‘The capabilities of deaf people in development projects in the Global South.’

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** at the University of Central Lancashire.

December 2020

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The wider P2PDM project assisted my processes of fieldwork and data collection by directly putting me in contact with deaf colleagues already working in the Global South.

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Abstract

Deaf people across global South contexts suffer from interlinked adversities, such as linguistic deprivation, inaccessible education, poorer access to employment, health, civic participation and other requisites of a basic minimum quality of life (Earth, 2013, Sen, 1999).

The study initially examines the scope of development work conducted with deaf individuals and communities. The next phase of the study surveys participants within a wider Peer-to-Peer Deaf Multiliteracies project (P2PDM) which took place across India, Uganda and Ghana to raise educational outcomes. In the second phase, project staffs' experiences in their roles as research assistants and peer tutors are explored. Thirdly, the study focuses on deaf Indian participants.

The study explores core human capabilities and assets of relevance for deaf participants, alongside structural and socio-cultural factors which can inhibit their realisation (Samman & Santos, 2009, Narayan et al., 2005). Links are drawn between participants' capability sets, conversion factors which enable or prevent the capability from being achieved, and capability realisation / functioning, where the capability is actively achieved (Nussbaum, 2007).

The critical paradigm is employed, which envisions the emancipation of groups in an egalitarian society (Cohen et al, 2007, p.26). Research methods include a questionnaire sent to organisations (NGOs) across a sample of 18 projects. A second questionnaire was distributed via email to P2PDM project staff across the three project countries, and included nine participants. Within India itself, data was elicited from staff and learners through six mapping activities and four focus groups across the project sites of Odisha, Indore and New Delhi. The Indian sample involved 23 participants.

Within development projects, the data point to the importance of deaf communities acting as a network to overcome geographic, linguistic and educational marginalisation, of sustainability in long-term skills transfer for local deaf people, of self-confidence/leadership skills required to raise awareness of infringements of deaf rights and of south-south cooperation.

Amongst project staff, research assistants demonstrated confidence in utilising new skills related to data collection, data dissemination, presentation at conferences and organisation of conferences with deaf participants in other neighbouring countries. Peer tutors commented on their skills with utilising professional English and professional sign language in their efforts to teach learners. All staff demonstrated enhanced capabilities realisation in communicative abilities, and the use of platforms such as social media and SLEND to improve their English skills.

Finally, deaf Indian participants, specifically learners, commented on the benefits of learning in multilingual contexts, while all participants noted the benefits accrued from enhanced Indian Sign language skills, or the benefits of access to a deaf network. Factors such as participants' skills with multimodal repertoires, their access to English in school, their access to deaf peers, and access to English courses hosted by external foundations are all conversion factors which appeared to correlate with capabilities achievement. Other factors include family support, language competence, accessibility of schooling and are reflective of external social injustices experienced by the deaf globally.

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Glossary of Terms

Active agency – realised through daily practices, such as routines, habits or projective action, such as imagining alternatives to current situations.

Agency - the process aspect of achieving a capability, and the freedom involved in these processes themselves.

Agency freedom - when an individual possesses the freedom to advance whatever goals and values a person has reason to advance (Sen 1999).

Agent – Individuals (person or organisation) which have a capability and capacity to make things happen and influence surrounding structures

Aggregation – vertical or horizontal aggregation of capabilities, creates a scoring system similar to GDP (Comim, 2001, p.11, Martinetti, 2000, p.7, Sen, 1999).

Capability - the ability to achieve things he/she has reason to value.

Capability (individual) – what people can actually do and be, expansion of opportunities (Sen 1999).

Capability Framework - a space within which comparisons of quality of life (or standards of living) are made.

Capability input – single capability that is effectively possible to achieve
Capability set – the capabilities available to an individual to choose from (can be one or a bundle).
Conversion Factor - impact an individuals' ability to convert a capability (opportunity) into achievement of the capability (functioning).

Domains – 'different areas in the sphere within which an individual can operate … multiple areas in which a person may exercise agency, such as making expenditures, practicing a religion, getting (or not) education and health, deciding whether to participate in the labour market and in which type of job, and freedom of mobility (Samman & Santos, 2009, p.6).

Functioning / Achieved capability – end result of capabilities that an individual has achieved.
Index of primary goods – different people need different amounts and kinds of goods to reach same level of wellbeing or advantage.

Levels – 'micro (household), meso (community), macro (state or country, etc.)' (Samman & Santos, 2009, p.6). Levels are also known as aggregation in Sen's capabilities approach terminology.

Multidimensional – the exercise of agency in different spheres, domains and levels (Samman & Santos 2009, p.6).

Political distribution - equality of well-being, or equality of resources, or equality of opportunity or equality of capabilities as different metrics with which to measure quality of life.
Primary goods - the resources people have access to.

Spheres – 'societal structures in which people are embedded, which can give rise to, shape and or constrain the exercise of agency. These typically include the state – where the individual is an actor, the market - where the individual is an economic actor, and society in which a person is a social actor' (Alsop et al., 2006, p.19).

Structuration theory - a static model of social networks during each fixed point in time, with a consistently evolving structure in intrahuman relations.
Structure – Surrounding environmental, social or geographic contexts, containing institutions or norms that affect societal set-up.
Welfare approach to development - what opportunities people prefer to have.

List of Abbreviations

AdaSL – Adamarobe Sign Language
APD – Association for the Persons with Disabilities (India)
ASL – American Sign Language
BSL – British Sign Language
CaSL – Cambodian Sign Language
CBM – Christian Blind Mission
CSL – Chinese Sign Language
DFDW – Delhi Federation of Deaf Women (India)
DFID – Department for International Development (UK)
DL – Deaf Literacy project (2015 – 2016).
ESRC – Economic and Social Research Council (UK)
FAD – Finnish Association of the Deaf
GhSL – Ghanaian Sign Language
GNAD – Ghana National Association for the Deaf
HIC – High Income Country
HHSD – Happy Hands School for the Deaf (Odisha, India)
IDBA – Indore Deaf Bilingual Academy (Indore, Madya Pradesh, India)
IS – International Sign
ISL – Indian Sign Language
ISN – Idioma de Senha Nicarágua, Nicarágua Sign Language
ISLIA – Indian Sign Language Interpreter's Association
ISLANDS – International Institute for Sign Languages and Deaf Studies
L – Learner
L1 – First Language
L2 – Second Language
LIC – Low Income Country
LMIC – Low Middle Income Country
LSM – Lengua Senha de Mexico, Mexican Sign Language
MANAD – Malawi National Association of the Deaf
MBS – Mook Badhir Sangathan (NGO, India)
MDGs – Millennium Development Goals
MIC – Middle Income Country
MLE – Multilingual Education
MSL - Malawi Sign Language
NAD – National Association of the Deaf, India
NinaSL – Nanabin Sign Language
NGO – Non-Governmental Organisations
NIOS – National Institute of Open Schooling, India
NISH – National Institute of Speech and Hearing, Kerala, India
P2PDM – Peer-to-Peer Deaf Multiliteracies project (2017 – 2020)
PSC – Iranian / Persian Sign Language
PT – Peer Tutor
PwD – Person with Disabilities
RA – Research Assistant
RCI – Rehabilitation Council of India
RLE – Real life English
RLT – Rural Lifeline Trust
RQ1 – Research Question One
RQ2 – Research Question Two

RQ3 – Research Question Three
SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals
SEN – Special Educational Needs
SLEND – Sign Language to English for the Deaf – an online learning platform
SNA – Social Network Analysis
UgSL – Ugandan Sign Language
UN – United Nations
UNAD – Ugandan National Association of the Deaf
UNCRPD – United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
VSL – Vietnamese Sign Language
WFD – World Federation of the Deaf
WHO – World Health Organisation
YADI – Youth Association for the Deaf (India)

1. Introduction

1.1. Background and research questions

Globally, deaf populations encounter many challenges in accessing an adequate quality of life (Makipaa 1993, Kiyaga & Moores 2003, Earth 2013). This is often a direct consequence of deaf communities' status as a linguistic minority group (Padden & Humphries, 1996). Deaf communities have been defined as a group that use a shared language, and gather for recreational and social purposes (Stokoe 1980, Lane & Grosjean, 1980). This study explores capabilities realisation as a route to wellbeing and freedom for deaf people in the Global South, initially across a range of development projects, then with a specific focus on participants within one wider Peer-to-Peer Deaf Multiliteracies (P2PDM) project. Utilising a multidisciplinary approach, some of the frameworks that this study draws upon are sustainable development from the field of International Development; on the Capabilities Approach (henceforth CA) from the discipline of Sociology; and on philosophies of deaf education from Deaf Studies.

Deaf communities encounter similar inequalities in education provision, access to employment, healthcare, and access to public services, issues that have historically afflicted minority indigenous populations or some disabled groups (Padden & Humphries, 1996, Rao & Robinson-Pant, 2006). Of disabled groups, 'only 1–2% in Global South contexts receive an education' (Peters, 2008, p.149). The disparity in literacy skills and education can often be explained by linguistic deprivation, particularly in the early years, followed by placements in education systems which are inaccessible for deaf children (Meier, 1991, Schick, et al. 2006, Glickman & Hall, 2018). For deaf communities, 'in contrast to the situation in most cultures, the great majority of individuals withing the community of Deaf people do not join it at birth,' meaning linguistic transmission through sign language from parents to children is often only present among deaf families, with other children acquiring language at school (Padden & Humphries, 1996, p.5). These experiences are compounded not only by lower educational attainment, but by the outcomes of a lower or a lack of literacy, which it has been claimed 'served a gatekeeper function,' as written application forms are often required 'for many manual labour jobs' (Maxwell, 1985, p.206). Many tasks in mainstream societies require a foundational level of literacy, for example, opening a bank account and making an appointment with a doctor, while application processes for many further educational courses require a written application process to be completed.

Therefore, deaf communities can face substantial marginalisation through daily practices that involve language and real literacies, and are a pre-requisite to a higher quality of life through an increased wellbeing and freedom.

The oppression of deaf people due to linguistic factors applies equally across disparate societal contexts, from European countries to Global South contexts as far-flung as Mexico and Ghana, suggesting inequalities are intrinsically bound up with 'deaf identity and cultural and linguistic diversity' alongside access to 'quality deaf education' and the provision of 'deaf education in non-Western deaf communities' (De Clerck, 2016, p.1, Hashemi et al., 2017). Even in contexts where deaf people are highly fluent in their local sign languages, it can be argued that the chance to fully flourish is limited by a lack of opportunities in these languages and a low availability of resources.

This study focuses on deaf communities participating in 18 development projects with deaf people, then subsequently hones in on capabilities and functioning within one project, the P2PDM across India, Uganda, and Ghana. The P2PDM project tracks language acquisition, multiliteracies enhancement, and educational pedagogies. The analysis illustrates where deaf participants were able to realise their goals or why they believed surrounding structures prevented the realisation of their human capabilities. Often as a result of these structural or social factors, deaf people are unable to access a basic minimum quality of life regarding education, access to healthcare or other outcomes.

The Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum, 2007, pp.23–24) has been used by many academics (Sen, 1999), however, it has only been mentioned in passing in a few studies on deaf people, such as cochlear implant wearers (Rijke et al., 2019), in a study on deaf capabilities within contested spaces within higher education (Ndofirepi, 2020), capabilities in communication with hearing people through using a mobile application (DiGregorio et al., 2019), and some mention of the positive impacts of collaborative processes of creating and implementing mobile computing technologies for the deaf (daCosta et al., 2019). A scale titled 'Opinions about Deaf People' had been developed to assess common misconceptions many hearing adults held about the capabilities of deaf adults, where 'attitudes to deafness' were considered to be a unique construct, 'rather than one that was interchangeable with disability or other areas' (Berkay et al., 1995, p 33). Berkay, Gardner and Smith (1995) stated this scale suggests that a 'hearing adult who believes that deaf adults have equal capabilities believes that deaf people

poses the same intelligence and skill level as hearing people, with the exception of the ability to process verbal language and hear' (p.3). The test was summative, unlike Nussbaum and Sen's frameworks, which can be applied in qualitative ways. One other study pointed out the capabilities of deaf and hearing people in Greece, drawing on the Opinions about Deaf People Scale, plus a semi-structured interview (Nikolaraizi & Makri, 2005). However, this thesis approach is original because it utilises the approaches of firstly Samman and Santos (2009), followed by Nussbaum's core human capabilities in the Capabilities Approach with deaf people. This research outlines the impact that approaches from deaf studies have on the Capabilities Approach as understood by Nussbaum too.

The Capabilities Approach has contributed to the shape of the current Human Development Index, which aims to measure people's quality of life in developing contexts (Fukuda-Parr, 2011). Fukuda-Parr suggests that where the capabilities approach in sustainable development is more concerned with drawing 'attention to inequality, addressing poverty, and meeting basic needs,' as well as being concerned with the 'participative processes in development and democratic accountability' (2011, p.75). To contrast, a human rights perspective contends that 'equality is an essential aspect of the very notion of human rights as entitlements,' where human rights institutions might be more concerned with discrimination on the basis of disability or deafness (2011, p.75). The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which ended in 2015, initially neglected to mention the needs of disabled people (Brolan, 2015, Abualghaib, et al., 2019). However, the updated Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) did mention disabled people specifically, for example in Goal Four regarding equitable access to high-quality education, in Goal Eight regarding access to decent work and economic growth, in Goal Eleven for access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems (Brolan, 2015, p.8). The Capabilities Approach draws attention to inequality, examines individuals' experiences of poverty, explores basic needs, and, within development contexts, considers both participative processes and democratic accountability.

