commented on David's use of eye gaze, saying, "When I talk to him his eyes are not engaged like a typical deaf boy. He's just watching. It's almost as if I am giving a show. He's not watching to take in information." Her principal, ML agreed, saying, "He's not processing the information you are trying to impart. He's just watching, but not processing or interpreting what is being explained." Bonnie admitted, "It's different than with deaf children of deaf parents. They appear to be analyzing what they are seeing differently. It's just different. He will watch what I'm saying, but he is not engaged." When Bonnie was asked if there were a difference between a child who has deaf parents and a child like David, who has hearing parents, she said:

> For example [in] this activity, I am explaining the purpose of a bridge. For a child who is Deaf of Deaf, I may engage the child and expect him to participate in a discussion rather

> than me doing all of the explaining, but David has no interest in participating in a discussion. A child that is Deaf of Deaf would ask questions, add their thoughts and imagination to the topic.

ML added:

> Maybe it's because he lacks experience in that type of turn taking. His parents might not know how to talk to him and ask for his participation in a discussion. They just know enough to tell him things, but that's it. Deaf parents can talk more to their child and ask questions and build on that conversation with the child. They expect the child to respond as well.

Morgan emphasizes that children need to participate in social situations to establish a "participative identity" (2004, p. 57). In deaf schools, this participative identity can be developed by exposing children to Deaf role models and explicit Deaf bodily techniques. Bonnie noted that the other boy, Robby, was participating through his attention: "If you look at Robby, you can see how he is watching differently. Robby has deaf parents, but David's parents aren't. They are very different."

An analysis of the conversations we had with our informants in France, Japan, and the United States suggests that to develop a Deaf Identity deaf children need (1) access to Deaf culture; (2) good language models; and (3) exposure to Deaf techniques of the body.

Access

Deaf children with Deaf families develop a Deaf identity naturally and effortlessly. Sawamura commented:

> If you are surrounded by hearing people, you feel different. You think, "I'm Deaf and all these people are hearing." If everyone was deaf, then you would not realize that you feel

> different. Maybe if you really do grow up in a purely deaf environment and don't have to think about your deafness so much, maybe that's really a happy environment. It's like if you're in a Japanese environment, everybody's Japanese and hearing, and you're Japanese, you don't think about your Japanese identity so much.

Sophie recalled a conversation she had with Vanessa, about how they disagreed on the development of Deaf identity:

> Yesterday, during our focus group, we had a long debate, because even though we are Deaf we have different views of the Deaf culture concept, our answers were confused yesterday because we haven't defined the meaning of Deaf culture. That's why when you asked, "Do you need to "learn to be deaf?" I was saying "No," while Vanessa was saying "Yes." Later, after talking to Vanessa in private, we realized we had a disagreement on the fact that when we meet people, I see the person, their gender, their name and age. Then I see the language, which is LSF, that is linked to the needs of the deaf person and that is linked to the culture. But for Vanessa, first she sees the Deaf identity of the person and then the gender. That is why, for her, yes, you need to learn how to be deaf, it is important that the Deaf identity goes first and realize what our deaf needs are.

Because Sophie and Sawamura came from Deaf families, their cultural assimilation in the Deaf community was implicit. When Joe Valente asked Sophie what Deaf habits she was trying to teach, she replied: "It's difficult to explain my actions. I don't have enough hindsight to do such analysis. What I do is a part of me. I can't explain whether if it's because I am Sophie, or it's because it's the Deaf way."

Ikeda brought up a scene in the Meisei video where Hiroki and Riu have a disagreement about the fairness of the sides for the tug of war.

Riu throws away the rope and storms off

Riu: Hiroki's stupid!

Hiroki: Why is that?

Riu: My team has fewer people...

Hiroki: That's true,

Hiroki: We have some weak members...

Hiroki: (looks away)

Hiroki: …She's tall.

Riu: … It's still the same.

Hiroki: My team has Kala and Chiyo…

Riu: We will lose…

Hiroki: When we did red and white…

Hiroki:… isn't it OK…

Hiroki: What's wrong?

Riu: Hiroki is stupid!

Hiroki: Why is that?

Riu: Because, because my team has fewer people and you have many, so you are sure to win.

Hiroki: That’s true, but we have some weak members. Kurihara-sensei is strong. She's tall.

Riu: But it’s still the same.

Hiroki: It's different. Kurihara-sensei is really strong. And my team has Kala and Chiyo, who are weak. They are really weak. My team has girls, and not only boys, so we are weak.

Riu: But still, our team has fewer members and it seems like we will lose, so I don’t want to do it.

Hiroki: When we did red and white the red team lost, so, isn't it OK for Riu's team to lose this time?

Riu: It’s not fair, because the red team wins a lot.

Hiroki: It’s not true. The red team also has lost several times. So it’s OK

Ikeda provided an explanation for the difference between Hiroki and Riu’s conversational pattern:

> This conversation went on for a very long time. This is interesting because this often happens between children coming from a deaf family and children coming from hearing parents. Hiroki comes from hearing parents and that's why this goes on for a very long time. He keeps explaining and goes on to explain for a very long time. Normally there should be a discussion back and forth, but Hiroki still doesn't understand the rules of sign language conversation going back and forth, listening to the other's opinion and then going back, just back and forth. So he just talks and talks. I think it's because there are very few children coming from deaf families in the kindergarten section. I think that's why I often notice this lack of exchange of opinions.

When I asked Ikeda about the difference between Hiroki and Riu, she explained to me that:

> Hiroki has been exposed to sign language from the age of one, but still it's different from the environment from Riu, who is coming from a Deaf family environment. Hiroki is still, sign language wise, the grammar of his sign language is very much still very hearing oriented, while Riu is completely Deaf in every way. Hiroki's has been exposed to sign language and deaf people from an early stage, and his actions and reactions do show Deaf characteristics, but still his sign language itself is very much still influenced by the hearing culture.

During another interview, she reflected on Hiroki and Riu's interactions, and commented on the need for cultural knowledge. She acknowledged Riu's ability to become fully immersed in the Deaf community because of her continuous access to it. The difference between Riu and Hiroki is that Hiroki goes home to a hearing environment that doesn't have complete cultural access to the Deaf community. She adds:

> He doesn't have many Deaf-style ways of using sign language. He knows a lot of vocabulary in sign language, but there is such a thing as very Deaf-style expressions in sign language. There are deaf expressions that deaf people often use, and Hiroki doesn't know many of those. He knows a lot of words that are easy to conceptualize in Japanese, and he uses those to explain things, but Riu can readily use Deaf-style sign language that is suitable for the situation. That's why her sentences are so short.

A teacher from Poitiers made a parallel point:

> There are families in which they can communicate and there is cultural knowledge. In this family the child will grow up with Sign Language and he or she will get a lot of information everyday through his or her parents. He or she will have more knowledge

> and culture openness thanks to the communication inside the family. In another family, where the parents don't know Sign Language, where the deafness of the child is a surprise, where they don't know how to manage this unknown situation, if we add together all these elements the communication will be hard and basic so the cultural openness will be small.

She also explained that in these families where parents don't know sign language, the children look to her to develop their Deaf identity. Her colleague added "It's important to have deaf co-teachers with young children because they are the linguistic role model, and they have the identity. Children are able to attend and pick up the culture better than with a hearing person."

Shared Techniques of the Body in Role Models

The acquisition of Deaf bodily techniques of attention, facial expression, gestures, and positioning discussed in early chapters contribute to the development of an embodied Deaf identity. Before one can start picking up the native visual sign language of the Deaf, these children need to learn to use their eyes. When children are introduced to attention strategies, for example, using their eyes to maintain attention to the speaker, and then seeing what the speaker is referring to through referential pointing, they can use these strategies to become receptive to the language they will learn. Once they have established joint attention strategies, they can start to take in the world, and their environment while seeking information from their teachers, peers, and family members who sign. While they learn sign language, they also will start to learn facial expressions and body language that correspond to the visual sign language. When they start to notice other community members sharing the same dependence on visual attention and body language, they start establishing an awareness of community membership, a shared identity, and then can experience other cultural transmission of knowledge, such as through narratives. When

this process starts at the pre-school level, it may contribute to a fuller sense of self for the rest of their academic career. As one teacher from INJS in Paris commented

> If you don't have Sign Language how can you pass on Deaf culture? We need to define what Deaf culture is. When deaf children are born, we need to give them a culture. For example, we are Deaf, we have our culture inside us but how do we pass it on to children?

When we asked Bonnie about her approaches to teaching deaf children, she said that she follows her intuitions. . ML agreed, saying, “Right, it’s an automatic adjustment that happens without formally planning for the difference. It’s a natural reflex. Without thinking about it, we notice a need and respond to it.” This “automatic adjustment” comes from having as a deaf child had the same experience her students are now having and having developed a Deaf bodily habitus. Having successfully acquired a Deaf habitus and identity in their own lives, Deaf teachers are confident they can help their deaf students have similar success. As Morgan writes, “The social and emotional acceptance of a deaf child is embodied in the teachers’ knowing that they can learn and develop just as well as a hearing child” (2004, p. 87).

A few of our informants explained about the importance of role models in Deaf Education. A teacher from CELEM in Paris emphasized that “it's important to have role models for the deaf kids.” A teacher from Nara, Japan explained that it was important to have role models because “Deaf teachers can look back at their childhood, and convey things to the children, and I think it’s also good for the parents.”

The teachers in our study also acknowledged that they were conscious of their responsibility as role models. Ikeda explained that:

> We have the same basic Deaf culture, the children here, and me. So, as a deaf teacher I can be a role model for the students as well. The children can grow up with confidence. They become self-confident as a Deaf person, and also out of that deaf confidence they become aware they are equal with their hearing peers.

Sophie shared similar perspective:

> If everyone in the family is hearing. The child becomes aware of his difference and looking at the adults around him he can wonder if he is going to die before getting to adulthood because he has no reference of a deaf adult. But at school, he will see a deaf adult who will become a role model, who will prove to the child that a deaf adult can live in the world just like everyone else and that he can have any job he wants. He will gain confidence.

ML emphasized the need of parents to encourage children to develop their deaf identity, saying:

> If the parents can't communicate with their child, then the child is lost. They are better off at that point to focus on the development of their Deaf identity. In finding that identity the children can begin to feel good about themselves, and feel good about being a deaf person. They can join that Deaf community.

Many teachers in our focus group agreed that deaf children from hearing families struggle to find their identities when they enter preschool. These children are still learning about how to interact with their teachers and peers. Ikeda explains:

> On the surface, the way of calling something, or stamping your feet, or turning the lights on and off, is easy to understand. But there are rules you can't see about when to do those things, and they haven't really learned that yet. If their parents can hear, they acquire things from the culture they can see. The thing they can't really do until the very end,

culturally, is the part you can't see. Since children born to hearing parents first acquire simple, superficial culture, they haven't been able to acquire the deep part yet.

How can children acquire what Ikeda calls “the deep part” of Deaf Culture? Sophie proposes that all Deaf children should have Deaf teachers in the early grades:

Sophie: If a hearing teacher masters LSF completely, he will still miss the little things, not on purpose of course. He just won't have it intrinsically, as he is not born deaf, so he does not have the “Deaf core.” The problem is that these “little things” will fail the little child and could cause frustrations, conflicts, leave holes in his construction.

Joe Valente: So, you are saying that this stuff is intuitive to you, you are not even thinking, as you are doing it?

Sophie: It's natural for me.

Joe Valente: It's just natural? You are also just naturally and intuitively helping these children, making sure they can see, they communicate with each other, how to place their bodies.

Sophie: It’s automatic. I know myself, and I know what my needs are, therefore I know that the children have the same needs. It's natural.

Joe Valente: Some outsiders like hearing people might watch this video and say “Yes, it is important to have a deaf teacher who knows sign language, but you can have a hearing teacher who knows sign language and they could do just as good a job.” What would you say to that?

Sophie: It's true, they could. But it depends on what grade they teach. I think that kindergarten is not the place. They could teach older grades. As I explained earlier, there are little things that are really important for little children that are natural and the hearing

teacher will lack. Once the children will have absorbed these essentials, a hearing signing teacher can take over from the first year of elementary school as from there, the important thing is the knowledge. From the age of 0 up to 6 years old, I strongly advise that a deaf adult take charge of the children. For example, in this school, there are hearing teachers and some of them are signers, but they can't communicate with the little deaf children because the younger kids' language is still a little bit clumsy, imprecise, or not enough eye contact, and I understand them, but hearing teachers may not. The hearing teacher asks the kid to repeat again and again to understand. When children realize they are not being understood, they start to express themselves less and less. We need the children to learn how to express themselves at this age. We must let them be clumsy, make them talk even if there is a lack of coherence. The main thing is to be on the same wavelength and understand them to make them confident with their sign language. Then, once they express themselves fully, we can correct them.

Joe Valente: I hear you saying the advantages of you being so skilled with sign is that when children who are still learning sign language, so they make mistakes, that adults may not be able to understand them or vice versa.

Sophie: The children will stop expressing themselves. They will think "He doesn't understand me? Never mind." And this is when they will sign less and less. Let's imagine a hearing child saying a word in a clumsy way, for example he wants to say "dog" but pronounces it improperly. The adult will understand and will repeat the word and explain the proper way to pronounce it. That way, the children can build their knowledge. If a hearing child tells me something and I don't understand, he will give up trying and will be as equally frustrated as a deaf child with a hearing teacher The fact that there are two

> different languages in action can cause deadlocked situations. The best would be to have an adult having the same language as the group of kids.
>
> Joe Valente: So if they are native users of sign language, they can more easily help children learn the language and experience less frustrations, too?
>
> Sophie: For the little kids, they ask for our help to construct themselves. They want us to correct them, to give them answers. If we don't answer, they will have a difficult time growing up.

When we discussed this topic with informants in other focus groups, they also said it was important for young deaf children to have a deaf role model. For example, a teacher in Paris said, "Having a deaf teacher as a role model for children is already enough for them." Her colleague cited Sophie's poetry lesson as an example of Sophie being an effective role model, explaining:

> When we have children play with language, this is part of culture, they learn how to construct themselves and grow by using their imagination. They can do all this because they have learned how to. . . they have a role model, showing them their language. They learn how to play with it. For instance: "Monday, go to school, Tuesday paint." This allows them to consolidate their thoughts and imagination, and then they can use it outside their class instruction.

A teacher in Poitiers stressed the need for Deaf role models, because it can be difficult for deaf children to develop an identity that is different from the majority group: "There is a need of a language model, and the identity model to show them the Deaf culture. If they use an interpreter, it is not easy for young children to learn their culture.

During one focus group at the Atlanta Area School for the Deaf, there was agreement that Deaf children need to have a language model and an identity model to introduce them to Deaf

culture, but they disagreed that this model needs to be natively Deaf.

> Joe Tobin: So, all of you are hearing? Yes? So, do you think it matters if the teachers are hearing or Deaf?
>
> Teacher 3: Well, who has a right to teach young deaf children? I know it's a popular idea that young deaf children need exposure to strong ASL models and deaf adults are good sign models, I do understand that. I do think it's important for young deaf children to have exposure and to see deaf adults. Definitely. I totally 100% agree with that. At the same time, if you tell hearing teachers who have good qualifications and good signing skills that deaf children should be with deaf teachers only, "Let's put you over here in 3rd grade because you are hearing." I don't think that's right either. I mean I know what I'm doing, we know what we are doing and we are good at what we are doing. We are good ASL language models for them. We understand that we are hearing and we know it is important to go around and find Deaf adults and say, "Could you come sit with our students and give them that kind of exposure?" At the same time, would I say that they need to swap jobs with me because I'm not qualified because I'm not deaf? No. Even though I may or may not have the same qualifications? No. I can do my job. Yes, I agree they need the exposure and the experience.

Few of our informants challenged the idea that hearing teachers could be language models. They mainly focused on the need for linguistic role models for deaf children of hearing parents. Deaf children who come from hearing families have what Morgan (2004) calls a mismatched process of developing meaning that contributes to identity. When two people share the same communication process, it opens up a path that can lead to understanding and awareness. As one teacher from TLC commented:

> If you are teaching deaf children it is important to embrace Deaf values and Deaf culture. Also, we need to have positive deaf models, and be good language models. In my opinion, it's not acceptable to not have high expectations for learning and teaching from the teachers and aides. We need to provide good models and have good language use.

Sophie stressed the need of deaf role models in schools, especially for young children, because:

> The child is aware of his differences and will be looking at the adults around him. He may wonder if he is going to die before getting to adulthood because he has no reference of a deaf adult. But at school, he will see a deaf adult who will become a role model, who will prove to the child that a deaf adult can live in the world just like everyone else and that he can have any job he wants. He will gain confidence.

When deaf children have access to deaf role models who share the same native language, they benefit from it. As a teacher at CELEM in Paris explained:

> Teacher 1: The children have no problem with their identity. Teachers don't need to think about how to modify their teaching, because they have the same language. It's different here, because I need to modify the language, use a little sign language. These kids in the video are always using their sign language.
>
> Teacher 4: They don't have any confusion in language, each child has a Deaf identity and in front of them they have a Deaf adult. There is no mixing, they're all equals.
>
> Patrick: So you mentioned that they know their deaf identity. But how do you know that? Is there anything that you see that shows that?
>
> Teacher 4: I know they are being taught in sign language so as they grow up they will build up their culture.
>
> Teacher 3: I feel that the children are strong. They know how to have a dialogue. Their

identity is strong, because of being exposed to sign language. It is that influence that gives them this identity. They are deaf and we see it.

Patrick: So what are teachers doing to support them in their deaf identity?

Teacher 3: I imagine that in their teaching they ask questions to the children; they make them think; they don't just do a lesson; they make children talk. And first of all they teach them how to communicate as early as possible.

Teacher 2: I think they try to interact with the children. They don't make everything fall into the children's laps. They get the children involved by letting them to express themselves, which make their communication richer.

Deaf teachers who interact with children can help strengthen their Deaf identity. As a deaf teacher in Sapporo said: "I don't directly teach deaf culture. I just act like myself. Using my body or stamping my feet. I do things in Japanese Sign Language class that might seem to go against common sense for hearing people." She explained that she uses her body, or as I would emphasize, she uses techniques of the body that are not typical to the hearing mainstream culture. Instead, she uses her own bodily habitus to create her own common sense.

Techniques of the Body in Development of Deaf Identity

When we showed the three videos to a group of teachers at California School for the Deaf, a teacher pointed out that: "It really depended on the teacher's approach and philosophy. Again, it's access. Providing access to quality information. It's access that's critical." When Christi Batamula asked her to clarify, she explained: "It's access to information, their world, using appropriate language, interacting with them, going with your gut feeling, and having the ability to meet their needs." This started a lively discussion:

Teacher 6: So if it's not teacher-centered, where do you think the children get their

language from?

Teacher 3: Social interaction.

Teacher 1: Through social interaction. The teachers need to just feed them and support them and let things happen. And they'll really blossom in that structure.

Teacher 3: A good example of that is when she came in and said, "Make sure you're sitting so everybody can see." And I thought, well, that's just Deaf culture. We all know that. We're aware of that. We're able to direct to the task. It's the same thing.