The findings provide further direction for development organistions working in the field with deaf people and offer new contributions to capabilities frameworks regarding emancipation at the individual and collective level. Firstly, much of the literature has discussed capabilities in education with disabled people (Mutanga et al., 2015), with capabilities in communication more generally (Werbach, 2017), and the

capabilities approach in regard to ableism against disabled groups, which might have some correlations with cultural prejudices against disabled people (Taylor, 2012). Additionally, there is a rich literature on deaf identity and sign languages (Lane et al., 1996, Senghas & Monaghan, 2002, Monaghan et al., 2003), and a wealth of research into the role of sign language in language acquisition (Peperkamp & Merler, 1999, Emmorey, 2002, Emmorey & McCullough 2009), but little on these areas in relation to the Capabilities Approach specifically. Most of the literature on development and deaf studies refers to empowerment in some way (Janokowski, 1997, Ladd, et al., 2003, p.27), but does not consider the Capabilities Approach as an apt framework through which to assess empowerment that is applicable across differing contexts. There has been little research in the literature into the Real Life English (RLE) literacies of deaf people, particularly in study project sites, and no studies, as far as I'm aware, into the interrelation between the enhancement of multiliteracies and participant experiences of capabilities realisation and agency. Recognition of their experiences of literacy pedagogies and English literacy in their daily lived contexts was a key aim.

This chapter initially introduces the Peer-to-Peer Deaf Multiliteracies project, along with the project aims, field sites, and funder, in order to give some context as to where participants will be realising agency and capabilities in this study (**Section 1.1.1**), followed by the research questions explored in this study (**Section 1.1.2**). Then, the socio-cultural status of minority language deaf communities, with the consequences of linguistic deprivation, low literacy and inaccessible educational contexts examined in-depth (**Section 1.2**), followed by a discussion of the Global South (**Section 1.3.1**), the situation of deaf communities in the Global South (**Section 1.3.2**) and capacity-building approaches (**Section 1.3.3**). Next, the chapter explores the contexts within which the 18 development projects worked and establishes the overall themes of these organisations in relation to sustainable development for later discussion in Chapter Four (**Section 1.4**); followed by a discussion of the geography, demographics, languages, and societal structures of India, Uganda, and Ghana within the P2PDM project, where staff experiences and capabilities are discussed in Chapter Five (**Section 1.5**). This sets up the contexts of the 29 Indian participant experiences, which are explored in depth in Chapter Six. Finally, the structure of this thesis is explained before going on to explore the Capabilities Approach and international development approaches in detail (**Section 1.6**).

1.1.1. The Peer-to-Peer Deaf Multiliteracies Project

Much of this thesis takes place in the context of the Peer-to-Peer Deaf Multiliteracies Project (P2PDM), which was led by The International Institute for Sign Languages and Deaf Studies (ISLANDS) at the University of Central Lancashire between 2017 and 2020. The preceding project was Peer-to-Peer Deaf Literacies from 2015 to 2017. Both were funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and the Department for International Development (DFID). The P2PDM project took place across Delhi, Indore, and Odisha in India; Accra and Mampong in Ghana; and Kampala in Uganda.

The P2PDM project involved two UK universities and three universities based in the Global South, with four co-investigators who are specialists in linguistics, applied linguistics, organisational capacity-building, and disabilities. Two NGOs in India were involved as implementing partners, the Delhi Federation of Deaf Women (DFDW) in New Delhi, and The Rural Lifeline Trust (RLT), which directly supports Happy Hands School for the Deaf (HHSD). Another NGO not directly involved in the project, Mook Badhir Sangathan, assisted with the fundraising for Indore Deaf Bilingual Academy (IDBA) in Indore city, one of the largest deaf schools in India. In Uganda, the Ugandan National Association of the Deaf (UNAD) was involved as an implementation partner.

The P2PDM addressed multiliteracies including sign language literacies and real-life English, alongside participative educational approaches with participants, building upon the previous foundations of multiliteracies explored in the Deaf Literacy (DL) project (2015 – 2016). Within the latter project (2017–2020), deaf research assistants, peer tutors, and learners were recruited from each of the project countries and these roles are discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

1.1.2. Research questions

Currently there are NGOs working with deaf communities in the Caribbean (Braithwaite, 2020), on rugby and sports initiatives, such as in Fiji (Kanemasu, 2020), and in deaf education in Iquitos, Peru (Goico, 2019), but there is little information about how these transform the life chances of deaf people. In prior decades, NGOs experimented with deaf education in Uganda (Miles et al., 2011), with the effects of financial transfers to deaf communities in Jamaica (Wilson, 2005), and relationships between language deprivation and milieu effects in development efforts with deaf people in Costa Rica (Youniss, 1974). Initiatives to enhance the access of deaf individuals to language, and to educational knowledge, has been carried out for

centuries, since the advent of teaching through churches (Watson, 1949, Brennan, 1975, Nordstrom, 1986). There are some references to education initiatives with deaf people in the Global South (Bennett, 1988, Branson & Miller 1988, De Carpentier, 1995).

Many development initiatives focus on the empowerment of deaf communities and individuals, though none utilise the framework of the Capabilities Approach in relation, firstly, to deaf communities in Global South NGOs, or development projects, and, secondly, refer to the influences of a deaf studies perspectives upon Nussbaum's framework, as far as the researcher is aware. This research aims to demonstrate aspects of daily activities and ways of being that project participants valued, and how the achievement of these activities made the development project impactful in terms of participants' agency and capabilities.

This thesis starts with a broader approach to answer RQ1, looking at how 18 development projects have influenced the capabilities of their target groups in Chapter Three, before examining project staff within the P2PDM project and their skill set in greater detail to answer RQ2, and finally looking at the capabilities of deaf Indians specifically in RQ3. The research addresses the following three questions:

1) How have capacity-building projects been developed and implemented in the Global South, particularly with respect to agency?
2) How are deaf project staff 'actively' realising their human capabilities in specific contexts within the P2PDM project?
3) How is the participation of Indian deaf communities in the project affecting the capabilities realisation of the project participants?

The research investigates the position of deaf communities and individuals within current and previous deaf development projects and perceived experiences of empowerment within a capabilities framework. Situating deaf communities within the broader approaches of human development, the research builds up a picture of what daily activities and ways of being participants valued, as well as new capabilities that were acquired as a result of being involved in development project interventions.

Principally, the research focuses on deaf participants' access to a range of universal human capabilities that include: life and bodily health; bodily integrity or the ability to move freely; senses, imagination, and thought (or access to education); emotions or being able to express feelings; practical reason; affiliation or being able to have attachments and to participate freely in their family and community life; other species; play; and control over their environment (Nussbaum, 2007, **Section 2.2.3, Appendix 1**).

Through highlighting the capability sets or resources available to deaf participants across these contexts, and the cases in which participants were able to realise their goals, it is argued that the research provides a much richer, more contextually fitting picture of deaf individuals' lives across India, Ghana, and Uganda.

There are few projects working with deaf communities and fewer based in the Global North that actively recruit, train, and employ deaf staff in Southern contexts within the project itself. In the P2PDM project, deaf individuals were recruited at different levels as research assistants, focused on learning skills associated with data collection and the presentation of findings; as peer tutors focused on teaching English language skills to deaf adult learners; and in India itself as learners of English and other multiliteracies skills; all of which provided an ample starting point in comparing capabilities among deaf staff in a NGO project and across international contexts.

While NGOs have worked in a range of Southern contexts, few have worked across multiple Southern countries in one project, as the P2PDM did. Consequently, this thesis worked well to test the Capabilities Approach across different international contexts, as well as within three sites in India itself. Finally, although there are many deaf schools in the Global South, it takes time to establish how many deaf adults are working across many sectors in developing contexts. The P2PDM removed this obstacle and allowed the researcher to source individuals who were working in fields related to international development contexts, as well as to schedule such PhD research at the same time in disparate contexts within the relatively tight time frame of three years and to make use of the logistical support provided by the International Institute for Sign Languages and Deaf Studies who work in many international contexts with deaf communities, all of which is discussed further in Chapter Two.

1.2. Deaf communities, people, language and literacy

Deaf individuals have always been scattered, predominantly amongst surrounding hearing communities (Woll & Ladd, 2003), with 'cultural and linguistic transmission' taking place from deaf parents to deaf children, or at deaf schools (Swisher 1989, p.239-240). In the U.K some deaf people use British Sign Language (BSL) as their first language, although not all deaf people can sign either due to a lack of transmission from parents amongst deaf children born to hearing families, or the lack of provision of sign langauges in schools, or a lack of deaf signing peers in childhood (Mitchell & Karchmer 2004). 'Shared sign communities' (Nyst 2012, Kusters 2014b

p.140) are one exception to the norm, where both hearing and deaf members utilise sign language due to the large concentration of deaf people (Zeshan 2010, Zeshan & De Vos 2012). Sign village communities have included Martha's Vineyard, where the sign language died out in 1952 (Kusters 2010); a village in Ghana called Adamarobe (Kusters, 2014b); and inhabitants of Chican in Mexico's Yucatan state (Shuman, 1980). Outside of such 'deaf villages', however, deaf people have primarily come together through deaf education (Padden & Humphries 1996, p.5). What does it mean therefore, to talk about deaf 'communities?'

1.2.1. **Deaf communities**

Paul Higgins first wrote about the concept of deaf communities, based on white deaf people in Chicago, defining Deaf as identifying with the deaf world, secondly, shared experiences as a consequence of deafness, and thirdly, opting to join activities with the deaf community (1980). Historically, Deaf capitalised with 'd,' has been used since the 1970s to denote visually-oriented communities whose first language is a sign language, or a linguistic, social and cultural minority group, while 'd' deaf has conventionally referred to the audiological status of hearing loss (Cowie et al., 1986, Johnson et al., 1994).

Constructions of deafness are often contested and complex, between the 'D' Deaf cultural model, and the 'd' deaf audiological model, yet these binaries have transformed in recent years. Similar problems with identity exist in the 'disabled/abled binary,' which can fail to account for 'the fluidity and dynamism of social identities' (Skelton & Valentine, 2003, p.452). The researcher has opted to reject the medical model of 'd' deaf, and instead utilise a linguistic perspective of deafness throughout the thesis.

A conscious choice to utilise 'd' to represent a spectrum of deaf people, including bicultural bilingual deaf people has been selected for several reasons. Firstly, working across a range of Global South contexts, deaf identities have emerged in loci distinct from the American and British deaf communities where the terms D/deaf originated (Leigh et al., 1998). Secondly, emerging views in deaf studies propose a 'bicultural dialogue' model, where deafness instead exists on a spectrum (McIlroy & Storbeck, 2011, p.496). Ayres (2004, p.xvii) finds deaf communities encounter significant pressures in their efforts to maintain a Deaf-World, with individuals balanced between the twin 'pressures of acculturalisation – a process of adopting the

cultural patterns of another group, such as mainstream hearing society – and enculturation – a process of becoming part of ones' native culture.'

Deaf communities whose first languages are sign languages often view themselves as a linguistic minority community (Wilbur & Charrow, 1975, Lane, 1995). Other definitions focus on how deaf communities inhabit socio-cultural spaces as a disabled group (Man & Lee, 2011); or can comprise a geographical diaspora, defined by Ayres as 'a cultural group that is dispersed or scattered,' (Ayres, 2004, p.3). Scholars posit the reason for such strong cultural affiliations amongst the deaf is 'the obstacles to integration in the mainstream are enormous – much greater than for immigrant groups, or even for more traditional 'national' minorities' due to the modal nature of sign languages, which are not written down (Kymlicka, 1998, p.102).

Deaf communities are an imagined social world, but also continually re-created through both the choices of individuals and institutional processes occurring through deaf schools, in deaf community clubs, and through the activities of institutions such as deaf organisations. As discussed later in Chapter Three, the epistemologies and ontologies of deaf communities vary significantly from place to place, and there are some notable distinctions in the Global South (**Section 3.2.3**).

Using the discourse of disability can widen the areas included in research into the capabilities of deaf people. Although I will refer to deaf people as a linguistic and cultural minority in this thesis, the use of the social model of disability and other related discourses are useful to apply in contexts where there are few, if any, mention of frameworks for sign language policy, or where broader discourses about disability are applicable, such as in national censuses contain information about deaf populations. The UN CRPD has 'five articles related to national sign languages, requiring their recognition and other linguistic human rights' (Batterbury, 2012, p.254). Batterbury (2012) states that the UN CRPD is currently the most progressive legal instrument to promote such changes, as 'despite its disability locus, the CRPD opens a pathway to eventual sign language policy in the minority language arena' so it is a useful legislative instrument to promote deaf rights through a disability lens (p.254).

Some shortcomings are that the UN CRPD does not mention inclusive education specifically in relation to deaf learners, as Article 24 advocates for integrative education, an approach that emerged from the disabled rights movement, which wanted disabled learners to be free to attend schools in the mainstream. Murray, Snoddon,

DeMuelder and Underwood (2018) suggest that under a bilingual educational approach, deaf schools offer a place for ‘peer contact between children and adults, and thus as crucial sites for inter- and intra- generational transmission of sign langauges and deaf cultures’ (p.692). These scholars acknowledge that although the CRPD does ‘provide special status for deaf, deafblind and blind children,’ (2018, p.694), in fact for these groups, inclusive education can ‘create de facto segregation in public schools where children who are Deaf, Blind, and Deaf-Blind would be physically present but mentally and socially absent’ (Arnardóttir, 2011, p.211).