Ikeda made a more political point about the importance of Deaf teachers taking the lead role:

> I think our role at Meisei is to plainly show the kids that you are a Deaf person. As for the role of hearing teachers, they should show an attitude of respecting Deaf people, and match their pace to Deaf people. Right now at deaf schools, hearing teachers are undertaking nearly everything. Currently they're doing everything under the leadership of hearing people, based on the assumption that deaf people can't do it. Hearing teachers' role is to recognize that Deaf education should be undertaken by Deaf people, and to be able to go along with Deaf people. I think that really doing that as a hearing person is quite difficult and requires resolution. For Deaf teachers, too, since they're bearing responsibility for the deaf students' lives, I think it's a substantial responsibility.

When teachers have the "Deaf way," as Sophie calls it, or what I call "Deaf techniques of the body," then the deaf children can start to acquire an embodied Deaf identity. Sophie breaks down the difference between Deaf culture, and Deaf habits, which she explains are essential for identity development.

Joe Valente: So Deaf culture to you means learning how to organize the children's bodies in a certain way?

Sophie: Yes, but this, it is more the “technical” part, this is culture, yes, but more technical, the fact of giving them habits that match their needs. When we talk about culture, we talk about language, history, and the Deaf community.

Joe Valente: So when we talk about Deaf ways of communicating, and Deaf ways of moving through space, do you think that's Deaf culture?

Sophie: This is the big question that everyone considers and we have different views. For me, sitting in a circle, switching on and off the lights, or stamping on the ground to attract attention, for me this is the technical part. This is technical, the way to communicate, part of the language, it is compulsory, and we need it.

Joe Valente: But isn’t that Deaf culture?

Sophie: No, it’s not.

Joe Valente: That's not deaf culture?

Sophie: Deaf culture is more related to the fact that we need to be together; we need our community, to talk for hours, to express ourselves in sign language. Deaf culture is many things, and history is a part of it.

Joe Valente: Are you saying that the technical parts of learning how to communicate in the deaf world is separate from Deaf culture?

Sophie: Yes. The use of words can be tricky. We have needs, the typically deaf, needs, rights, culture; all these things that are so close one to the other. We try to categorize them, and sometimes we would label them differently, because we haven't finished yet to integrate all the concepts. When we need to explain to hearing people or deaf people who don't know sign language, we may take all these categories mixed together and show them in its entirety.

> Joe Valente: I think your point is really interesting. It's much more complicated than saying "This is the Deaf way" or "This is the deaf technical way" and then "This is Deaf culture." Because sometimes they mix together.
>
> Sophie: Yes, because thirty years ago, people met in deaf clubs, and they said it was part of Deaf culture, switching lights on and off was Deaf culture. They were defining everything as Deaf culture because the Deaf community was small and frail, and they wanted to protect it, so they mixed all the concepts together. Today, our language is spreading, and becoming recognized. Deaf people are showing themselves, and there is more research. Now we can go deeper into these questions. We are improving.

As deaf children develop their Deaf techniques of the body, they are on the path to having a strong Deaf identity. They will need to have the ability to what Breivik (2005) calls "live on the edge of traditional society and employ peripheral vision/wisdom to function in the worlds in which they live" (p. 18). Dianne Morgan observed three deaf teachers in their interaction with students and found that through a community of practice, deaf children can take on a social identity through their observation and interaction with role models. Morgan uses Rogoff's (1990) theory of intersubjectivity as "the sharing of purpose and focus among individuals—is itself a process involving cognitive, social, and emotional interchange" (p.9). She then expands this concept by saying "Intersubjectivity enables learning in context which translates a child's growth in participation and practical understanding" (p. 27).

While we understand that there is a need for deaf role models who share the same native techniques of the body, we also must be aware that many deaf techniques of the body are implicit. How can we encourage these techniques of the body to become explicit? What teaching strategies can we use to highlight specific techniques of the body in today's preschool

classroom? As Sawamura emphasizes:

> It is very important to implant a real good Deaf identity at an early stage. I know that language acquisition happens at a very early age, that is why I took an interest in preschool education.

Several informants in our focus groups agreed with Sophie and Sawamura's explanations of the importance of developing a Deaf identity in deaf children from a very early age. There is becoming more awareness of Deaf culture and Deaf pedagogy. As a teacher from Fremont said, "We are seeing a lot of well intentioned, well informed teachers of the deaf who really have that intuition of how to work with the children, deaf teachers of deaf children."

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Conclusion

In the preceding chapters I have described and analyzed techniques deaf educators use to help deaf preschool children develop an embodied Deaf identity. In this concluding chapter, I focus on the implications of these findings for teachers, policy makers, and researchers.

Throughout my career as a teacher and researcher I have come in contact with many Deaf children of Deaf parents who were comfortable with their identity. In contrast, as a kindergarten teacher, I often had deaf children with hearing parents come to my classroom with minimal language, unable to express their thoughts and feelings. Many of these children came to school crying and upset, not knowing what was happening. As these students progressed through their kindergarten year, they learned American Sign Language, acquired aspects of an embodied deaf identity, and became happier and more confident. One day, a paraprofessional in my classroom remarked "You know, they're just like you. They sign and act and move like you!"

Throughout this study I have employed Mauss' notion of techniques of the body and bodily habitus. These are bodily habits that contribute to our identity. Many of these habits come from necessity. As a visual people, we need to have proper sight lines, positioning, and accessible bodily language in order to communicate effectively with each other. Along with signing, the key components of an embodied Deaf habitus include Deaf modes of gesture, facial expression, attention, and positioning ourselves in space. In combination they contribute to a Deaf identity and a Deaf way of being in the world.

I came into this study with the assumptions that (1) that Deafness is a culture rather than a disability; (2) that deaf children, most of whom have hearing families, are enculturated into Deaf culture primarily in deaf signing preschools; that becoming culturally Deaf involves not only acquiring fluency in sign language, but also in acquiring a Deaf bodily habitus and a positive Deaf identity; and (3) that Deaf preschools teachers play a unique and irreplaceable role in this process.

In their 1989 essay Johnson, Liddell and Erting (1989) called for a better approach for teaching Deaf children. They suggested that "the conflict between the perceived competence of educators and the failure of their students never calls the system into question" (p. 13). They brought up several points:

- ❏ Deaf children will learn if given access to the things we want them to learn.
- ❏ The first language of deaf children should be a natural sign language.
- ❏ The acquisition of a natural sign language should begin as early as possible in order to take advantage of the critical period effects.
- ❏ The best models for natural sign language acquisition, the development of a social identity, and the enhancement of self-esteem for deaf children are deaf signers who use the language proficiently.
- ❏ The natural sign language acquired by a deaf child provides the best access to educational content.
- ❏ Sign language and spoken language are not the same and must be kept separate both in use and in the curriculum.
- ❏ The learning of a spoken language (English) for a deaf person is a process of learning a second language through literacy.

- ❏ Deaf children are not seen as "defective models" of normally hearing children (p. 15-18).

I would add an additional point; Deaf children need to have exposure to role models who can model Deaf techniques of the body. Teachers who are native signers provide deaf children with role models for signing, a Deaf identity, and Deaf techniques of the body. Deaf educators in our focus groups emphasized the need for visual role models. As a French teacher commented on the videos: "The children have a Deaf identity, and a Deaf adult as their role models. They do not mix the two cultures. They make these two cultures equal. When children are not confused about who they are, they finally become equal." Scheetz (2004) encourages children to belong to a community that fosters their self-growth.

Deaf culture is unique in the aspect that many Deaf children may not share the same cultural background as their parents. Kushalnager (2010) and her colleagues found that 96% of deaf children are born to hearing parents, who may have never met a deaf person, or have any exposure to sign language. A teacher from CELEM in Paris agreed:

> I know families in which they communicate well with their deaf child, and where they know Deaf culture very well. When children grow up in this type of family, they get access to Sign Language, and will get a lot of information every day through their parents. This child will grow up having more knowledge and cultural openness due to communication with the family. In families where the parents do not know Sign Language, and they are surprised with their child's deafness, and do not know how to manage this situation, then the communication will be hard and basic, so access to the culture will be small.

Many of these children who do not grow up in the Deaf culture with exposure to Deaf techniques of the body may be constantly wondering why they are different and they may be frustrated by

their limited communication abilities. These children may also believe that when they get older they will stop being deaf and become hearing (Lane, Hoffmeister, & Bahan, 1996). A teacher in a US focus group commented that "Kids think they will grow up to become hearing like their parents. I have to explain that deaf is deaf, and that they should be proud of who they are."

Teaching strategies are needed to create that foundation for a strong cultural identity. These strategies would be best if taught by teachers who share and comprehend culture and the native language of their students (Adair, Tobin, Arzubiaga, 2012; Simms & Thumann, 2007) (Arzubiaga, Rueda, & Monzo, 2002; Carreon, Drake, & Barton, 2005). Gay (2002) argues that when teachers use strategies to scaffold cultural concepts, they encourage growth of scholarly notions and attainment of educational goals (Gay, 2002). In pre-schools, I encourage teachers to use strategies to explicitly scaffold techniques of the body to support acquisition of an embodied bodily habitus.

Implications for Teaching: Use of Explicit Teaching and Modeling

A unique feature of the acquisition by young children of Deaf culture and American Sign Language is that this learning typically occurs at school rather than at home. How do Deaf teachers teach Deaf Culture to deaf children? What does this teaching and learning look like? Informants in our focus groups provided a range of answers. A teacher in Paris said "You teach facial expressions, body movements, and everything else that makes up our culture." A teacher in the US noticed that the children in the videos we shot had "good body language and good expressions. They had good facial expressions and they attended to the speaker. They interacted appropriately with each other; they took turns, looking, following one another, and they were able to follow a conversation." These are foundational skills that contribute to an embodied Deaf habitus. Techniques of the body including eye contact, facial expressions, body language,

location in space, and the use of bodily cues all have a role in the construction of that strong foundation.

When we demonstrate and explain Deaf bodily techniques to our students, they may start to comprehend the reason behind these techniques, and internalize them. When they internalize these body techniques, they become implicit and turn into an embodied habitus. When we encourage children to inquire and explore techniques of the body, then children becomes stakeholders in their learning process. As Jenny Singleton explained in an interview:

> When students learn to inquire about certain things, and teachers begin the process of interacting with them, then it provides rich language exposure and it's not focused on how they can articulate the words. Instead of focusing on that, the students are learning how to ask questions, and how to find the answers, and that's good for preschool children.

Rogoff (2003) explains that when children are exposed to role models who share the same culture and techniques of the body, they start to understand why things are the way they are. Many things they do start to make sense. She calls this learning "intersubjectivity." In order for children to understand why deaf people do things in a different way than hearing people, it needs to be explicitly explained, and modeled. I present two scenarios that present teachers dealing with the same problem in different ways. Both scenarios happened at lunchtime, and involve teachers disciplining their students. These two scenarios were also discussed in Chapter 6. This time, I focus explicitly on the teaching strategies.

Modeling and Explicit Instruction for Social Awareness

At Maryland School for the Deaf, two girls are hiding under the table eating butter. They are shifting their eye gaze back and forth between the teacher and the butter. Cara walks over to the girls, and bends down to their level. She then looks at each of them, and scrunches her face in a look of disgust. She then says: “It’s not acceptable to eat butter like that. Please don’t eat butter like that again.” The girls do not say anything, and comply.

Girls eating butter

Cara: Please don’t eat…

Cara: the butter.

At lunchtime at Meisei School for the Deaf, Ikeda-sensei sits with a group of children. Ikeda takes the strap off the lunch box, and realizes she does not have a place to put it. Akira offers to hold the lunch strap, and takes it from Ikeda. Suddenly, Hiroki tells Akira, “No!” without explain the reason why. He continues to eat lunch, and after a minute, Ikeda taps him on the shoulder.

Hiroki says “No.”

Ikeda taps Hiroki on his shoulder.

Ikeda: Is it better to…

..explain than just saying “No?”

“Do I say ‘No’ to you?”

(waving in Student’s direction to get attention)

Ikeda: I don’t say “No” like that. I usually ask, “What’s going on? I was talking with Hiroki-kun about that. (notice here, another child’s hand waving to get attention).

The teachers behaved very differently in these two scenes. Cara did not explain the reason for why we should not eat butter with our fingers. She lost a teachable moment, where she could have explained several reasons, such as it's not healthy, or proper etiquette. She could have challenged the students to think about the reasons why eating butter with fingers may not be a good idea. During a focus group interview at the California School for the Deaf, an administrator brought this scene up, saying "I wish she did more celebrating of the students rather than just criticizing their behavior: 'Oh, why are you under the table eating butter and you shouldn't be eating butter.' Those kinds of discussions don't really inspire thinking." Cara uses a disgusted facial expression, which may confuse the children, because they clearly like the taste of butter. Cara's reaction can cause lead to confusion about their experience. A conversation here could have helped the children understand that even though butter tastes good, it's not appropriate for us to eat butter directly from the butter bowl with fingers. Children need to learn the rules of society, in order to what Sophie calls, "live together." In an interview Adam Stone supported this statement, explaining:

> There are studies that show that teachers who sit with their students, even in normal conversation, make a great impact on their development. But if they just sit there in a supervisory role it does nothing for them. It's a waste of time, actually. She should be in conversation that's meaningful, and that'll really have a positive impact. But she's missing that opportunity.

When teachers and students interact with each other in social situations, the teacher can use social language and provide students with conversational norms. Teachers who take the time to

explain to students will contribute to understanding the implicit rules of language, and why these rules are made.

Ikeda approached the situation very well. She took the time to explain to Hiroki about how to say, and the ramifications of this action. She also answered another student's question about what was going on by explaining the entire situation. She used her facial expressions to show questioning and paused to suggest she was expecting an answer. In short, she was engaging in an explicit dialogue with her students, and modeling the appropriate responses. Her students were all watching this dialogue happen, and she made sure to make a teachable moment out of it. Several of our informants applauded this approach. A parent from the Learning Center commented: "The teacher was explaining how the behavior was inappropriate, saying she wouldn't do that. She expanded the concepts and gave reasons why. She didn't just say 'No!' and leave it like that. Or say "That's not nice!" but she explained why." A teacher from the same school said that: "It was nice to see her expand on the situation during lunch when the children asked what they were talking about."

The difference between Ikeda and Cara's responses is that Ikeda gave her students reasons why a particular behavior is not acceptable in their culture. This type of explicit instruction and inquiry helps children process information about their world, and helps them internalize the correct bodily techniques.

Preservice teachers of the deaf need learn how to approach students in this way, with the assumption that student may not know how and why we behave the way we do in our society. Teachers should model techniques of the body, social norms, and conversational norms and give their students the reasons why these norms are important. Teachers also should give the students time to imitate their bodily techniques, and take the time to discuss each bodily technique, and

provide answers to why these bodily techniques are important to their language, culture, and/or society.

These practices are also useful for early childhood programs that serve hearing students. All young children need to have direct explanations in order to understand why specific techniques of the body are important. When adults take the "because it has to be that way" attitude, then children will not understand the reasoning behind these techniques of the body. When we use explicit instruction and model the correct way to do these actions, then children will take ownership of these techniques of the body, and internalize them. They can also explain the reasoning to other children.

The next examples I will consider are of teachers taking the time to explain specific techniques of the body for different reasons. In France, we see Sophie explaining to Henri and his peers the appropriate way to use their facial expressions when they discuss the hard work of washing the car versus resting. I discussed Sophie's use of facial expression in Chapter 5. I now turn to her teaching strategy.

Modeling and Explicit Instruction for Facial Expressions

Pointing out the facial expression of rest gesture.

Here, Henri shows understanding of the work facial expression. He signs, “hard.”

Sophie says to look out for the mouth movement.

Not too much puffing out, Sophie says, this is incorrect.

Instead, you would show a tired expression

with your lips jutting out, and breathe air as you were giving a sigh.

Sophie here reminds her students to always make their facial expressions exact.

This teaching strategy of explicitly explaining to students how to use proper facial expressions is important for early childhood deaf education. Pairing modeling with inquiry based questions encourages students to think about their actions, and what facial expressions or body language they need to use to communicate effectively with their peers. As Sophie explains:

> I just thought, in that scene I question the kids about the facial expressions and I correct them. This is something typically Deaf. You need to sign “tired” with a tired facial expression, you cannot say it while smiling. Most of the time the children disconnect their signs from their facial expressions. They do not understand of the inseparable link

> between both. There, I ask them, “Why do I blow out like that?” I don't know, but I imagine that a person who masters LSF completely but nothing more, a hearing person for instance, will not think of questioning the children about this facial expression. The person will think that the children are already aware of the fact that blowing out that way is linked to the “tired” sign. But children don't have this awareness and sign while smiling. They need to be taught that facial expressions give a specific meaning. At this point, children will do the sign again with appropriate facial expression and will understand better. These are little details we need to emphasize.

She explains that it is important to show children the little details, for they can easily change the language. When they do the facial expressions inappropriately, then the entire meaning of the sign could be changed. This is an explicit teaching of techniques of the body. As Jenny Singleton commented in her interview:

> Here, she is using expanded meaning and she’s asking them why it’s important to puff out the cheeks. Why is it important? Does it mean a different thing if you sign without puffing your cheeks? She’s causing a meta analsyis of the signs. What they should be paying attention to. I think that’s good practice.

A teacher in Paris commented on this teaching strategy, saying that the poem Sophie teaches the children fits in with the French National Curriculum, but is completely adapted to meet the Deaf child. She clarified, saying: “In that poem, we see the Deaf culture included in the language. They did copy the idea from the National Curriculum, but it’s totally adapted to the deaf world, their expressions, the way it looks.” A teacher from Poitiers saw value in Sophie’s pedagogical strategy: The teacher shows what her pedagogy is, and passes the knowledge on to the children.” Her colleague agreed, saying at their school they “make videos of children signing

stories, and watch the video together and correct the mistakes and they need to understand why they were wrong using this or that sign. They must analyze their language. It's important and it's linked to grammar and syntax." Sophie's coordinating teacher, Marie Paule, applauded her teaching strategy, saying:

> I think that's really good pedagogy. The technical support from the computer helps with that. The students watch and memorize, trying to remember the signs in the song. They need to memorize the order and they look at it several times to reinforce it. This is something they need to learn by heart, so they have to memorize it.

When they watch the video several times, they begin to internalize not only the signs, but also the facial expressions and body language, and they focus their attention on the teacher, to get all the visual information possible. When this strategy is coupled with explicit inquiry regarding techniques of the body, it gives students tools to analyze their language and social practices. Hosie et al. suggest that explicit teaching of facial expressions encourages the internalization of cultural rules and emotional awareness (Hosie, et. al 2000).

Video allows teachers to stop and start the video and discuss each embodied action as they go. Children can take these videos home, and imitate the teachers on the video. The techniques of the body captured on video remains consistent, which helps children imitate these techniques of the body, for all they need to do is rewind and watch it repeatedly. When children bring these videos home to watch, their entire family can watch and learn both sign language and Deaf embodied techniques of the body.

When we take the time to model and explain to our students facial expressions, tone of voice, location, and gaze, we provide them with the building blocks for developing a Deaf way of being and a Deaf identity. Our actions will become their habits as well. When we explain the

reasoning behind the facial expressions, and clarify which are emotive and which linguistic, then children will start to understand and internalize these facial expressions and tone of voice and learn to match their facial expressions to their signing. We can also do exercises where we ask young students to perform a range of facial expressions (for example, "I'm mad, here is my angry face!").