There are many areas where sign language policies referred to in sign language policy and legislation directly overlap with areas of the Capabilities Approach. One clear example is the debate on integrated or specialist education for disabled people, where deaf people have advocated for maintaining deaf schools as a more inclusive form of education. Outside of education, UN reports make little mention of deafness as a sensory difference or exception to disability norms. As a consequence of this, alongside the robustness of the UN CRPD as an accepted legislative instrument, the researcher has sometimes drawn on broader disability scholarship and official reports from project countries.

1.2.2. Sign language and access

Sign languages have always existed in the community, but gained greater recognition from the 16th century. There were efforts in Europe ‘to educate deaf children of the nobility,’ and beliefs that deaf people could attain their full humanity through education were common, something Ladd termed ‘the pedagogic conditional,’ whereby deaf individuals were recognised as dignified if they achieved an education (Ladd, 2003, p.103). Schools for the deaf were founded in the United States (Chang, 2016, p.1), and then sign language systems were subsequently exported to many regions of the world. Consequently, sign languages and deaf culture was passed down through deaf families from generation to generation, or through deaf schools.

Discrimination against deaf people has often been framed in individual or institutional terms, but there is also a third argument around metaphysics to be made about the privileging of speech cultures over signed languages, known as phonocentrism (Lane, 1992). Tom Humphries first coined the term audism and suggested audiocentric practices based on hearing and speaking privilege majority hearing communities. As a consequence of institutional, systematic and metaphysical forms of audist ideologies, which often ‘contribute to overt, covert and aversive

practices of discrimination,' deaf people can often experience significant marginalisation in their lives (Eckhert & Rowley, 2013, p.101-102).

In the present day, deaf people face the early-years challenges of accessing spoken language on a par with their peers – an impossible task without access to either sign language or assistive technologies which enable dualistic processes of phonology and general language learning to take place (Mayer, 2007). Unfortunately, it is estimated lack of access to sign language, known as linguistic deprivation, or no access to assistive devices such as hearing aids and cochlear implants, is the case for a majority of deaf people living in Global South countries, including those of this study (Haualand & Allen, 2009, World Bank, 2009, IDRM, 2005). As a result, deaf peoples' opportunities to access the spoken-majority language on a par with their hearing, able-bodied peers, are often severely limited (Jepson, 1991, Earth, 2013, Friedner & Kusters, 2015). As a consequence of such linguistic deprivation, deaf people can be forced into situations of increased dependence on their families, restricted participation in their communities, higher rates of poverty and lower rates of economic participation and access to education. Other scholars disagree with the effectiveness of oral-based approaches and instead advocate for the bilingual or total communication approaches in education, as they state 'a medium of a first language is necessary in order to teach a second language, especially through the bilingual approach' (Nisha & Gill 2020, p.1993).

1.2.3. Deaf space and deaf sociality

The construction of an alternative paradigm offers another way to envisage the dichotomies between majority, hearing society and minority deaf communities. The deaf space paradigm offers a distinct perspective from the social model of disability, which states that disability is caused by society, where cases of physical impairments, are defined as an 'externally imposed restriction' (Shakespeare, 2016, p.197). However, both theories of Deaf space and the social model of disability aim to offer empowering frameworks which allow these communities to resolve the structural and cultural inequalities encountered daily.

Gulliver characterised deaf space as 'alternative' places in which communities gathered, including deaf urban centres. Schools and inter-generational families allowed sign languages and cultures to be transmitted from grandparent to grandchild (Gulliver, 2009, p.23). These spaces existed in various processes of emergence 'each appears to be

poised in a constant state of potential, ready to author that space more richly as it is given increased freedom to do so' (Gulliver, 2009, p.91). In Mumbai, one study pointed to the creation of deaf spaces in transitional spaces in compartments for PwDs on trains, where deaf people frequently arranged to meet during their work commutes, and also expanded their deaf networks (Kusters, 2017). These spaces contrast with normal fixed 'enclaves' which are 'relatively bounded entities such as buildings, homes or squares' and contrast with 'armatures' which are 'mobility lines and transit spaces such as streets, flights and trains' (Kusters, 2017, p.171) set up for deaf people to meet, and it was noted deaf people in Mumbai met face-to-face in these spaces, as opposed to more typical creation of deaf space in the online sphere via video-calling, where individuals were in physically separate locations.

1.2.4. Definitions of literacy

Anthropologists have pointed out that literacy practices, textual writing and reading as traditionally understood in the English language, were by no means global or universal at the turn of the twentieth century. In South America, many indigenous communities did not use visual pictorial, hieroglyphic or alphabetic literacy before the arrival of the Spaniards, (Rappaport & Cummins, 2011), while other postcolonial traditions are indicative of non-Western traditional approaches to English literacies.

Since the 1880 Milan Conference, worldwide deaf schools have followed a policy of oralism (Lane, 1992). Bilingual teaching methods to enhance processes of acquiring literacy among the deaf have only been reintroduced in the latter half of the twentieth century, with total communication from the 1970s (Carson & Goetzinger, 1975).

Herrera-Fernandez, Puente-Ferreras and Alvarardo-Izquierdo (2014) suggest the acquisition of literacy knowledge occurs in challenging and sequential stages which include:

> 'letter identification, access to the alphabetic code, training in the motor skills involved in the graphic act of writing, and awareness of the language structure (grammar and syntax), all the way through to achieving comprehension, which implies activating highly complex cognitive processes' (Herrera-Fernandez et al. 2014, p.2)

Scholarship has evolved from these standard, traditional understandings of literacy to multiliteracies as proposed by the New Literacies Group. They suggest that literacies could be interpreted through 'meaning-as-design' as opposed to previously strict, inflexible interpretations of grammatical rules (New London Group, 1996). Educators

have claimed that drastic transformations in the realms of citizenship, working life and community life, including growing trends towards increased cultural and linguistic diversities in the classroom, and the emergence of multiple Englishes, have contributed to recent changes in the ways that English should be taught (Kalantzis & Cope, 2001, p.9). In this framework, it has been suggested that different literacies are utilised in different domains of life, in the home and the workplace for instance, while institutional structures, and cultural and social norms have a disproportionate influence on shaping literacy practices (Kral, 2012, p.8).

Within the Global South, and within sign language communities, historical influences also influence literacy practices. Finally, new forms of literacy emerge and change, and for the deaf communities in this study, these multimodal practices are particularly evident with the influence of digital literacies upon both traditional written literacies and upon sign language literacies. Scholars point to the influence of new communications technologies, where meaning is made in ways that are ‘increasingly multimodal – in which written-linguistic modes of meaning interface with visual, audio, gestural and spatial patterns of meaning’ (Kalantzis & Cope, 2001, p.9). It has been said that ‘multiliteracies suggest a functional grammar which assist language users to describe language differences – cultural, subcultural, regional/national, technical, context-specific etc.’ and this is even more applicable to the new communication technologies, such as email, the internet, YouTube, online news sites, Whatsapp.

The interrelations between literacy pedagogy with teaching techniques such as situated practice, where ‘all available discourses’ are utilised including those that build on learners’ own experiences (Kalantzis & Cope, 2001, p.13), overt instruction, ‘systemic, analytic and conscious understand of how we make meaning and the design of those meanings’ (Kalantzis & Cope, 2001, p.13), critical framing or ‘interpreting the social and cultural context of particular designs of meaning’ (Kalantzis & Cope, 2001, p.13), and transformed practice or adapting new literacies to other contexts, while adding their own insights to such changes (Kalantzis & Cope, 2001, p.13), with the participants was important for their core capabilities development.

The utilisation of a multiliteracies pedagogy in the P2PDM project amongst deaf participants had implications for their multimodal textual practices, and for issues of equity. The multiliteracies approach allowed deaf signers to make full use of their sign language literacy skills. The employment of a multiliteracies pedagogy also transformed the power relations that are normally associated with print literacies, which have been

deemed to represent ‘higher-order thinking skills,’ a perspective which Snoddon and the New Literacy Group have rejected (Gillen et al., 2019). Baker argued that ‘literacy was a social and cultural achievement – it was about ways of participating in social and cultural groups – not just a mental achievement’ (Baker, 2010, p.166). The idea of literacies as social practice which can widen the spaces in which deaf participants have opportunities to realise their capabilities demonstrates the role of social variance and variations in the environment in shaping the socio-environmental context within which goals and freedom are achieved.

The employment of a range of repertoires in meaning-making, regardless of language, emphasises where multimodal linguistic knowledge could enhance processes of firstly, meaning-making, and secondly, learning in multilingual classroom contexts. Teachers utilised strategies to teach multiliteracies, while learners used a range of strategies to acquire English in the classroom. The P2PDM drew on a ‘real literacies’ approach, where communication/literacy from everyday contexts as a social practice was emphasised. Participants’ ability to realise core capabilities linked to Nussbaum’s capabilities approach, especially ‘senses, imagination and thought, through using basic literacy and numeracy skills, as well as practical reason’, were particularly evident after participation in multiliteracies pedagogy (Nussbaum, 2007, p.23–24).

As well as standard written English literacy, participants referred to their use of sign language literacies, digital literacies and some financial literacy development as a consequence of being involved in the project. Comments about project staff capabilities in literacy-related skills such as reading and writing English on social media, in general and on Whatsapp, using professional sign language with peers, writing job applications, using professional English in teaching contexts, and communication with other project members are explored further in Chapter Four. In Chapter Five, in the mapping activity, questions around multiliteracies related to learning English, note-keeping, using a mobile phone, travelling alone, where signs, destinations and ticket information require literacy skills, communicating with hearing people were all asked. Some of these skills required literacy or numeracy skills directly, while others indirectly elicited the use or development of reading and writing skills amongst participants.

Digital literacies are another form of multiliteracies that were central to capabilities realisation throughout many development projects. Technological platforms have been of great benefit for deaf people, where traditional pedagogies do not work well for deaf learners. It has been suggested that beyond physical face-to-face classes,

and online classes, deaf learners can benefit from diverse modalities that are offered by digital platforms, in order to acquire more information, and 'expand visual and creative intelligence' (Shepherd & Alpert 2015, p.1).

There is no global figure for literacy rates amongst the subset of deaf populations. However, the UN has a wealth of statistical data by country for disabled groups. Of 650 million people with disabilities worldwide, it was anticipated 'perhaps 97% of these people had either never seen the inside of a classroom or left school too early to have mastered basic literacy and numeracy skills resulting in literacy rates for adults with disabilities in developing countries possibly as low as 3% overall, and for women with disabilities, 1%' (Helander, 1999). In the UN CRPD framework, the prominence of literacy, its social and cultural importance, and the role it plays in 'the Knowledge Society,' make it a non-negotiable human right (Herrera-Fernandez et al. 2014, p.2)

The literature makes it clear the inaccessibility of orally-based educational systems for deaf populations has left a substantial majority of this group with lower skills in reading and writing in comparison to hearing peers (Aarons & Glaser 2002, p.2, Glaser & Lorenzo, 2006, p.192). Groce and Bakhshi (2011) suggest the development of literacy skills is an indispensable component of peoples' capabilities to exercise various human rights.

1.3. The Global South and International Development

International development work with deaf communities is carried out within a Global North / South paradigm of resource inequalities. Some deaf communities live in societies where deaf communities are severely disadvantaged (DeClerck, 2007, DeClerck, 2011). However, their ability to act with agency, shaping the direction of their own lives offers significant emancipatory potential (Bjarnason et al., 2012, Óladóttir, 2014; Boland et al., 2015). Initially, how the Global South has been defined is discussed (**Section 1.3.1**), followed by a glance at Deaf communities in the Global South (**Section 1.3.2**), where the challenges facing deaf people and sign language communities in the Global South can often be much greater (Earth, 2013). The last section examines capacity-building work (**Section 1.3.3**).

1.3.1. Definitions of the Global South

The Global South is often defined as developing countries where there are inequalities in resource distribution in comparison with Global North countries. These countries lie throughout the Southern hemisphere, ‘a vast constituency comprising Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa and Asia’ (Chant & McIlwaine, 2009, p.2). Girvan proposes that one solution to these economic imbalances between nation states is to employ ‘South-South economic cooperation and Southern solidarity in global negotiations’ (Girvan, 2007, p.7). This notion of Global South solidarity in the economic sphere to resist Global North hegemony also has applications in the epistemic sphere, where different cultural attitudes and societal understandings of deafness and sign languages being shared among Global South actors could contribute to novel, indigenous development approaches with processes of co-working and differing applications of sign language learning and intersectional cultural knowledges.

Connell (2007) argues Sociology is founded on the principle of difference, with power balanced between an imperial centre and a periphery. As Connell argues a social science founded on the ‘social relations of empire must deal with race, and a social science concerned with evolutionary progress and hierarchies of populations must deal with gender and sexuality,’ I would contend approaches to the sociology of deaf communities in Global South countries must consider deafness and disability (Connell 2007). As Islam (2012, p.163) emphasises, many Southern countries and people were not simply colonised, but were ‘essentially constituted in and through colonization.’ Gretch (2015) goes further in his contention ‘Disabled lives in the Southern context are often simplified and generalized in a dynamic of homogenising, decontextualized and dehistoricised discourse’ (p.6). As a linguistic minority, deaf individuals are often defined in disability discourses as being a special case in sensory terms, that differ from physical disabilities or other impairments, but their experiences of oppression can be analogous to many disabled individuals, particularly when the social model of disability is applied. Today ‘one cannot decolonise without prioritising and supporting Southern voices, demands, epistemologies and practices … [particularly] Subaltern Southern voices’ (Grech 2015, p.18).

1.3.2. Deaf communities in the Global South

Deaf people face as many problems as other people with disabilities living in developing countries in terms of finding a job, becoming educated, and receiving health care (Makipaa, 1993, World Health Organisation and World Bank, 2011). Another

report for the World Bank in 2000 asserted 'half a billion disabled people are undisputedly amongst the poorest of the poor' (Metts, 2000, p.39).

Scholars such as Chouinard (2012) suggest forms of violence against disabled people including 'barriers to the inclusion and well-being of persons with impairments, such as impoverished conditions of life, are materially reproduced in ways that reflect nations' places within an unequal global capitalist order' (p.778). Forms of resistance against the imperial centre and the promotion of knowledge from the periphery is, in some sense, what deaf communities in America and Europe have been doing for a long time, albeit through the prism of minority language rights. Campaigns for recognition of signed languages and the establishment of Deaf Studies centres across many Global North universities have been ongoing. However, for indigenous peoples, there are many problems with a 'silo' approach to knowledge creation and production, with people instead advocating for 'a concept of endogenous knowledge which emphasizes active processes of knowledge production that arise in indigenous societies and have a capacity to speak beyond them' (Connell, 2014, p.212).

As minority language groups, the researcher maintains deaf communities equally produce knowledge on the periphery, for example sign language literacies and deaf cultural knowledges. An emphasis on utilising active processes of knowledge production from indigenous societies also reflects Sen's person-centred approach of agency as freedom. This agentive approach can be applied in a way that supports the peripheral production of knowledge and the ability of people to pursue their own choices as a foundational aspect of development.

1.4. Capacity-building with deaf people: Eighteen development projects

These projects operated through the rubric of human development, as opposed to a GDP focused understanding of welfare. Aims included raising awareness of early-years intervention in healthcare and amongst hearing families of deaf children; increasing the availability of sign language courses for participants; awareness of human rights under the UN CRPD; access to education; and access to employment opportunities in target countries. The theoretical background of capacity building and agency and capabilities frameworks on an organisational level are defined in Chapter Two (**Section 2.2**).

1.5. Geography, Demographics, and Language profiles of India, Ghana, and Uganda

This section provides a backdrop for the three project countries where the P2PDM project took place, which are discussed at length in Chapters Five and Six. Some facts about the social and physical context of each country are set out to provide a useful backdrop for a later understanding of analysis of capabilities. The linguistic context and the predominance of English varied between the study countries. Consequently, deaf populations were working from a variety of knowledge bases regarding the acquisition of English and other multiliteracies.

1.5.1. India: Geography, Demographics and Languages of India

India is the second most populous country in the world, is a constitutional republic, with the capital New Delhi serving a total population of 1.4 billion. India is home to hundreds of ethnicities and languages. According to Meganathan (2011), the 'Indian constitution identifies 22 'recognised languages.' About 87 languages are used in print media, 71 languages are used on radio and the administration of the country is conducted in 15 languages' (p.3). Today, both 'Hindu and English remain the official langauges of India' (Agnihotry, 2017, p.186). With significant plurilingual diversity, Agnihotry (2017) claims that 'participatory democracy and consensual reconciliation often appear to be the only suitable approach' to minority language policy (pp.185-186).

There are an estimated 1.3 million people with a hearing impairment, according to the 2011 census, yet the Indian National Association of the Deaf claims the true figure might be much higher, at 7 million (Rehabilitation Council of India, n.d, National Association of the Deaf, n.d), while others have claimed 'about 63 million people, 6.3% of the population, have some form of auditory loss' (Papen & Tusting, 2020, p.1140). The age of identification of deafness has reduced in India in recent years (Knoors et al., 2019).

Currently, there is no legal recognition of Indian Sign Language (ISL), yet Bhattacharya and Randhawa (2014, p.82) point to Article 29 of the Indian constitution and the right of education through the mother tongue (also L1) as an important foundation for future advocacy work to promote the language. Courses have been available for ISL interpreting since 2002 (National Institute for the Hearing Handicapped, n.d.). ISL contains significant linguistic variation, with differences in the dialect and vocabulary used between Odisha, Indore and other south Indian regions,

such as Kerala, Singleton and Morgan (2006), point out that a lack of teachers who can teach using standardized ISL in rural areas is a particular challenge. Building on his experience of sign language documentation in Nepal, Morgan proposes deaf-cetnred teaching approaches in this area of the world (Morgan 2012).

In 2016, a new course was implemented by the Rehabilitation Council of India, a Diploma in Indian Sign Language Interpretation, which aims to 'develop personnel in the field of rehabilitation for persons with hearing impairment' (Diploma in Indian Sign Language Interpretation DISLI, January 2018). The RCI produced a manual on communication options in 2010 and copies were sent to all the special schools asking them to make a clear choice of the communication option out of oral/aural, total communication and sign bilingualism (Bhattacharya et al., 2014). Sign bilingualism considers 'ISL as the first language of the D/deaf students, using it as a mode of communication and medium of instruction and develops the majority language as a second language mainly through print' (Bhattacharya et al., 2014, p.89). While English has long been used as a lingua franca in Uganda and Ghana, English was only introduced to India as a principal language in recent decades (Vijayalakshmi & Babu, 2014).

Deaf schools were first established in 1883 in Bombay, and, as of 2019, there were 386 government funded schools for deaf persons across the country (Singh & Mahapatra, 2019). However, interestingly, even though there were deaf schools, in 1975, the head teachers of 175 schools in response to a survey agreed that 'there is no such thing as Indian Sign language,' although it was recognised that deaf students in these schools did use 'some forms of gestures' (Zeshan et al., 2005, p.17).

Block (2002) sets out a definition of domains in reference to language use, where domains can be understood 'in the same way that frames originate in metaphorical process of seeing A as B within a particular domain of experience, entire domains themselves often come to be seen in terms of other domains … whereby groups either suddenly or gradually come to see a domain of experience in a different way' (p.118). Wallace (2002) acknowledges that 'bilingual learners may have difference experiences in language learning' from those whose L1 language is the same at home and in the educational setting (p.103).

In the Indian education system, Vaish (2008) found these different domains are even more noticeable between Hindi and English in the classroom, with 'a seamless

fluidity in media of biliteracy,' where 'teachers do not make a distinction between English and Hindi periods; instead, one networks with the other without artificial boundaries' (p.50). In turn, for education throughout Odisha state, scholars Mohanty, Mishra, Reddy and Gumidyala (2009) commented that for minority language users in India, 'for some language is a road to upward mobility, and for others it is a barrier to even the marginal life of choice and dignity,' where the 'educational failure of linguistic minorities all over the world is primarily related to the mismatch between the home language and the language of formal instruction (p.280).

Many deaf people use different language repertoire in the home, such as a sign language, than in school settings (Swanwick, 2017, Kusters and DeMuelder, 2019, Harrelson, 2019). For instance, in Indore many deaf students had arrived at IDBA from both deaf and hearing schools in other areas, where the first languages included Hindu, and Urdu, as opposed to English. In addition, at HHSD, some deaf people there did not know Hindu or English, only Odia, one of the regional languages. It is claimed that 'mother tongue is the enabling factor for access to education' (Mohanty et al., 2009, p.287). Jhingran (2009) suggests that educational resources are unequally distributed amongst majority English and Hindi languages, and the minority languages in educational classrooms, such as tribal langauges.

1.5.2. Uganda: Geography, demographics and langauges of Uganda

By 1962, Uganda attained independence. There are 43 languages spoken among an estimated population of 34 million (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2012). The ethnic heterogeneity and multilingualism of the country has, in turn, contributed to the adoption of two foreign languages, Swahili and English, as official languages for use in education and communication (Namyalo, 2010).

It is estimated about 3% of Uganda's children have some degree of deafness (Akellot & Bangirana, 2019, p.2270). For 18% of children (UNICEF 2019), their disability was the main reason they had never attended school, while only 1.4% of children who had impaired hearing had access to hearing aids (UNICEF 2014b, pp.18,22), and 0.1% of all children who had hearing difficulties had access to hearing aids (UNICEF, 2019, p.22).

Here, Ugandan Sign Language received official recognition in the constitution in 1995, and sign language rights sensitisation training, deaf awareness training, and sign language instructor training efforts have been ongoing by UNAD, and by teams at Kyambogo University since 2002, with progress made in human rights and advocacy work (Sign Language Projects, 2013). In Uganda, the 1998 UNISE Act, for the establishment of the Uganda National Institute of Education (UNISE) for special teacher training for children with disabilities (CWDs) was passed, guaranteeing greater protection for deaf people in combination with UgSL language acts discussed previously.

In Uganda, there is a government-aided deaf school, Ntinda, as well as around 15 other deaf schools in the country, which are mainly private, and as of 2019 there were 47,024 deaf and hard-of-hearing children between primary one and primary seven (Opio & Muhammad, 2019, Akellot & Bangirana, 2019). Overall employment levels are low, with only an estimated 30% of its total disabled population in paid employment (Griffiths et al., 2020, p.1361).

1.5.3. Ghana: Geography, demographics and langauges

Ghana is based in Western Africa, with an estimated population of 29 million, and a rich post-colonial history (Mwakikagile, 2017, p.15). English is the official medium of instruction in education, although one additional Ghanaian language must be taught in schools too. In Ghana, four different sign languages have been documented (Nyst, 2007, Kusters, 2014), with the most prominent Ghanaian Sign Language (GhSL) originating from a deaf school established by Andrew Foster in 1957. American Sign Language (ASL) is used in the country too, while two village sign languages include Adamarobe Sign Language (AdaSL) and Nanabin Sign Language (NanaSL) (Owoo, 2016).

The Ghana Statistical Service reports there are 211,712 deaf persons, while the Ghana National Association for the Deaf (GNAD), finds 6% of Ghana's total population are deaf, or around 110,600 deaf people in the country (Owoo 2020). The first deaf school in Ghana was set up by a deaf African American called Andrew Foster, who is well-known in deaf communities across Africa, as he went on to 'establish 32 schools for the deaf across 13 African nations' (Runnels, 2017, p.246).

Today the country has 16 schools for the deaf. P2PDM research assistants and peer tutors conducted work alongside a principal investigator from the University of Ghana

and across the sites of the Senior Technical School for the Deaf in Mampong, with some collaborative workshops being held in Accra. Attitudes towards the deaf have also been subject to prejudice in Ghana, as in some communities it is common to 'mock deaf people,' with deaf people often referred to as 'mumu', which is a pejorative term (Kusters, 2012, p.2767). In Ghana, the deaf education system is run by a Special Education Division within the Ministry for Education, which runs schools for the blind and deaf and vocational centres for PWDs (Ghana Statistical Service 2014, p.16). In Ghana, less than half of deaf people are proficient in GhSL, which means that educational provision must consider improving access to sign language learning too (Gillen et al., 2020, p.2).

Low literacy among the country's disabled population has contributed to high dropout levels in education, while a lack of accessible information in sign language or via electronic communication across many sectors in Uganda, especially schools, had led to high dropout rates among disabled youth (Abimanyi-Ochom & Mannan, 2014, p.3). Literacy rates are quite high for the Eastern region, at 92%, where the school of Mampong-Akuapem is based, with slightly lower rates for youth in rural as opposed to urban areas (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013, p.22). For both male and female hearing and deaf adults aged 15–24, in 2000 the literacy rate was 23.6% and had increased to 23.9% by 2010 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2013, p.21).

1.6. Thesis structure

The next section of the thesis discusses the SDGs of the United Nations in relation to basic needs (**Section 2.1**), followed by an exploration of the Capabilities Approach (**Section 2.2**). Next the chapter explored the theoretical applications of the Capabilities Approach in relation to linguistic deprivation (**Section 2.3**); to deaf literacy (**Section 2.4**); and to deaf sociality (**Section 2.5**).

Subsequently, in Chapter Three, the overall structure of the research gathered is discussed (**Section 3.2**); followed by the operationalisation of the Capabilities Approach (**Section 3.3**), and methods for each stage of data collection for development project questionnaires (**Section 3.4**); for project staff capability questionnaires (**Section 3.5**) and for focus groups and mapping activities used with Indian participants during fieldwork (**Section 3.6**). Finally, some aspects of the data collection specific to working with deaf people from the Global South are explored, such as translation from ISL, GhSL or USL (**Section 3.7**), as well as limitations of the research (**Section 3.8**).

In the following sections, Chapter Four investigates the 18 development projects and individual capabilities regarding participation and leadership (**Section 4.2**), peer-to-peer teaching and learning (**Section 4.3**), access to information about United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (**Section 4.4**); and access to employment (**Section 4.4**). Chapter Four then discusses the conversion factors of marginalisation along linguistic axes in two projects; the impact of geographic isolation on participant capabilities in two projects, and the effects of social stigma (**Section 4.6**).

Chapter Five discusses explores the methodological approaches used to collect data about participants' capabilities, with a focus on the experiences of both Indian project staff and participants in three project sites in the country, with a focus on work-related skills and capabilities (**Section 5.3)** and the role of social networks for capabilities of deaf staff (**Section 5.4**).

Chapter Six examines Indian participants' capabilities realisation regarding multiliteracies (**Section 6.**2), their teaching experience and peer-to-peer work (**Section 6.3**), and deaf sociality in Indian contexts (**Section 6.4**).

Finally, Chapter Seven sets out the original contribution of the thesis in terms of what the Capabilities Approach has to offer deaf development studies, on the one hand, and what those studies can contribute to the Capabilities Approach, on the other hand. Areas for further research are also given.

2. The capabilities approach: a theoretical framework

First, the chapter discusses basic needs within the international development field, particularly the applicability of UN SDGs to deaf populations (**Section 2.1**), followed by an in-depth exploration of both agency and the Capabilities Approach and related debates around agency and empowerment (**Section 2.2**).