Modeling and Explicit Instruction for Techniques of the Body

The Japan video provides another example of explicit instruction in techniques of the body. In the morning opening scene, Ikeda gathers her students in a half circle facing her and asks the class if they know why a student, Ritsuki, is absent. Hiroki immediately leaps up, hand raised high, and says he knows why. He signs: "Ritsuki threw up," and returns to his seat. Ikeda asks the group if that is right: "Ritsuki threw up?" She then repeats the sign that Hiroki used, and gives a questioning look. She explains that the sign that Hiroki uses means "fountain," which would suggest that Ritsuki vomited up into the air, like a fountain. She performs a version of this act, to suggest that it is unlikely. Then she shows the correct sign for "throw-up," which includes a movement of the hand from the lips down to the lap, and not a flowing out and up of the hand. This is a transcript of their interaction:

Hiroki: He threw up!

Ikeda: Is this the right sign?

Is it?


The correct way is, yes, this is the sign for “throw up.”

Children, hearing as well as deaf, often experiment with words to attempt to fine-tune their linguistic understanding. Ikeda’s clarification of the difference between vomiting and “fountaining” is not only a JSL vocabulary lesson, but also a reminder that the wrong hand movement can completely change the meaning of a sign, which could lead to confusion and misunderstanding. She implicitly stresses the importance of showing the correct sign, not saying that Hiroki’s sign is bad, but just that it is not appropriate for describing this type of illness. When we asked Ikeda about this, she said:

> When the children use incorrect sign language, I tell them it's wrong. I don't focus only on mistakes. I also I convey information about other things. Especially in this class, there aren't many Deaf of Deaf, so I'm very careful regarding the use of sign language. When there's an error, I don't just tell them it's wrong. I also make sure that the correct sign language is input naturally.

Many teachers, parents, and administrators in our focus groups commented that this approach to teaching sign language is used in their classrooms. One teacher from Bordeaux said: “The discussion about language itself when the teacher corrected the child, and how the kids communicate with each other, this is the sort of thing we see with hearing children at the same age, and that's what we would do.” Another teacher from Poitiers made a similar statement: “Just

like hearing children learn that there are sounds, letters, words, in Sign Language deaf children will learn that there are parameters, hand-shapes, space, the face. All day long they learn sign language, but they also learn many other things."

Many of the teachers in this study expressed the need for explicit instruction in order to pass down linguistic and cultural information. They expressed the need for eye contact, direct explanations, and elaboration on the reasoning for why signs and facial expressions are done in certain ways. Looking back on her experience teaching, an administrator from Phoenix Day School for the Deaf said:

> Some of our students are still really working on just eye contact. Continuous eye contact. Being able to look at the speaker. Looking from who is speaking to the next person. How do you teach that? We have to go back and teach some of those foundational skills before we can teach them any language.

Another teacher commented:

> We need to develop language and watching facial expressions and changing and just practicing and signing back and forth with each other. When people talk, they can hear themselves talk, but it's really hard for me to assess my own sign because I can't see myself sign. So we expect our students here to do that. It's very social, and building social skills and social language.

While these teachers recognized the need for explicit instruction, several said that they weren't sure if it is possible or desirable to explicitly break down language and culture into terms that are easy for their students to understand. Many of the teachers said their approach to teaching signs and body language is more intuitive than conscious and their students' learning more "spontaneous" than systematic. Bonnie commented: "When I'm doing read alouds, I make

sure to show my facial expressions because it helps the children conceptualize the story. That is both taught by me and learned spontaneously by the kids. There's no black and white, only gray areas." Are these students learning spontaneously and is Bonnie's teaching without conscious intentions? When we asked Bonnie if she had to change her pedagogy when she has children who come from homes where they are not exposed to ASL, she replied: "Maybe I do, but it's not intentional."

I would encourage teachers to watch videos of themselves teaching to see if they can identify techniques of the body they use implicitly. If we deaf educators can catch ourselves performing Deaf techniques of the body, this may allow us to create an explicit lesson on these techniques, and give us a chance to demonstrate and explain these movements to our students, so they can internalize these techniques of the body.

I urge all early childhood education programs to consider incorporating awareness of the need of explicit instruction and modeling in techniques of the body in preschool classrooms. When we train teachers to identify implicit cultural practices, and provide them with the language to explain these cultural practices, children will begin to more readily understand Deaf cultural practices, and become able to internalize these cultural practices faster, and becoming more aware of their cultural identity.

Modeling and Explicit Instruction in the mediation of Deaf Space

As argued in Chapter 6, using and designing space effectively is crucial in deaf early childhood education. Ata, Deniz & Akman (2012) urge educators to consider space as a "living, changing system" (p. 2034). Deaf classrooms need to be seen as "idiosyncratic environments that reflect socio-cultural aspects of the community being served" (Justice, 2004, p. 36).

Let me return to Sophie's explanation to Henri about sight lines. Here, Sophie was not thinking about her comments as a lesson, but it was, indeed a lesson for Henri. Sophie's explicit explanation for her reason for moving Zoe was not part of her lesson plan. But Sophie spontaneously seized the opportunity, turning it into a teachable moment. She taught Henri and the other students in the group that in order for Zoe to see better, she had to move to his seat. She implicitly taught Zoe that if she is having a hard time seeing, then it is okay for her to stand up, and move to another seat in order to maximize her sight lines.

Move over a little

(points to Zoe)

Sophie: Come here….

Henri: Hey!

Henri: That's my place!

Sophie: She can't see…

This was an effective lesson in the need for deaf students to advocate for themselves. Teachers in deaf schools should encourage their students to be aware of their sight lines, especially when they are communicating with others in a large group. In many deaf education classrooms, if there is a large group, it is encouraged for the speaker to come up to the front of the classroom to ensure visibility, as Hiroki did when we wanted to explain a classmate's absence. We need to explain to our students that because we deaf people use our eyes to communicate, we need to be agentic about moving our bodies and sometimes the bodies of others to allow for visual communication.

When we asked Sophie about this exchange she had with Henri, she said that she had reacted intuitively:

> I know what would be my needs in such a situation. I always bend forward and ask people to move over for me to see. It is automatic. If I don't see, I need to make the person bothering me move, and I do the same for the children.

As deaf people, we adjust our locations and sometimes the locations of others to make sure communication stays visible. Most of the time, these bodily movements are done without conscious thought, as Sophie explains:

> When I teach kids, I don't have the concepts in my head, saying "This is that, here it's this." It is more like the typical deaf needs that include both points. When I teach, I don't say to myself 'Now I'm teaching this specific deaf need'. It is more of my knowledge I need to give that is influenced by my deaf culture.

I suggest that teachers should use explicit instruction and modeling to explain why the set up of space is an important factor in communication. I present an example of Bonnie explaining to her

students the importance of sitting in a half circle close to her in order to have an optimal learning experience.



Bonnie: If you sit in a small circle close to me, then I can see you all just fine.

Bonnie: If you sat in a huge circle far away from me,

…then it would be hard for me to see you all.

When we explain how to set up space, children have access to the information about why it is important, and they have a reason to practice this technique of the body. Soon, it will become an embodied action, part of their deaf bodily habitus.

When deaf children are provided with information and given visual models, they will begin to understand the social reasoning behind their action. As Ikeda explains, “ They have not yet acquired the culture, the implicit part of it, that's why they make mistakes; it's not that they

can't do it, they just haven't seen it. That's why the kids make mistakes and learn things incorrectly." As Sophie suggested: "We need to emphasize the little details."

Implications for Policy

Many deaf children are born in families who do not provide them with exposure to American Sign Language or Deaf Culture. Deaf preschools can play a crucial role in the linguistic and socio-cultural development of these children. Deaf young children benefit from being enrolled in programs that introduce sign language, Deaf techniques of the body, and Deaf identity. This instruction should be both direct and implicit.

We need Native Signers in Early Childhood Deaf Education

Native signers have a critical role to play in Deaf early childhood education because they are uniquely qualified to pass on Deaf culture and Deaf language to deaf children. Native signers provide children with ways to advocate for their communication and social needs. For example, when children are taught to tap other children to gain attention, they will have the ability to start a conversation, and learn social skills. When children cannot see the speaker due to another person blocking their view, they can adjust their seating, or ask the person in front of them to move slightly. These are the tools that can contribute to a successful experience in schooling. When we provide children with these tools earlier, in pre-school classrooms, they learn to internalize these tools to advocate for themselves before they start Kindergarten. As Sophie explained in her interview:

Joe Valente: Some outsiders like hearing people might watch this video and say "Yes, it is important to have a deaf teacher who knows sign language, but you can have a hearing

teacher who knows sign language and they could do just as good a job." What would you say to that?

Sophie: It's true, they could. But it depends on what grade they teach. I think that kindergarten is not the place. They could teach older grades. As I explained earlier, there are little things that are really important for little children that are natural and the hearing teacher will lack. Once the children will have absorbed these essentials, a hearing signing teacher can take over from the first year of elementary school as from there, the important thing is the knowledge. From the age of 0 up to 6 years old, I strongly advise that a deaf adult take charge of the children. For example, in this school, there are hearing teachers and some of them are signers, but they can't communicate with the little deaf children because the younger kids' language is still a little bit clumsy, imprecise, or not enough eye contact, and I understand them, but hearing teachers may not. The hearing teacher asks the kid to repeat again and again to understand. When children realize they are not being understood, they start to express themselves less and less. We need the children to learn how to express themselves at this age. We must let them be clumsy, make them talk even if there is a lack of coherence. The main thing is to be on the same wavelength and understand them to make them confident with their sign language. Then, once they express themselves fully, we can correct them.

Joe Valente: I hear you saying the advantages of you being so skilled with sign is that when children who are still learning sign language, they make mistakes, that adults may not be able to understand them or vice versa.