2.1. Basic needs in international development

Traditionally, the term 'basic needs' has been used to refer to physical needs, such as needing food and clean water, as pioneered by Maslow's (1942) hierarchy of five needs for well-being, which was developed further through the work of the International Labour Organisation in various countries (Singh, 1979). As an approach that 'emphasizes the basic necessities of life in favour of the marketplace … with targets specified as physical relations of specific goods and services having a universal validity', basic needs had some important distinctions from previous utilisations of income and GDP (Rimmer, 1981, p.216). The 'basic needs' approach has been criticised (Ghai, 1978), for example, for being too focused on consumption. Others (Gordon, 2005, p.1; Sen & *Drèze,* 1991, p.2–4) have argued that education and healthcare are 'basic needs' too.

2.1.1. Access to sign language as a basic need

Among deaf communities in the Global South, linguistic inequalities can leave individuals and communities in positions of severe poverty. Similarly, in the Capabilities Approach, the ability to acquire language and use it is recognised as an internal capability that humans are born with and one that is essential to being a human being. Although deaf people have the internal capability to acquire language, for those born to hearing parents who cannot sign, rather the capability changes and becomes a combined capability. In this context a combined capability is where one or many external structure(s) provide support to achieve a combined capability, in this case access to deaf adults who can teach sign language. For Deaf people, sign language could be regarded as a basic need because it is the natural language of Deaf people (Lane, 2003); the only language whose modality is fully accessible as a visual-gestural language form (); and an important source of empowerment in 'unequal' educational

settings (Rosen, 2016, p.2). By categorising sign langauge as a combined capability, this ensures the importance of early-years deprivation and sign language provision are recognised.

2.1.2. The UN Sustainable Development Goals in the Global South

The UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were formally launched in September 2016 (Lu et al., 2015). Although the MDGs were envisaged in 2001 as an overarching framework for national governments to follow regarding their development goals, it was realised that the scope was too narrow. By expanding on the MDGs, the SDGs aimed to incorporate a broader view of the causes of poverty; acknowledge the role of issues, such as gender; and promote a more local, holistic perspective of development.

Some progress has been made towards the SDGs as, since 2000, the infant mortality rate for under 5s has declined by 49%, and most of the world's population now has access to electricity (The Sustainable Development Goals Report, 2019). However, poverty in some circumstances remains entrenched, and the report has less of a focus on disability issues. Globally, only 28% of PwDs receive some form of cash benefit while suffering from disproportionate levels of unemployment (The Sustainable Development Goals Report, 2019, Abualghaib et al., 2019).

In light of the UN SDGs framework, NGOs should aim to 'reduce poverty and hunger to tackle ill health, gender inequality, lack of education, lack of access to clean water and environmental degradation', and the contract also points out the contribution developed countries could make through the provision of 'fair trade, development assistance, debt relief, access to essential medicines and technology transfer' (Constanza et al., 2015).

2.1.3. The human rights model

Both human rights models and the Capabilities Approach within sustainable development are 'normative frameworks for social evaluation', although with the distinction that human rights norms have been passed into law (Fukuda-Parr, 2011, p.74). The Capabilities Approach manages to 'clarify the theory of human rights as ethical claims that impose positive obligations, and the Capabilities Approach provides a robust defence of economic and social rights (Fukuda-Parr, 2011, p.74). The Capabilities Approach and human rights approaches can be complementary as human rights stipulations can indicate where policy frameworks utilising capabilities can be

improved. In turn, the Capabilities Approach approach offers conceptual clarity for the field of human rights through showing processes of empowerment and detailing local conditions. In turn, human rights instruments can offer benefits for the field of the Capabilities Approach through ‘locating accountability, directing attention to the vulnerable and the poorest of the poor and those who suffer from development processes’ (Fukuda-Parr, 2011, p.74).

2.1.4. Deaf people and the UN CRPD

The UN CRPD indicates ‘the importance of mainstreaming disability issues as an integral part of relevant strategies of sustainable development’. It also mentions the importance of recognising discrimination against PwDs and being aware of the diversity of disability, as well as their profound social disadvantages, and it highlighted that the majority of PwDs live in conditions of poverty (UNCRPD, p.2).

UNESCO suggests that literacy rights should include access to lifelong learning and inclusive education systems and a commitment to education for all as listed in Article 24 of the CRPD, including those with special educational needs. Article 21 lists freedom of expression, opinion and access to information, while Article 29 promotes peoples’ right to take part in political and public life (UN CRPD, 2006). Researchers also highlight the provision of literacy skills at an elemental level as one of the few meaningful ways in which the opportunities available to PwDs living in extreme poverty can be increased. Enhanced literacy offers PwDs routes to empowerment through greater participation in civic and political life (Groce & Bakhshi, 2011, p.1154).

Regarding the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, whereby UNESCO aims to enhance literacy by promoting ‘strong foundations in early childhood care and education, providing quality basic education for all children, scaling-up functional literacy levels for youth and adults who lack basic literacy skills [and] developing literate environments’, it is clear that there is a need for enhanced access to literacy among Deaf communities in developing countries (UNESCO, 2019). It is pointed out that literacy among PwDs and the Deaf is often a secondary consideration to children’s literacy in school settings in Global South countries. Many adults with disabilities are marginalised at young ages from formal education systems due to a myriad of factors from culture to access, which means that as adults they are subject to further marginalisation.

The United Nations recently introduced a 'leave no one behind' policy, which aims to generate an inclusive system of human development to ensure that those who have been left behind progress at a faster rate than those who have experienced greater progress, and it also aims to eradicate all forms of poverty. This initiative goes some way to addressing the lack of specific targets for PwDs within the SDGs (Sherlaw & Hudebine, 2015).

Other progress has been made in recent years as the UN CRPD now has a participative process, with debates particularly fierce around the continuing ideologies of 'educational "inclusion,"' with many deaf organisations advocating for Deaf, deafblind and blind children to be categorised as individuals with a sensory difference who can benefit from being educated in specialised schools with peers who use the same language and have a shared identity with them (Murray et al., 2018, p.38). Increased representation and space for Deaf individuals to advocate at the level of the UN CRPD has important implications for institutional structures and the background environment within which they are trying to enhance their empowerment.

Sign languages are specifically mentioned under Articles 9 (accessibility), 21 (freedom of expression and opinion and access to information) and 24 (education), and Article 2 defines 'language' as including 'spoken and signed languages'. This means that governments ('State Parties') must provide professional sign language interpreters and accept, facilitate, recognise and promote the use of sign languages and – in educational contexts – 'facilitate the learning of sign language and the promotion of the linguistic identity of the deaf community' (Article 24, 3(b)).

For PwDs, particularly deaf people, being mobile and being able to travel are vital to visit relatives and friends, to access services, to access workplaces and to move around. During information conversations with deaf Indians, they mentioned how, in some regions, deaf people have traditionally received free travel on public transport. More recently, a campaign in India resulted in the Supreme Court granting a transport allowance to speech and hearing-impaired persons in the public sector, on par with persons who are blind or have an orthopaedic disability (Deaf Employees Welfare Association v. Union of India). In Uganda and Ghana today, public transport is principally in private hands, and there is no free provision for PwDs.

2.2. Defining capacity-building

An organisations' capacity was determined by both the expansion of human resources, and the strengthening, reforming or restoration of relevant NGOs/development projects. The enhancement of organisational capacity positively impacted on the capacities of the deaf communities and individuals. Important factors for organisations to build capacity and potential impact included 'partnerships in the form of collaborations, partnerships and networks' and 'work on garnering resources, organisational resources, human capital, social capital' alongside what were termed 'tangible characteristics of will, commitment, propensities for action, openness to learning and attitudes' (Simons et al., 2011, p.197).

Building capacity in development projects focuses on strengthening an organisation's social and human capital (Merino & Carminado, 2012, p.960). However, in recent years focus has shifted in developing contexts from the provision of physical and financial infrastructure in the 1950s, or short-term training in the 1990s, or macro-approaches from a national level, to instead 'growing entrepreneurs from within the community,' and linking these businesses to 'more dynamic and profitable markets' (Merino & Carminado, 2012, p.960). It has been suggested capacity-building must include more than 'simply developing human resources' but must include 'strengthening, reforming or restoring the relevant institutions/organisations' (Merino & Carminado 2012, p.679).

The researcher utilised the understandings of capacities and assets of Samman and Santos (2009) to assess development organisation input, alongside input from Archer (2000), Larkins (2019), Narayan and Petesch (2002), Nussbaum (2007) and Sen (2001). Connections can be drawn with participants' individual and collective capabilities, and the impact of these upon the expression of agency.

Similarities between categories utilised for assessing agency in terms of collective assets and capabilities as defined by Samman and Santos (2009), and Narayan (2005), and the assets and capabilities for individuals as defined by Archer (2000) and Larkins (2019) highlights where agency acts as a component within the wider CA framework in terms of analysing participants' life quality and the degrees of freedom they have in their daily lives. The capabilities were defined as follows:

> 'Internal dialogue – ability to have thoughts, emotions, self-perception.
> Voice – ability and space to express this, whether this is at domestic, community or national level.
> Resources – This can be material or can be intangible like development of knowledge and skills.

Impact – Ability to make changes in the home, in the community and at a national level' (Samman and Santos, 2009, p.19).

The perceived ability of project beneficiaries to pursue valued goals, to speak out on behalf of their communities, act as representatives and to make positive changes after participating in the development project were all useful for deaf individuals and in some cases, their surrounding communities, as they advocated for signed languages and deaf cultures in these areas.

The next section explores the collective assets of deaf communities including organisation, representation and voice. Distinctions between individual and collective agency mean 'group processes, activities and intentionality' and must be situated in relation to the project work and specific project contexts (Sabiescu 2011, p.1). Where individual capabilities are defined as 'the various functioning bundles an individual can choose from to achieve the life she/he values' alternatively, collective capabilities are 'newly generated functioning bundles that an individual obtains by virtue of his/her engagement in a collectivity that help him/her achieve the life he/she has reason to value (Ibrahim, 2006, p.398). Two central conditions differentiate collective capabilities from individual ones. Firstly, the 'process of collective action' and secondly, that 'the collective at large – and not just a single individual – can benefit from these newly generated capabilities' (Ibrahim, 2006, p.398). Collective capabilities can allow deaf communities to tackle the issues they encounter on multiple axes by drawing greater attention to their demands for employment, for sign language recognition and for access to deaf schools and deaf associations as a group.

Sen's and Nussbaum's application of the Capabilities Approach focuses solely on individual capabilities, although they have looked at collective capabilities and agency in select groups such as the poor, and according to race and to gender. Additional scholarship by Murphy (2014) and Scholesbery and Carruthers (2010) emphasise the usefulness of firstly, self-determination, and secondly social capital (especially access to resources and networks) to achieve functioning within a collective CA. Two important facets comprise this argument; there is an essential interdependence which exists between an individual and the collective capability for political self-determination; and collective political empowerment within development processes carry intrinsic, instrumental and constructive value (Murphy, 2014, p.320).

Alongside the capabilities of voice, representation and organisation, which have been discussed in some previous sections, the collective capability of identity was

another combined capability that could be achieved as a collective, although this was not asked about in the questionnaire as the terminology could have been confused with deaf identity. Murphy makes his argument proposing the benefits of collective capabilities in relation to indigenous groups, however, many points equally apply for the Deaf as linguistic, quasi-ethnic minorities, who are often ostracised in developing contexts.

2.3. The Capabilities Approach

The capabilities framework was developed in tandem with considering peoples' equality and access to human rights. The Capabilities Approach is based under an overarching theory of political liberalism, which proposes that an overlapping consensus and reasonable pluralism both have a place within the ideals of a democratic society based on reciprocity (Rawls, 2008, pp.482–483). It is a broad normative framework to evaluate individual well-being and social arrangements as well as sometimes being utilised to gauge policy design and social change in society (Robeyns, 2003, p.5). Political liberalism as a philosophical approach returns to the originating ideas of a basic social contract as advocated in the 17th and 18th centuries by Hugo Grotius, Thomas Hobbes, John Lock, Jean-Jacques Rosseau and Immanuel Kant. These scholars all proposed variations of the political liberal theory, whereby a civil society, and a stable political order provided a means by which to secure the rights and protection of the individual (Rawls, 2008).

Giddens suggested that structures were 'rules and resources, which actors produce and reproduce through their practices' (Leydesdorff, 2010, p.2139). Giddens proposed 'structuration theory' as a static model of social networks during each fixed point in time, with a consistently evolving structure in intrahuman relations. It was later defined by Giddens as 'governing the continuity and transformation of structures, and therefore the reproduction of systems' (Leydesdorff, 2010, p.2139). Giddens envisioned individual action as taking place within a duality of the individual person/organisation in ongoing symbiotic wider structures. Giddens suggested that 'systems have a concrete existence in articulated series of interactions reproduced across time and space, and their patterns may be discerned in the ongoing pattern of social events' (Giddens, 1989, p.88). However, he suggested that each moment of interaction also has its own distinct rules and structures; for example, 'specific sets of rules and resources exist only in the moment when the reproduction of specific practices, or reciprocal practices, comprising

a mode of intention are carried out' (Giddens, 1989, p.88). Oswell (2013) defined Giddens' structuration theory as 'the dialectical relation between structure and agency in terms of a 'duality of structure' (p.45). In summary, the 'social system in which structure is recursively implicated, on the contrary, comprises the situated activities of human agents, reproduced across time and space' (Giddens, 1984, p.25). Meanwhile Oswell suggests that individual 'agents have a capacity and capability to make things happen, to have an influence and to have some sort of control' (Oswell, 2013, p.47).

In turn, Sen's CA and his ideas of agency originated from the Human Development Index. Sen examines freedom as a combination of both the opportunity to achieve and making the choice to achieve a set goal. He proposed that agency, what Sen (2009) terms as 'agency freedom' (p.289), is when an individual possesses the 'freedom to advance whatever goals and values a person has reason to advance' (p.289). Scholars Samman and Santos have suggested that Sen's framework, the expansion of opportunities (named capabilities in his approach) and the expansion of process freedoms (agency) are what define development (Samman & Santos, 2009, p.4). Sen suggests that individuals can be 'no longer seen as passive recipients of welfare-enhancing help. [They] … are increasingly seen … as active agents of change: the dynamic promoters of social transformation that can alter the lives' of surrounding communities' (Sen 2001, p.189). Sen believes that capability indicates 'a space within which comparisons of quality of life' (or standards of living) are made. He suggests that it is within this framework where we ask what people can do and be, as opposed to what opportunities they prefer to have or the resources they have access to, through which the causes and consequences of social inequality are best understood (Nussbaum, 2000, p.12).

Nussbaum's CA offers a route to conceptualising a partial theory of justice, which she argues is universalist and normative (Nussbaum, 2000, p.6). Nussbaum's framework goes further in that it delineates a list of ten core capabilities that societies should aim to make available for all of their citizens (**Section 2.2.2**, also see **Appendix 1**). Nussbaum suggests that 'to the extent that a society values the equality of persons and pursues that among its social goals, equality of capabilities looks like the most relevant sort of equality to aim for' (Nussbaum, 2003, p.36–37). Similar to the SDGs or the UN CRPD, these core capabilities suggest an ethical, just and ample set of goals for development, replacing the ideals and extremes of purely economic and free-market approaches to development.

Philosophers have asked if ‘whether the equality most relevant to political distribution should be understood, primarily, as equality of well-being, or equality of resources, or equality of opportunity or equality of capabilities’ (Nussbaum, 1998, p. 272). Different understandings of equality mean that well-being, resources or access to opportunities or to capabilities can all be considered as metrics with which to measure life quality.

Rawls also discussed concerns with the Capabilities Approach and whether capabilities or primary goods should be the primary concern. He ultimately rejected the Capabilities Approach because he believed that utilising the approach without making simplifying assumptions ‘calls for more information than political society can conceivably acquire and sensibly apply’ (Rawls, 1999). Instead, he proposes matching primary goods with specifications and principles of justice as a more feasible way to distribute freedoms (Rawls, 1999). Another scholar, Sugden, supported a welfarist perspective yet suggested that the capability framework was challenging in terms of informational restrictions and operationalising it (Sugden, 2003).

As discussed earlier in the chapter, many Deaf populations in the project contexts face shortages in their basket of primary goods; meaning that their life quality falls below the minimum bar required for well-being and fulfilment under Sen’s approach (Sen, 2001). As can be seen, there are some parallels with the assessment of living quality made through the basic needs approach, yet, just as with human rights legal instruments, the Capabilities Approach assesses empowerment taking place in practice, and it can be amended to local contexts in the home (micro) and at community levels (meso).

2.3.1. Background of the Capabilities Approach

According to Nussbaum and Sen, the origins of the Capabilities Approach can be observed in the writings of Aristotle, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill and Karl Marx (Nussbaum, 1988, 2003b, Sen, 1999). The tradition originates in the liberal school of thought in philosophy, a tradition that refers to an individual’s ability to act autonomously and freely (Kymlicka, 2002). The Capabilities Approach as envisaged by Sen and Nussbaum drew on concepts of empowerment. Chambers (1994) suggests that empowerment is a means through which poorer people can gain more control over their lives and secure a better way of living by the ownership and control of productive assets.

Other scholars suggested that empowerment was a process through which either people, organisations or groups were able to comprehend the power dynamics in their surroundings and gain control over their individual lives (Jackson, 1994); an increase in the individual ability to make life choices where previously they were unable to (Kabeer, 2001); and increasing the ability of, capabilities and assets of individuals or groups to involve and hold accountable institutions that affect their daily lives (Malhotra et al., 2002).

A critical distinction must be drawn between the means and ends of well-being. As Robeyns suggests, 'only the ends have intrinsic importance, whereas means are only instrumental to reach the goal of increased well-being and development' (Robeyns, 2003, p.6). In reality, the distinctions between means and ends or between capability inputs/sets/capabilities and achieved functionings often blur. Robeyns suggests that 'the distinction between achieved functionings and capabilities is between the realised and the effectively possible, in other words, between achievements and freedoms' (Robeyns, 2003, p.6–7).

Given human diversity, an index of primary goods does not give similar freedoms for all as 'different people need different amounts and different kinds of goods to reach the same levels of well-being or advantage' (Robeyns, 2003, p.10).

2.3.2. **Framing human capabilities across societies**

Some have suggested the human rights model is sometimes christened as a purely Western ideal, whereas an alternative, the Capabilities Approach, is a framework which has not been particularly linked to a particular cultural or historical tradition (Nussbaum, 2003, p.39). Nussbaum subscribes to Sen's approach of wellbeing freedom, yet delineates these into ten core areas that every individual should have the freedom to do if they so choose. The individual's capabilities and the end result of achievement of such capabilities is known as functioning, detailed below.

Alkire points out the Capabilities Approach 'goes beyond relentless criticism of income to propose an alternative space in which to conceptualize both poverty reduction and justice … an alternative way of identifying and evaluating intermediary actions (including for example growth, social investment and participation) that might contribute to the objective (expanding valuable capabilities)' (Alkire, 2005, p.117).

In this framework, Nussbaum cites a range of thresholds, with a presumption all individual beings share the same set of basic functions in order to achieve a standard of wellbeing or freedom. Societies must be structured in such a way a person's life has to have 'all and every traits' at the first instance (Nussbaum, 2011a, p.21). Nussbaum's idea of a threshold below which people cannot realise their human capabilities goes one step further than previous approaches. In first thresholds, Nussbaum gives the example of authoritarian or communist societies granting individuals insufficient space to practice religious freedoms or to utilise practical reason and act individually; or the example of an impoverished society in which the government makes escape from hunger or homelessness impossible (Li 1995, p.420) Both these forms of society are inhumane and immediately ensure a number of citizens are unable to realise their human capabilities. At a second threshold, all capabilities must be considered as a collective, where all core capabilities are able to be realised by an individual in order to attain a good human life (Li 1995, p.420, Nussbaum, 1995).

By basing the approach on the political aims of people being able to adequately realise a 'basic social minimum' of human capabilities, achieved functioning is defined as 'what people are actually able to do and be,' (Nussbaum, 2000, p.5). The theory states that, drawing on the '*principle of each person's capability*, based on a *principle of each person an end*,' every single citizen deserves to realise these capabilities and must be able to live above a minimum threshold, which is applicable to each and every capability. If citizens fall below this minimum threshold, people become unable to achieve their human capabilities (Nussbaum, 2000, p.6).

On a daily basis, 'practices' allow actors to realise 'active agency,' where 'routine actions, practical considerations and responses … in wider or immediate contexts' and 'projective action' such as 'imagining alternatives to current situations' or 'creating and pursuing goals' are all critical aspects of self-determination and wellbeing freedom, and capabilities realisation forms a vital component of allowing these agencies to be realised (Hvinden & Halvorsen, 2018, p.868). In summary, people's capabilities are defined as 'people's ability to do and be things deemed valuable' (Nussbaum, 1998, p.272). One of the oft-cited benefits of the Capabilities Approach is its applicability to a range of contexts. The Capabilities Approach is a framework which can be used as a comparative tool, where individual's freedoms and wellbeing can be established in different settings.

Other scholars have voiced concerns about the Capabilities Approach, for example how to identify valued capabilities, how differing capabilities and functionings should be weighted and ranked, and the snags caused by interpersonal comparisons (Sugden, 1993, p.1953).

2.3.3. Nussbaum's ten central capabilities

The data provided a baseline of categories from which participants' range of capabilities could be selected and their realisation of these evaluated across the three project countries.

Nussbaum (2007) detailed ten core universalist capabilities (with definitions quoted from Nussbaum 2007, p.23–24).

An individual's internal capabilities, 'trained or developed traits or abilities', are different from combined capabilities which are 'the totality of the opportunities' a person has 'for choice and action in her specific political, social, and economic situation' (Nussbaum, 2011). Nussbaum (2011) explains that 'combined capabilities are defined as internal capabilities plus the social/political/economic conditions in which functioning can actually be chosen' (p.22).

All of the capabilities detailed in *Table 2.1: Nussbaum's Ten Capabilities* are applicable to all deaf people as human beings. However, throughout this thesis, the aim is to comment on how these capabilities are realised by deaf individuals. For instance, even capabilities unrelated to linguistic deprivation, literacy or sociality will be conditioned by access to education and to information. For example, access to political participation in the local village meeting not only depends on linguistic access, but could also depend on levels of background information the deaf individual has about the topic under discussion.

The capability **Life** can be an internal capability – does an individual choose to eat nutritious foods, can access adequate food, water and shelter or are they able to abstain from the use of dangerous substances, given the freedom and choice to do so, thus increasing the likelihood of living a long life? The life capability can also be a combined capability, what Nussbaum (2011, p.23) calls 'substantial freedoms,' which would mean the degree to which external social, economic, familial and political institutions are supportive of an individual's capability to live a long life. Does the individual live in a context that is peaceful, and where the rule of law and order

prevails? Is the social or political context safe? In terms of deaf individuals in the Global South, can they access the job market or obtain enough to survive through the

Table 2.1 Nussbaum's Ten Capabilities (definitions quoted from Nussbaum, 2007, p.23-24)

1. Life	'Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living.'
2. Bodily health	'Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter'.
3. Bodily integrity	'Being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction'.
4. Senses, imagination and thought	'Being able to use the senses, to imagine think and to reason – and to do these things in a "truly human" way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical and so forth. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to freedom of political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise. Being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid non-beneficial pain'.
5. Emotions	'Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety. (Supporting this capability means supporting forms of human association that can be shown to be crucial in their development)'.
6. Practical reason	'Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical refection about the planning of one's life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience and religious observance.)'
7. Affiliation	**A.** Being able to live with and towards others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech. **B.** Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails provisions of non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin'.
8. Other species	'Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants and the world of nature.'

9. Play	'Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities. '
10. Control over one's environment	'**A. Political.** Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation and protections of free speech and association.' '**B. Material.** Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers.'

welfare safety net? Can the individual access the economic means for survival? For instance, in India, Uganda and Ghana many disabled individuals can face challenges in accessing the economic goods necessary for survival (Kumar et al., 2012, Asuman, et al., 2020).

The second capability, **Bodily Health** can be understood to be internal – in the case of deaf individuals are they able to access healthcare such as assistive devices, or to health services. As deaf individuals rely on a 'visual language that does not have a written form', they are at risk of low access to health information and care (Chiluba et al., 2019). One study of Deaf people in Uganda stated that 'erroneous knowledge on subjects such as nutrition and high-risk behaviours is propagated among the Deaf without access to the factual sources' (Chiluba et al 2019., p.129).

The third capability, **Bodily Integrity,** is related to safety and security, and was relevant to deaf people, to the extent that deafness can increase vulnerability to violence or abuse, particularly as 'both at residential school and at home. One study of deaf and hearing children at a language institute found that 54% of the deaf boys reported abuse compared to 10% of hearing boys. Deaf girls reported 50% rates of abuse compared to 25% of hearing girls' (Arulogun, 2012, p.1489). Issues of intersectionality can be relevant here (Bose, 2012). In fact, Chapple (2019), goes so far as to state that intersectionality is 'more than merely adding up the discrimination associated with each marginalized identity, it seeks to understand how the embodiment of each identity collectively shapes the individual,' (p.187). For black deaf woman, 'negative social constructions … negatively affect the identity of Black deaf women … the intersection of race, gender and class offers notable challenges as well as exceptional strengths' (Chapple, 2019, p.190). In India, for example, freedom for women to move around the villages and cities alone is conditioned by gender and deafness, as well as other

potential characteristics, and ‘the discourse of deaf development creates deaf orientations across class, caste, religion and geographic difference … and also allows for sameness work across gender as well’ (Friedner, 2015, p.82). In this context, the internal capability might refer to an individual’s choice of how to move around the city, whereas the combined capability would refer both to an individual’s choice, and the social, economic, familial and political context. For example, does an individual’s job require them to travel home by bus late at night or in a risky area? Does the metro line provide a carriage for PwDs or women’s carriage to reduce risk?

The fourth capability **Senses, Imagination and Thought** refers to the ability to think and reason, to use the senses to access and understand information, and to an individual’s access to education, which is a critical one for deaf people. Firstly, in terms of linguistic deprivation, many deaf people struggle to achieve adequate access to a spoken or signed language (Mandke & Chandekar, 2019). Mandke and Chandekar refer to deaf individuals in India, where ‘in 2007 the Ministry of Health and Welfare launched the National Programme for Prevention and Control of Deafness, … though effective implementation may take quite a few years … to reach the 70% of the population that lives in rural India’ (p.263–264). The capability is relevant secondly for participants’ abilities regarding access to education, particularly access to multiliteracies skills (Papen et al., 2019). Additionally, the capability links strongly to participants’ use of imagination and thought in the production of reports related to the P2PDL project, the production of classroom materials, curriculum planning and the organisation of events such as workshops, conferences and collaboratories for other deaf people (Gillen et al., 2019). The internal capability includes the individual capability of a deaf person to acquire language, whether oral or signed; or their decision to learn written language. The combined capability could refer to the provision of deaf schools, the provision of teacher training for deaf individuals to attain qualifications, the provision of ISL training so hearing teachers can communicate with deaf learners in their L1 language (mother tongue), amongst other social, political and economic factors.