Sophie: The children will stop expressing themselves. They will think: "He doesn't understand me? Never mind." And this is when they will sign less and less. Let's imagine

> a hearing child saying a word in a clumsy way, for example he wants to say "dog" but pronounces it improperly. The adult will understand and will repeat the word and explain the proper way to pronounce it. That way, the children can build their knowledge. If a hearing child tells me something and I don't understand, he will give up trying and will be as equally frustrated as a deaf child with a hearing teacher The fact that there are two different languages in action can cause deadlocked situations. The best would be to have an adult having the same language as the group of kids.

When children do not get the opportunity to explore their world, and become exposed to accessible visual language, they will not be able to realize their full academic and social potential. In order for children to make sense of the world, they need the language and techniques of the body provided to them. They also need observation of social practices to become embodied members of their society. When they do not have access to their physical and cultural world, they may feel disembodied and this may affect their "sense of attachment, belonging, self-assurance, and fulfillment, [for these qualities] appeared greater in relationships that were communicatively accessible" (Sheridan, 1996, p. 153).

I would endorse a policy in early childhood deaf education that deaf children have a right to be taught by native signers. We also need to encourage all educators and policy makers involved with deaf education to listen to natives of Deaf culture (Ausbrooks, Baker, Daugaard, 2012; Ladd 2003). Currently, many policies and educational decisions are made by hearing people in many countries all over the world. These hearing people may not understand the perspectives of Deaf people, because they have not experienced Deafness personally. As Ikeda explains, she would like to see more

> hearing teachers respecting deaf people, and matching their pace to deaf people. Right now, at deaf schools, hearing teachers and administrators are taking over everything. They're doing it based on the assumption that deaf people can't do it. Right now, it seems difficult for hearing people to recognize that deaf education needs to be run by deaf people. Right now, it seems like they think we are inferior, and we can't do it.

When we show more deaf people in higher positions, and being involved in the educational policies of young deaf children, it shows more visibility, and more role models for young deaf children, to know there are successful deaf people out there, and they too, can grow up to be successful.

More Deaf Programs to encourage the development of a Cultural Identity

In 2011, the Gallaudet Research Institute (GRI) released a report of a survey they conducted on K-12 schools in the United States. In this report, they stated that of all the deaf students in K-12 schools, 57% (15,598) of these students were mainstreamed in regular education programs with other hearing students. Only 24% (6,644) of the students were in schools for the deaf. They also inquired about the communication modalities in these programs, and found that in K-12 instruction, 53% (19,805) of deaf children were in spoken language programs, and 27.4% (10,228) deaf children were instructed using sign language. When inquired about sign language use at home, 71.6% (26,115) students reported that no one knew sign language at home, contrasting with 23% (8395) of deaf students who had family members who knew sign language. When asked if ASL was the primary language in the home, only 5.8% of the students responded affirmatively.

This is a major concern. In their 1989 essay Johnson, Liddell and Erting predicted that by the year 2002 many deaf and hard of children would be falling through the cracks and becoming more language delayed in the preschools due to lack of exposure to their native language, ASL. Other research suggests deaf children have difficulty establishing their identities and making friends, and many suffer from social anxiety (Marschark, Lang, & Albertini, 2002).

Deaf programs are rapidly disappearing. Where can these deaf children go to learn how to advocate for themselves, and be in a group with others who share their culture? When Deaf children have a place to share their cultural identity, they will develop a stronger, positive identity. It is important for children to find their place in the world, and Deaf children have the opportunity to be a part of two or more different communities. In order for these children to become bilingual, or multilingual, and multicultural, they first need to have a dominant culture and language (Baker, 2006). These children can use their dominant language and culture to access other new cultures and languages. Kannapell (1994) encourages teachers to consider "one of the goals of educating deaf children should be harmonious identification with both Deaf and hearing cultures, but educators should strengthen the Deaf identity among deaf children first" (p. 47-48). As Vanessa explained: "If there were only three or four deaf people together in a sea of hearing people they're not going to be able to develop their identity."

Deaf children can have access to all the available technological tools, such as cochlear implants, hearing aids, and assistive technological devices, and also be exposed to sign language. Currently many professionals discourage parents from considering teaching their children sign and enrolling them in deaf schools, calling these schools a "last resort," explaining that for the child's best interest, they should be mainstreamed. I disagree with this approach.

When Deaf children try to meet the ideals of the mainstream world, it can cause "stress, but refusal to do so threatens survival" (Erting, 1985 p. 227). Many of these children may be the only minority child in the classroom. This can cause more stress, because they may not have another person with whom to form an alliance. When we enforce policies that designate English as the only language, it can lead to children losing their minority language, and their cultural identity (Adair, 2011; Garcia 2005; Kourizin, 1999). There is a need for bilingual teachers who know the same language as Deaf children, due to the fact they can reassure and encourage these children in their native language (Schick et al, 2013; Baker, 2006; Ladd, 2003; Knight & Swanwick, 2002; Lane, Hoffmeister, & Bahan, 1996).

The objective "of all dual language schools is to produce bilingual, biliterate and multicultural children" (Baker, 2006, p. 231) Deaf education programs need to advocate for the goals of bilingualism and multiculturalism (Ausbrooks, Baker, & Daugaard, 2012; Knoors & Marschark, 2012; Knight & Swanwick, 2002). There have been countless studies on the advantages of dual language bilingual programs for Deaf children (Ausbrooks, Baker, Daugaard, 2012; Knoors & Marschark, 2012; Schick, et al. 2013; Baker, 2006; Knight & Swanwick, 2002).

Baker (2006) advocates for strong bilingual programs, such as dual language bilingual programs, to address the low academic achievement of Deaf children and to boost their self-esteem and identity. This empowers deaf children, because they experience a sense of belonging due to "effective, expedient, and clear communication" (Simms & Thumann, 2007, p. 305). These bilingual programs "build on a child's existing linguistic and intellectual resources, allowing concepts and knowledge to be developed in the first language, transferring easily to the second language" (Baker, 2006, p. 377). When teachers take the time to ensure the first language is valued as much as the second language, we see an increase in positive school performance,

and attainment of curriculum objectives, as well as students developing more confidence and a sense of self-worth due to their utilization of their minority language (Baker, 2006; Simms & Thumann, 1997). Children who grow up bilingual have higher cognitive and language skills (Yoshida, 2008; Nemeth & Erdosi, 2012).

Deaf programs struggle to employ Deaf teachers (Ausbrooks, Baker, & Daugaard, 2012; Andrews & Jordan, 1993). These programs also struggle with lack of a standardized curriculum that advocates for the use of minority languages (Knight & Swanwick, 2002). Bilingual programs encourage equal access of both the majority and minority languages, encouraging the cultures to come alive through preservation of languages. Culturally responsive teaching can take the concept further, by advocating for the education of minority children through their cultural lens. Fort & Stechuk (2008) argue that when children are exposed to their minority language, their social-emotional needs are met, and their problem solving skills increase. In contrast, "in a place where no one speaks the child's language and knows very little of his culture, a child could feel lost, misunderstood, and alienated (p. 24).

There is a need for policies that ensure that all children who are identified as deaf or hard of hearing prior to the age of six should be able to attend early childhood programs in deaf schools. There should also be policy that every deaf education classroom in preschools must have deaf teachers. While it is preferred that these deaf role models must be the classroom teacher, where this is not possible, the school can recruit the services of another Deaf adult to provide children with a native signer who is culturally Deaf.

Implications for Research

This dissertation suggests the value of conducting more research on Deaf bodily techniques and more specifically on pedagogical strategies teachers can use in deaf schools to

scaffold the development in deaf children of a Deaf bodily habitus. We need to develop curricula for teaching deaf children to use their gaze, touch, and location in Deaf cultural ways. These Deaf bodily techniques can be acquired informally if deaf children have the opportunity to be students in a preschool class taught by a signing, culturally Deaf teacher. But an implication of this dissertation is that this informal process of enculturation can be augmented by explicit instruction.

Currently deaf children are learning these techniques of the body through trial and error. For example, deaf children are often admonished for gaining attention incorrectly, but too often without also being given instruction on the correct way. At times deaf children sign the right sign, but the meaning of the sign does not fit with the concept they are trying to convey. For example, a child trying to sign "my nose is running" may use the typical sign for "running" rather than the sign for nasal dripping.

Currently, there are programs, like the project at Fairview, that cater to multiple meanings of signs, but such programs are typically introduced at an older age, and not at the preschool level. There needs to be more research into how we can bring techniques of the body to the early childhood classroom.

There is also need for more research on how we can use narratives for the development of bodily habitus. For example, Martha Sheridan (1996) conducted a series of interviews with young deaf children. These young deaf children used narratives to explain their concepts of the world. Sheridan reports that many of their narratives were "about difficulties they encounter, but frequently appeared to view these difficulties as shared experiences and challenges with hearing others" (Sheridan, 1996, p. 60). She also found that the children's sense of "attachment, belonging, self-assurance, and fulfillment appeared greater in relationships that were

communicatively accessible" (p. 72). These children were able to share information about themselves with the interviewer by using narratives, and through "the foundation of accessible language and communication skills used at home and at school" (Sheridan, 1996, p. 152).

Teachers who are native signers can share their childhood experiences, and apply these Deaf experiences develop lessons to help deaf children develop language, bodily techniques, and identity. Sutton-Spence and Ramsey quote a teacher who explained that he used narratives with his deaf children because he wanted them:

> them to know that they are probably having the same experiences with their families or wherever they happen to meet up with people, for example, socializing, how they get in trouble how people get their attention, what happens if they don't understand" (2010, p. 156).

When these Deaf children are exposed to positive narratives, from a successful Deaf role models, they may develop a more positive self-concept (Gertz, 2003).

Sutton-Spence & Ramsey (2010) interviewed six teachers from three different countries, and found that all six of these teachers support the use of narratives in the classroom. Their narratives "relate to the issues of deafness or the teachers' life experiences" (p. 156). These teachers wanted their deaf students to be aware that they have been through it too, and they survived. These teachers also expressed the need to include the hearing community in their stories, because deaf students need to understand the hearing world in order to better understand what it means to be Deaf (Sutton-Spence & Ramsey, 2010).