Emotions as the fifth capability refers to emotional health, to attachment and to being able access healthy development. There are many internal capability facets to capability 5, as an individual’s family context, the provision of sign language in the early years and other factors can have a significant impact on emotional health and development. In other external areas, the linguistic context in an educational environment was important for the realisation of emotional capabilities amongst many

project participants. Deaf individuals mentioned that being unable to access education in schools as teachers could not sign, could cause anxiety, or linguistic deprivation in mainstream settings could cause lower confidence for deaf individuals.

The sixth capability, **Practical Reason**, refers to reasoning skills, and how reflective skills can allow individuals to achieve valued goals, and improve their lives. The internal capability refers to an individual's disposition, as well as their ability to plan in ways that allows them to reach their goals.

Affiliation refers to socialisation, to the ability of individuals to access social belonging and participate in the lives of their communities. The participants in the P2PDM project mentioned involvement in the project had allowed them to participate in deaf community events, meet new deaf people, and access socialisation in an educational setting. In India, 'social segregation of disabled is common in the community. This is because of deep rooted fears and beliefs acquired from cultural and religious factors. Overall, in reality it is a social problem where the disabled become a liability to the society' (Kumar et al., 2012, par.12). Although the internal capability was influenced by an individual's disposition, some external factors that influenced participants' opportunities to access the capability of affiliation included if their family were able to sign, if they had attended a deaf school, where they lived, if there were deaf events in their community. Affiliation also refers to being able to live and work across deaf networks and/or in spaces of 'deaf sociality,' (Friedner, 2015), whereby deaf people were more able to access a range of human capabilities from being able to 'engage in various forms of social interaction … [to being] treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others,' which was a second central point of investigation (Nussbaum, 2007, p.23–24).

The eight capability **Other Species** details living in balance with other species but is not relevant to this study.

The penultimate capability, **Play**, looks at individuals' ability to access recreation. Within the project all participants were adults, though for children access to language is not quite as pivotal to achieve the capability, as many games are interactive or physical. For deaf project participants, having access to sign language can greatly enhance their capability to access recreation and entertainment in educational settings. Although children and adults can access play without language, for adults especially,

being able to use language with peers is an important factor allowing the capability to be achieved in an educational context.

The final capability, **Control Over One's Environment** discusses individuals' capabilities as citizens in the political sphere. The human capability to 'participate effectively in the political choices that govern one's life [to] protections of free speech and association' was applicable to Deaf individuals participating in their communities on a local level and, to a limited extent, on a national level through their advocacy for deaf education and sign language rights (Nussbaum, 2007, p.23–24). The capability in section **B. Material**, acknowledges individual's ability to engage in meaningful work with mutual regard among other colleagues, and to earn income.

A detailed copy of Nussbaum's central capabilities list can be seen at the end of the thesis (**Appendix 1**). Other sociologists, such as Sugden (1993), disagree with Nussbaum's theoretical approach and question the usefulness of the Capabilities Approach approach stating that in some cases, for 'issues of justice it may not be appropriate to focus on well-being' (p.1952) as it sets up complex comparisons between different contexts, yet there remain questions over how 'to value sets', and 'given that real-income frameworks can also contain an operational metric for weighting commodities', Sugden implies the Capabilities Approach is not the most detailed approach for the measurement of well-being freedom (pp.1952–1954). Jaggar (2006) criticises the capabilities list as she claims it can be neo-colonial because those in power have the final word on what capabilities are in the list, and the concepts chiefly originate from principles of Western philosophers or a class of people in Global South countries who remain relatively wealthy, educated and privileged (Jaggar, 2006, p.305). Another criticism by Jaggar (2006) is that by using the list, there may be 'other voices' and new perspectives (p.306) and new capabilities that are not mentioned, for instance access to sign language for deaf people. These criticisms are relevant for the Capabilities Approach as applied in this thesis and discussed further in Chapter Three (**Section 3.3**).

2.4. Key definitions

Under Sen's framework, agency and capabilities have a different focus: Sen states that capability refers to opportunity, 'the ability to achieve things she has reason to value' (2001, p.10). In turn, 'agency refers to the process aspect of achieving a capability, and the freedom involved in these processes themselves' (Sen, 2001, p.10).

The notion of capability refers to the 'opportunity aspect of freedom, while the notion of agency, which is explained below, refers to the personal process aspect of freedom' (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009, p11). Dualities between individual agency and fixed structures, as well as non-static processes of transformation, provide the backdrop to the central premise of Sen's capabilities and functionings approach. Freedom, he argues, has two aspects, the opportunity and process aspect. The opportunity aspect pays attention 'to the ability of a person to achieve those things that she has reason to value', (2001, p.10), and the process aspect pays attention to 'the freedom involved in the process itself' (2001, p.10).

Other distinctions have also been drawn between well-being, and agency. For assessing well-being, an individual's the standard of living plus sympathy-oriented actions, for example, assisting another person, ensure one's own attainment of this. However, according to Robeyns' definition, 'if well-being is supplemented with commitments (an action which is not beneficial to the agent herself), then we are focusing on overall agency' (Robeyns, 2003, p.15).

Robeyns suggests that 'in evaluative exercises, one has to ask whether the relevant dimension of advantage is the standard of living, achieved well-being, agency achievement, well-being freedom or agency freedom,' (Robeyns, 2003, p.16). Regardless of which domain of advantage is under discussion, in the Capabilities Approach, these must be considered in the conceptual space of capabilities and functionings (which is defined below). However, Nussbaum (2000) argues that there is no need for a distinction between agency and well-being in the Capabilities Approach.

However, other theorists, such as Sen and Nussbaum provide frameworks within which both capability inputs and realised functionings, as understood through the opportunity-based perspectives and the welfarist perspectives, can be compared effectively. The following aspects of the Capabilities Approach are defined below, capability inputs; capability sets; conversion factors and achieved functioning.

(i) Within the Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum, 2007), capability inputs have been defined as 'the resources and goods' available to individuals in the contexts in which they might take action to achieve valued capabilities (p.23-24). Hvinden and Halvorsen (2018) note that capability inputs can include 'earnings from economic activities, income transfers, services provided by public or private agencies, various forms of support from families, friends and neighbours,

voluntary organizations, positive action or efforts of potential employers as well as strengths and weaknesses of the individual and his or her circumstances' (p.871).

(ii) Capability Sets denote the capabilities available to an individual to choose from, so in theory, an individual should not be below the threshold across all ten capabilities on the list in *Table 2.1* (Kuklys, 2005, p.75–78), which are made up of a combination of possible or reachable functionings (Robeyns, 2003, p.15).

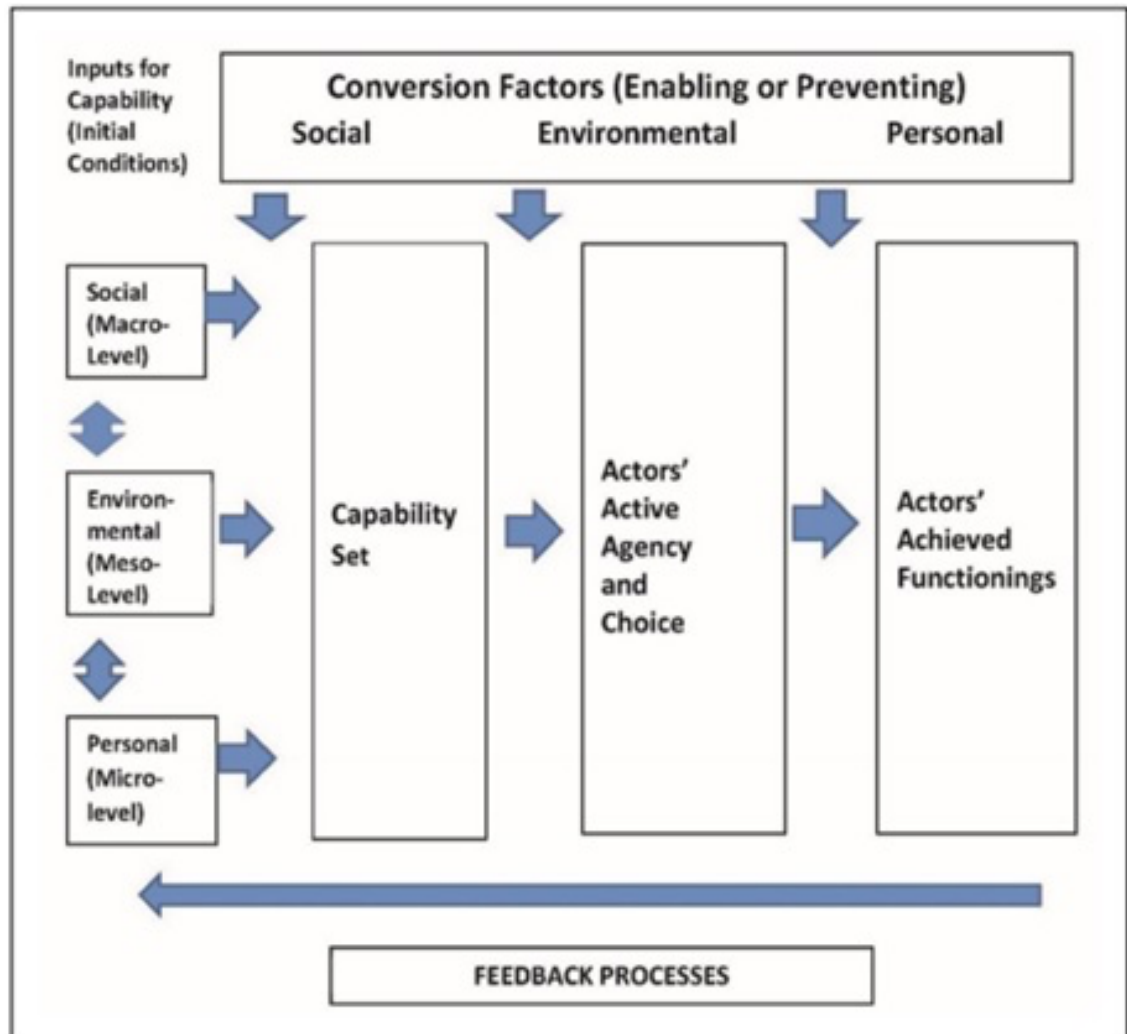

Figure 2.1: Dynamic relationships between structure, individual active agency and conversion factors (Hvinden and Halvorsen, 2018, p.872)

In addition, to explain capability sets, Sugden (2003) believes one must consider, 'if there are *n*-people in society, we may think of a space as *n*-tuples of an individual's capabilities; we may define a feasible set in this space; and we may use a criterion which attaches value to equality of capability to impose a (possibly incomplete) ordering on that set' (p.1958). However, these capabilities have been tracked as individual capabilities throughout the thesis for the sake of thematic comparison.

(ii) Conversion Factors

Conversion factors impact an individuals' ability to convert a capability (opportunity) into achievement of the capability (functioning). Consequently, conversion factors and institutional contexts in combination with an individual's decisions can be understood as a combined capability.

The relationship between goods and functionings to achieve certain beings and doings is affected by three conversion factors, what are termed,

1) Personal characteristics (e.g metabolism, physical condition, sex, reading skills, intelligence) impact how an individual is able to convert goods into functioning, for instance, if a person is deaf, they will struggle more to convert inputs into reading skills.
2) Social characteristics (e.g public policies, social norms, discriminating practices, gender roles, societal hierarchies, power relations)
3) Environmental characteristics (e.g climate, infrastructure, institutions, public goods).
(Robeyns, 2003, p.13).

Robeyns implies 'ideas of the good life are profoundly moulded by our family, tribal, religious, community or cultural background' (2003, p.14).

Differences in conversion factors can be a result of individual characteristics, yet others can be structural differences in society related to gender, class, race, caste and so on. In the project countries, discrimination against deaf people is often a factor that affects conversion, not only for income but for other commodities as well. For example, supposing that a deaf person and a hearing person have equal access to higher education and received the same scholarship, as well as eventually receiving the same educational degree, and both want to use this degree to achieve the same functionings, such as the functioning to secure financial autonomy, the functioning to provide support for dependent others, the functioning to live one's professional ambitions etc. Since the deaf individual in the three project countries are often discriminated on the labour market, it will be more difficult for the deaf individual to convert the same capability into a functioning as it would be for the hearing individual who has the same capability set (Robeyns, 2003, p.18).

Although sociologists such as Giddens envision agency and structure as a duality, more recent scholarship by Zimmerman (2006) finds that 'action as being

situated and in process,' whereby meaning is created through the actions, dialogue and relationships between individual people on a recurring basis (p. 477). Such a pragmatist perspective of situated agency, whereby capabilities and agency are achieved in processes of interaction between an individual agency and ever-changing environmental structures contrasts with Sen's view of agency as 'positional' where an individual acts within a wider, rather fixed 'environment' with little change over time (Zimmerman, 2006, p.475).

(iii) Functioning

A functioning is the achievement of a potential capability, where it has actually been realised. According to Sugden, '"Being adequately nourished," "Avoiding premature mortality," and "Being happy",' are all examples of functionings (Sugden, 2003, p.1951). Sugden (2003) distinguishes functionings from 'utility as a metric of happiness or pleasure,' (p.1951), instead claiming that functionings such as '"being happy" are just one of many aspects of being that are relevant to an overall evaluation of wellbeing' (p.1951). Sugden argues that functionings are not commodities: 'objects which a person might use' but rather 'an aspect of living itself' (p.1951). Within the Capabilities Approach, an individual's achievement of a capability is termed functioning.