The Deaf community has rich signed folklore that has been passed down from generation to generation (Sutton Spence, 2010). These narratives give the message that the Deaf community will be there for their future generations (Ladd, 2003). Signed narratives, just like oral narratives,

"identifies elements that Deaf adults believe should be included to help students develop the personal linguistic and social identities of the self" (Sutton-Spence, 2010, p. 265-266). Sutton-Spence & Ramsey (2010) asked Tom Humphries about the importance of signed narratives, and he said:

> The language in storytelling, the way of presenting yourself and the way of organizing yourself involved in storytelling are the products of visual consciousness, or visual language, knowledge, visual organization, visual theory of mind, and all the things that are necessary and important for classroom learning for deaf children" (p. 151).

Narrative provides the framework for what Prior (2011) calls the "sequential unfolding of talk and the rhetorical, relational, emotional and moral work interactants engage in as they describe events" (p. 62). Teachers in deaf schools can scaffold their students' knowledge by using narratives. This can give deaf children the knowledge that other people have experienced the same things, and provide them examples of choices other deaf people have made.

Implication for Hearing Education

This dissertation has implications for hearing as well as deaf early childhood education. It also impacts early childhood education as a whole. Hearing as well as deaf children need to be given the tools to recognize and employ bodily techniques appropriate to their culture. Effective, culturally appropriate techniques of gaze, touch, facial expressions and gesture need to be taught and learned in hearing as well as deaf preschools. I suggest that the approaches Sophie, Ikeda, and Bonnie employ in their deaf preschool classrooms can also be effective in hearing preschool classrooms.

EPILOGUE

As a kindergarten teacher, I lacked a conceptual framework to explain why many of my students entered my classroom with an inability to express themselves, scared and confused about why they were there, and then leaving the classroom at the end of the year, confident, expressive, and academically ready for first grade. I knew that I was using the educational training I received in my master's program, but at the same time, I couldn't shake off the sense that it was something more than that. When a colleague marveled at the fact that my students were imitating me, using the same expressions, signing the same words, even admonishing each other the way I would admonish them, I was started on a journey of stepping back from my daily classroom practice and studying processes that go on between the Deaf teachers like me and their students.

Before I started this dissertation research I was aware that my students mimicked my facial expressions and way of signing. But I hadn't attended to the implicit techniques of the body my students and I were using. Thinking back to my teaching days, I smile as I notice what had once been implicit to me, but is very explicit to me now. The facial scrunches, the shrug of the shoulders, the lips pursuing out as my students signed the word "expert." We work very hard as teachers to make sure that our students are not only academically ready to move on to the next level, but also socially ready as well. What we don't always realize is, even though we are conscious of our explicit teaching practice, we are also teaching our students in implicit ways. We cannot and should not avoid this. Our behavior, our mannerisms, and our approaches are all

habitual. We live in a society where we can support each other through similar techniques of the body. It is only when someone is "off," that people notice.

I was born Deaf, but I was not born into Deaf culture. I had hearing parents, who, fortunately, were committed to learning everything they could about the Deaf culture. I learned sign language first. I did not learn to speak until after my fourth birthday. Sign language helped build a bridge to English. I was also exposed to Deaf techniques of the body from an early age, even though I did not understand what we were doing. I became an expert at doing and reading facial expressions, to the point where my family would instantly know if something was wrong. Even to this day, it's hard for me to hide my facial expressions, or my feelings, which I wear and perform with my face and body. The Deaf role models I had in my early educational experiences were beneficial for the development of these Deaf techniques of the body. Due to growing up in both the hearing world and the Deaf worlds, I have a mixture of techniques of the body that sometimes cause confusion. I have noticed when I do some "Deaf" mannerisms I get bemused glances from the hearing population. The Deaf population is much more blunt than the hearing population, which I found out when someone said to me "You tryin' to be hearing, eh?" As I got older and became trained in the oral method, I started to forget a lot of the sign language. Then when I was mainstreamed in the sixth grade, I started to try to be more "hearing." I did not have many deaf friends, and I was embarrassed to use the little sign language I knew. I felt that I could be much more than just a deaf person. Little did I know, my identity was slipping away. I started becoming frustrated, and lonely. I thought I had friends, but little did I know that many of my "hearing friends" were not my real friends. I struggled so hard to belong in junior high school and in high school. My parents recognized this, and encouraged me to attend Deaf camps. I fought this idea, saying that I didn't need these camps. I wasn't deaf. It wasn't until my freshman

year of College that I started to accept the fact that I was deaf, and it was okay. I now understand that I live in both worlds, and I truly have the best of both worlds. I still carry a few scars from my past, through my habits of whispering while I sign, and like Hiroki in our study, I often will talk too much, and not letting other people talk, because I am nervous I may not understand or be understood completely.

This research has demonstrated that we all have specific techniques of the body that define who we are, and what groups we belong to. These techniques of the body are characteristic of class, gender, culture, religious affiliation, and disability, but there is no wrong technique of the body. It's what works for you and for your social identity.

This research has helped me think about the future of early childhood deaf education, and about the need for more research in this area. My goal has always been to give young deaf children a chance to know who they are. I don't want any of the children to go through the same longing for an identity as I did when I was younger. This research has also helped me understand myself more as an individual, and for that, I am truly thankful.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Sites and Participants of the Focus Groups

Name	Location	Number of Educators
The United States		
Atlanta School f/t Deaf	Atlanta, Georgia	5 teachers
Central Institute f/t Deaf	St. Louis, Missouri	3 teachers
California School f/t Deaf, Fremont	Fremont, California	7 teachers
Indiana School f/t Deaf	Indianapolis, Indiana	4 teachers
Phoenix Day School f/t Deaf	Phoenix, Arizona	6 teachers
The Learning Center	Framingham, Massachusetts	11 teachers
France		
INJS- Bordeaux	Bordeaux, France	9 teachers
Poitiers	Poitiers, France	12 teachers
INJS- Paris	Paris, France	12 teachers
CELEM	Paris, France	5 teachers
Toulouse	Toulouse, France	13 teachers
Japan		
Nara	Nara, Japan	10 teachers
Chiba	Chiba, Japan	11 teachers
Meisei	Tokyo, Japan	2 teachers
Yokosuka	Yokosuka, Japan	9 teachers
Sapporo	Sapporo, Japan	5 teachers
Total Teachers		**124 Teachers**

Name	Location	Number of Administrators
Central Institute f/t Deaf	St. Louis, Missouri	4 Administrators
California School f/t Deaf, Fremont	Fremont, California	3 Administrators
Indiana School f/t Deaf	Indianapolis, Indiana	5 Administrators
Maryland School f/t Deaf	Frederick, Maryland	2 Administrators
Phoenix Day School f/t Deaf	Phoenix, Arizona	4 Administrators
The Learning Center	Framingham, Massachusetts	10 Administrators

Total Administrators		**28 Administrators**

Name	Location	Number of Parents
California School f/t Deaf, Fremont	Fremont, California	4 Parents
The Learning Center	Framingham, Massachusetts	2 Parents
Total Parents		**6 Parents**

Name	Location	Number of Experts
Austin Experts	Austin, Texas	8 Experts
Georgia Experts	Athens, Georgia	2 Experts
TLC Experts	Framingham, Massachusetts	4 Experts
Marie Paule: Coordinator	Toulouse, France	1 Expert
Deaf Education Research Institute: Director Harada	Tokyo, Japan	1 Expert
Total Experts		**16 Experts**

Total Informants in Focus Groups	**174 informants**

Appendix B: The Participants in the Individual Interviews

Name	Location
Bonnie	Maryland, United States
Nicole	Maryland, United States
Bobbie	Maryland, United States
Ikeda	Tokyo, Japan
Sawamura	Tokyo, Japan
Vanessa	Toulouse, France
Sophie	Toulouse, France

Appendix C: Coding Protocol

CODING PROTOCOL

Document

1) Documents must be in 16 Point Arial font.
2) Spacing is 16 font lines between each speakers turn
3) Any unintelligible speech needs to be in (unclear)
4) Any quotes in quotation marks
5) Each Document should named by countryschoolgrouptranscriber: example is USMSDParents.rtf
6) Name each person from left to right with affiliation and numbers- for example, MDT1, MDT2, MDT3
7) Before Document is sent, it should begin with the following:

Place: Maryland School for the Deaf
Location: Frederick, Maryland
Type of Focus Group: Teachers MDT1-MDT3.
Participants: 3 Female Teachers

Interviewer(s): Tobin and Horejes
Language(s): English and American Sign Language

Participants:
MDT1- Teacher, Deaf, Female, (Bonnie)
MDT2- Teacher, Deaf, Female (cannot use name)
MDT3- Paraprofessional, Hearing, Female

(for parents groups, use P, and for expert groups, use E)

Interviewers:
JT: Joseph Tobin
TH: Thomas Horejes
JV: Joseph Valente
AH: Akiko Hayashi
JH: Jennifer Hensley
PG: Patrick Graham

**Keep in mind that bolded or italics is not to be used in hyper research. There is no way to correct spelling mistakes as well. Please make sure all spelling is corrected and font is plain before sending it to me so I can convert to rtf files and send it back to you, so you can start HR research. If there is unintelligible speech or un-visible sign language movement, please note as (unclear). If participant uses sign language or spoken language, please note accordingly.

Application of Codes

1. Use code for the entire utterance, not specific sentences. This will eliminate confusion for the reader.
2. Actor codes are only applied at the beginning of transcript for each participant and interviewer. Actor codes (Status) are applied to every utterance.
3. Title Code should be the name of the Country, School, and Focus Group
4. Do not analyze your codes while coding. Save the deep analysis for interpretation.
5. Codes are never changed. New codes can be added only after discussed with the group and with the acceptance of the group. Once transcripts are coded, this new code cannot apply to the transcript. Please look over the codes by September 12, 2012. After this date, the codes will be locked.

Organization

Patrick will be responsible for all of the coding. All transcriptions need to be sent to Patrick for cleaning up and coding. All Coding should be completed by May 2013.

Sequence of Coding

1) Transcript cleaned up, names replaced with privacy code, spelling mistakes checked, and then converted to RTF format. Sent to Patrick
2) Patrick will go over every transcript to make small changes and checks for consistency, and discuss with the country's transcript person to ensure detail accuracy and after agreement, then the transcript itself will be locked.
3) RTF file imported in HyperResearch- named after country school and focus group. (USAMDP). This becomes the official example.
4) Patrick will code the transcript
5) After each transcript is coded, there will be three files, one on the LaCie and one on the UGA computer, and one on the designated country's desktop.

Appendix D: Coding Handbook

Actor Codes

Codes that describe general characteristics of interviewees. The interviewer is not coded.

1. Role [RO]

00.RO.01.Administrators	Administrators	People in an administrative, supervisory, or coordinating role in the education of children.
00.RO.02.Teacher	Teacher	Teachers for the Deaf
00.RO.03.Parent	Parent	Parents of deaf student
00.RO.03.Experts	Experts	Experts in Deaf Education (can be former teachers, administrators or officials)

2. Deaf Status [ST]

00.ST.05.Deaf	Deaf	Deaf
00.ST.06.Hearing	Hearing	Hearing
00.ST.07.CODA	CODA	CODA
00.ST.08.DeafDeaf	Deaf of Deaf	Deaf of Deaf Parents

3. Country [CO]

00.AC.05.USA	USA	USA
00.AC.06.France	France	France
00.AC.07.Japan	Japan	Japan

II. Thematic Codes

01. Policy & Philosophy of Deafness, Deaf Education, Disability, and Inclusion [PP]
Policy and attitudes pertaining to Deaf rights, language policy, the future of Deaf culture and Deaf education, and Disability and Inclusion. All statements about spoken or signed language that refer specifically to pedagogy (language in the classroom) should be coded as 06.TP.01-03. Comments on language abilities of deaf children should be coded 07.CH.01

Hyper-research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
01.PP.01	Deaf Policy and Politics	UN statement on Deaf rights; laws and funding for deaf education, e.g. IEP requirements, testing. Code comments on Signing rights/laws as 01.PP.05
01.PP.02	Disability Law and Policy	Comments about laws having to do with the right, integration, and inclusion of persons with disabilities. Also oversight of these programs by government agencies. Note: laws specifically about Deaf rights

		are coded 01.PP.01
01.PP.03	(Dis)ability	Deaf as disabled and/or as a language minority; relationship of Deafness to Disability.
01.PP.04	Inclusion, access, and integration	Inclusion and integration of Deaf and hearing people in school and society; access
01.PP.05	Language Policy	Laws, policy, attitudes about sign language
01.PP.06	Oracy	Policies and attitudes relating to oracy and speech therapy (e.g. "Deaf children need to speak to get a job." Code comments about *techniques* of speech therapy as
01.PP.07	Literacy	Policies, not pedagogies.
01.PP.08	Diversity in the curriculum	Ways teachers/schools incorporate diversity in their lesson plans/curriculum
01.PP.09	Immigration	Discussion about children whose parents are immigrants or who have been adopted or who do not use the national language at home
01.PP.10	Ethnicity/Race	Any mention about ethnicity/race, other than immigration
01.PP.11	Future Goals	Goals, visions, worries about Deaf education

02. Culture & Identity [CU]
Cultural aspects of being Deaf; national cultures; enculturation; importance preserving Deaf culture; relationship between being Deaf and being Japanese, or French, or American; Answers to the question: "*Does this look more Japanese or more Deaf?"*

Hyper-research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
02.CU.01	Deaf Culture	Preservation of Deaf Culture; Sense of mission, obligation to further Deaf culture; Deafhood/identity
02.CU.02	National Culture	Nationalism: maintaining National Culture/Identity, citizenship; without reference to deaf culture
02.CU.03	Negotiating Deafness and National identity	Statements about whether a practice or behavior is more Deaf or more Japanese, French, or American, e.g. "That looks more Japanese than Deaf to me."
02.CU.04	Autobiographical statements about being Deaf or a CODA	Autobiographical statements; e.g. "I suffered in an oral school so now I don't want children to suffer like I did." (if also about how this experience led to becoming a deaf educator, also code it as 05.PT.02
02.CU.05	Deaf Space	How a school's architecture and classroom arrangement works or doesn't work to allow for deaf-gain experiences; e.g. seats in a semi-circle, wooden floors, flashing lights.
02.CU.06	Deaf bodily techniques	Tapping, eye contact, facial expressions, posture, "scrunch" Seeming or acting Deaf; including techniques teachers use to get children's attention

		(which would also be coded 06.TP.06).
02.CU.07	Community	Statements about feeling part of or excluded from Deaf or National community; role/influence of community on culture and/or identity
02.CU.08	Prejudice	e.g. "Kids make fun of signing kids in 'regular' schools"); perception that signing is just gesturing; deaf people can't do high level jobs

03. The Profession of Teaching [PT]
Discussion of pre-service and in-service preparation for working in Deaf schools; personal experiences of learning how to be good teacher; comments on the struggles and gratifications of working with d/Deaf children

Hyper-research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
03.PT.01	Training	Pre-service and in-service requirements for teachers, CUE requirements, credentials, and academic degrees required to become teacher for the deaf and disabled.
03.PT.02	Experience	Mentorship: how they became a teacher for deaf kids or a better teacher through experience on the job
03.PT.03	Attitudes	Expectations of the deaf teacher and definitions of expertise in deaf education. (e.g.: importance of a teacher of deaf kids being Deaf or being fluent in sign).
03.PT.04	Emotions	Frustrations and gratifications of teaching deaf kids
03.PT.05	Habits	E.g. "No one taught me to teach that way—It's a habit" or "It's a natural reflex, an automatic adjustment."

04. Teaching/pedagogy: [TP]
Discussion of teaching strategies

Hyper-research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
04.TP.01	Signing	Strategies for helping children develop signing competence; correcting wrong signs; pedagogical role of Deaf of Deaf children in the classroom
04.TP.02	Literacy/Reading	Approaches to teaching literacy: books in the classroom, guided reading, Vanessa's crossword game
04.TP.03	Oracy	Comments on speech therapy and teachers speaking to kids, encouraging children to speak
04.TP.04	Bilingualism	Pedagogies for promoting bilingualism (e.g. "We don't teach reading until first grade.")
04.TP.05	Teaching philosophies and approaches	Usually marked by the use of ECE jargon such as "child-centered"; "direct instruction;" "group work;" specific ECE approaches (e.g. Reggio Emilia)
04.TP.06	Classroom	Discipline (tug of war; Bonnie and Nicholas); getting

	management	attention (if in Deaf way, also code as 03.ED.01)
04.TP.07	Organization of classroom time and space:	"All the children were sitting in a straight line" schedule, routines (e.g. morning opening; dividing children into age groups), student/teacher ratios
04.TP.08	Atmosphere	"Feeling" of the class and teacher: warm, cold, strict, nurturing etc., pace; "It looks like primary school."
04.TP.09	Expectations	Low or high; challenging or not, higher level thinking vs. basic; e.g. "We have high expectations, same as hearing schools or higher."
04.TP.10	Diverse abilities	Pedagogies for working with children of diverse abilities and special needs. e.g. "It's difficult to teach a class of mixed abilities."
04.TP.11	Technology	Usage/omission of technology in teaching pedagogy (i.e. Sophie's Finger Shape exercise, or use of computers in speech therapy).

05. Children
Comments about the children in the videos or children in general.

Hyper-research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
05.CH.01	Children's language	Comments on children's language abilities in both signing and speaking; e.g. "Miu signs so well because she is Deaf of Deaf."
05.CH.02	Social-emotional development	Comments on children's social interactions, social skills, maturity.
05.CH.03	Cognitive and academic development	Comments on children's intellectual and cognitive abilities and academic level (e.g., "They already know how to spell!").
05.CH.04	Diagnoses of children	e.g. ADHD

06. Environment and Technology (ET)
Comments on classroom and playground environment not directly related to pedagogy.

Hyper-research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
06.ET.01	Food	Any mention about food during lunch and/or snack time
06.ET.02	Health, hygiene, safety	Toilets; washing hands and brushing teeth
06.ET.03	Classroom	Physical organization of classroom space—desks, tables, what's on the walls; visual aides, materials
06.ET.04	Classroom technology	Smart boards, computers, video. If about a specific pedagogy for using technology, code as 06.TP.11
06.ET.05	Playground	Access to nature; architectural design of playgrounds
06.ET.06	Hearing	Statements about cochlear implants and hearing aids and

	Technology	videophones.

07. Parents/family [PF]
The role of parents in ECE. School involvement, parents' knowledge of signing; IEP meetings, and parent expectations of school.

Hyper-research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
07.PF.01	Communication in the home	Language used and supported at home: sign, oracy, gesture; e.g.
07.PF.02	Deaf Culture	Home support for/absence of support for Deaf culture
07.PF.03	Role of Family	Parents' role in their children's education

08. Research process [RP]
C*omments on our research methods and purpose*

Hyper-research Code	Full Code Name	Definition
08.RP.01	Method	Process of gathering data, selection of sites, quality of the videos; composition of the research team
08.RP.02	Purpose	How will this be used? Who will it benefit? Publication plans? Confidentiality?
08.RP.03	Reflections	"I enjoyed the process"; " I learned something"; "I don't feel comfortable criticizing other teachers."