(iv) Background Structures

The pluralistic nature of agency is highlighted and such factors are often conflicting or co-exist at the same time. For instance, the importance of focusing on capabiliti*es*, as opposed to income and resources, is important because five important factors can be overlooked;

> '1. *Personal heterogeneities* (a pregnant woman will have different requirements to be well-nourished than an elderly woman);
> *2. Environmental diversities* (pensioners in Scotland will need a different income to keep warm in winter than pensioners in Sicily);
> 3. *Variations in social climate* (parents in a country with a free public education system of good quality will require a different income to educate their children than parents in a country with no free public education system or with a low-quality public education);
> 4. *Differences in relational perspectives* (differences in customs and habits make the income requirements different to appear in public without shame when having guests); and
> 5. *Distribution within the family* (the family income might not be used to feed the children adequately but to buy the parents' drinks).'
> (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009, p.15).

In some areas, the Capabilities Approach might be more appropriate than a resources and income one. For example, a deaf pupil from a wealthy family might be able to pay fees for an expensive school and fully accessible education; meanwhile a deaf pupil in a poorer family has access to a state school without accessible sign language in their catchment area. In other dimensions, wealth could be assessed by access to opportunities that might be available in sign language as opposed to those typically available in mainstream society.

At the same time, the benefits accrued from learning English could be different for a deaf project participant who lives in Delhi or Indore, as opposed to one who lives in Odisha, (*Variations in social climate*). Capabilities realisation could be differentiated through the effects of the caste system, for a Dalit deaf project participant as opposed to a Kyshrtiya deaf project participant for instance (*Differences in relational perspectives*).

This emphasises the importance of capabilities framing as opposed to more traditional measures utilising resources or income. These differences are emphasised between project participants across India and between project participants in different countries.

(v) Measuring capabilities temporally

Defining and comparing capabilities at initial stages, with an individual's position evaluated *prior* to action and choice (termed *ex ante* opportunity-based perspective), is deemed to be much more challenging than evaluating an individual's position *subsequent* to action and choice (termed *ex post* welfarist perspective). The difficulties of measurement opportunity and comparing these amongst individuals is highlighted when an infinite range of options in the future are still available for the individual to choose from. Sugden (2003) suggests that 'what has to be distributed justly or fairly – are the benefits and burdens of social cooperation' (p.1957). It is suggested the complex informational demands of measuring the Capabilities Approach rely on a summative account of the distribution of opportunities amongst different people. The assessment of opportunity distribution was seen as a significant drawback to utilising opportunity-based perspectives of the Capabilities Approach, as the informational bases were believed too complex and too broad (Sugden, 2003).

Temporal frameworks are another important facet of the Capabilities Approach. The approach can frame capabilities realisation at one fixed point in time, and be static. Scholar Robeyns (2005, p.98) details the outcomes of a static approach towards

individual capabilities, as is shown in Figure 2.2. The Capabilities Approach can be measured dynamically over time as detailed in Figure 2.3.

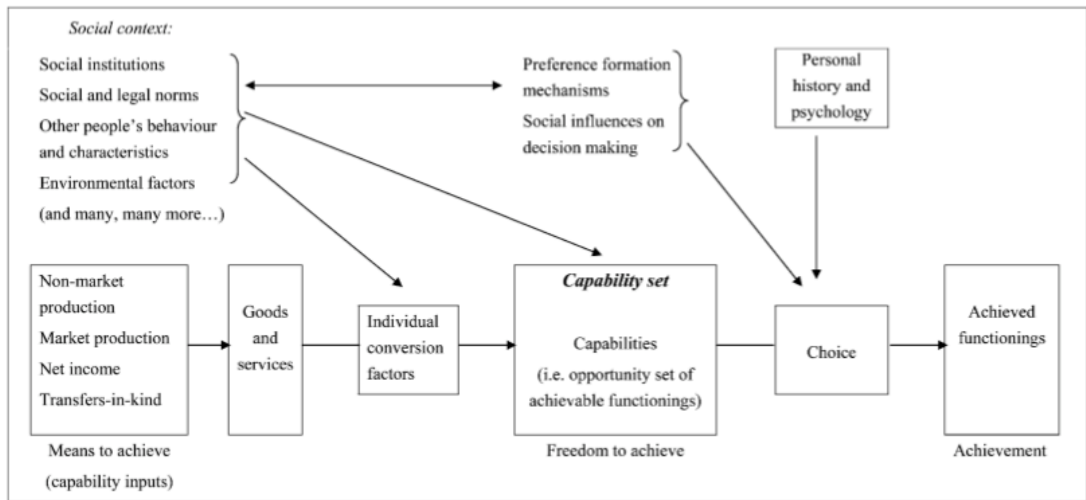

Figure 2.2 A non-dynamic representation of a person's capability set and her social and personal context (Robeyns 2005, p.98).

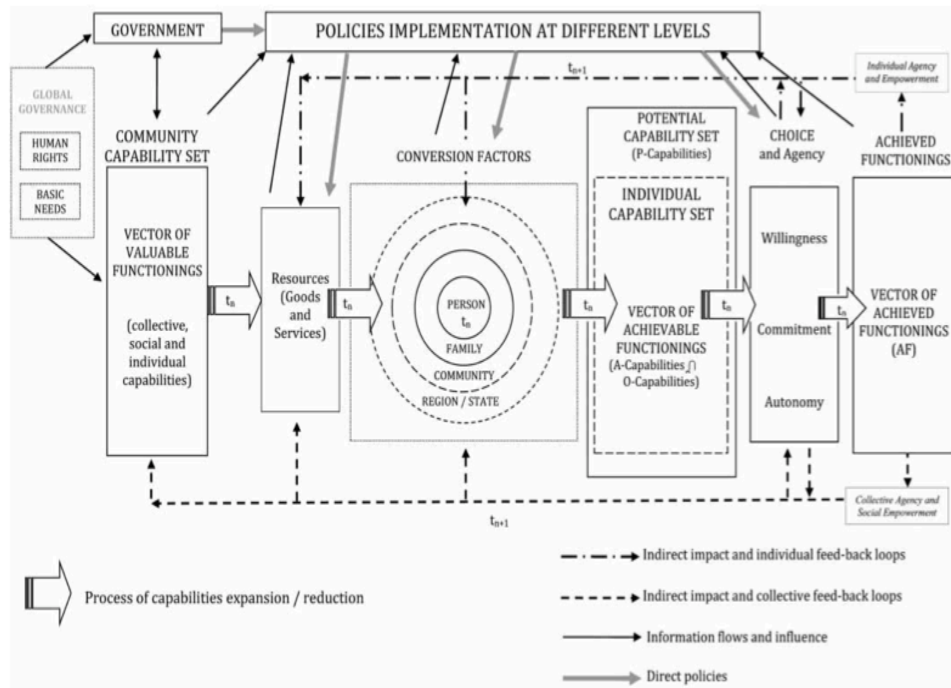

Figure 2.3 A dynamic representation of capabilities expansion/reduction processes (Biggeri & Ferrannini 2014, p.62)

3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This study investigates the capability realisation of deaf people, initially within a range of development projects using an agency framework (Samman & Santos, 2007) and, subsequently, among staff and participants in the P2PDM project, using the Capabilities Approach (Sen, 1999, Nussbaum, 2007, Robeyns, 2003). Factors considered in the method design for the P2PDM participants included working with a minority language group, as the first or preferred languages of the deaf participants in this study are sign languages. Within the P2PDM participants used one of three sign languages while learning English and other multiliteracies skills. As circumstantial bilinguals, access to sign languages often enhances literacy, and enhances capabilities across many other areas. Thus, learning to read and write English imparts useful employment skills for deaf people. The impact of deaf culture and deaf schools in Global South countries and influences on the epistemologies and ontologies of participants was another central topic. Finally, there were questions of how to adapt the Capabilities Approach framework based on discourses in the international development and sociology fields for the field of deaf studies, before being applied in the Global South context.

The chapter firstly explores the overall methodological choices in the project, both for the 18 projects, and for the P2PDM project (**Section 3.2**), followed by a discussion of ontologies and epistemologies (**Section 3.2.1, 3.2.2, 3.2.3**). Next, the chapter considers the creation of a capabilities list (**Section 3.3**), the design of the development project questionnaire for capacity-building organisations working with deaf communities across a range of Global South contexts (**Section 3.4**), the design of the staff capabilities questionnaire used for the P2PDM project staff (**Section 3.5**), and the creation of mapping activities and focus group questions for Indian participants (**Section 3.6**). Throughout each section, the rationale behind participant selection, method design, processes of data analysis and challenges specific to each method of data collection are explained. Ethical aspects of the research such as respecting the autonomy of participants, the provision of informed consent by participants and, ensuring responses remain confidential were among the issues considered too. Finally, the chapter concludes with challenges encountered in the overall project design and justifications for the decision to utilise qualitative research (**Section 3.7, 3.8, 3.9**).

3.2. Research framework

This research considers the viewpoints of development organisations that conduct projects with deaf groups or individuals in the Global South. In order to assess international development projects, a micro-view was used, where project effectiveness is weighed in terms of the impact of the project on its beneficiaries, as opposed to a macro-view, where indicators such as GDP or life expectancy might be utilised (Hermano et al., 2013, Yalegama et al., 2016). This is because the research method for RQ1 picked up on the comments of a small sample of project leaders discussing the capabilities that deaf participants achieved through participation in these projects, and how these could enhance the project outcomes. Outside of these project aims, responses to RQ1 indicated where deaf people encountered challenges in accessing wellbeing and freedom in their daily lives.

Having investigated the ways in which agency and capabilities are affected by different organisation programmes, the second stage of the research focuses on one particular project, and analyses data collected from P2PDM project staff across India, Uganda and Ghana. The capabilities questionnaire aims to obtain perspectives of the skills deaf staff acquired and whether these were achieved as a result of being involved in the project. Additionally, the methods capture external factors in the surrounding environment that were 'constraining or enabling' (Robeyns, 2003, p.13), for example, 'personal characteristics, geographical, socioeconomic, or cultural factors' that prevented or encouraged the acquirement of these skills (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009, p.15).

The third stage of the research concentrates on the experiences of Indian project staff and participants. India was chosen as the project site for more in-depth research because the country has 6.3 million deaf people, for many of whom deafness is identified late (**Section 1.5.1**). There are many deaf schools that use sign language pedagogies, while English is a valued language for future opportunities throughout the country. These factors, in combination with the provision of in-country deaf contacts, meant that India offered a good opportunity to apply the Capabilities Approach framework qualitatively in a relatively familiar Global South context, that ISLANDS had previous experience with. Many of the Indian participants in this study, particularly staff, had received a sufficient educational foundation in English and teacher training from the Deaf Literacy project (2015-2016). Indian staff were able to discuss capabilities, such as learning English and teaching, which might not have been the case

in the other project countries or for deaf people taken from wider sectors of society. Accordingly, it was decided to focus on India for the third part of the study, which uses focus groups and mapping activities.

3.2.1. Methodologies and framing

This study is conducted with the intention of using empowering research methodologies prioritising research by and with deaf people, based on a philosophy which differentiates between research 'on, for and with' deaf people (Emery, 2011, p.59). This research was situated in the transformative paradigm, which stems from the belief research might not 'serve the needs of those who have been traditionally excluded from positions of power in the research world,' and aims to 'address power issues, social justice and cultural complexity throughout the research process' (Mertens, 2007, pp.212-213). The critical paradigm is concerned with power, inequality, and achieving social change (Blackstone, 2012). Paradigms are 'loose collection[s] of logically related assumptions, concepts or propositions that orient thinking and research' (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006, p.3). Similar arguments to those proposed in the critical paradigm, around the liberation of minority communities (Horkheimer, 1982); alongside questions of inequalities between the global metropole and periphery (Connell, 2007); and research approaches drawn from indigenous cultures all suggest ways in which novel approaches could be taken to research deaf cultures (Kusters, 2017).

Some thoughts on these issues have been presented in the field of Deaf Studies, where research methods, based upon deaf epistemologies and ontologies, support different ways in which data might be interpreted, in different times and by different communities of people (Somekh & Lewin, 2011). Although deaf cultures have sometimes been presented as homogenous entities, in actuality – as is found within race or ethnicity studies or with first-nation persons – there are multiplicities of cultures and communities within a broader Deaf diaspora (Kusters, 2017). Scholars Skelton and Valentine (2003, p.120), suggest research within deaf communities, across a multiplicity of international contexts, might have greater potential to empower and emancipate if it is driven by deaf people themselves. It must be considered to what extent this is possible within existing, predominant frameworks and power structures. These questions also return to concerns around the influence of ontologies and the role researcher reflexivity has on research method design.

3.2.2. Researcher Ontology and Reflexivity

As a deaf researcher, my ontological position brought an indigenous lived experience of deafness in the U.K, although not an indigenous knowledge of BSL and British deaf culture (Ladd, 2003, p.41). I was educated in a predominantly oral education system in Scotland, at a school with a specialist hearing impaired department. I started to learn sign language in my early twenties. As a researcher from the Global North, my position as a deaf researcher intersects with the lived experiences of deaf Indian, Ghanaian and Ugandan participants in some ways through our shared deafness. However, as a researcher from the Global North, there are some limits to how far the research could capture deaf ontologies and epistemologies from the Global South outside of that gleaned from direct observation and from the data collected. Differing socioeconomic contexts between India and the U.K., where I conducted fieldwork in-person, meant the ontologies of local deaf people both overlapped and differed from my own.

Awareness of the important role sign language can play in deaf communities and the opportunities it affords in education is slowly increasing amongst educational authorities in the Global South, as detailed in Chapter One, (Bhattacharya et al., 2014, **Section 1.5.1**). There are many indigenous grassroots organisations who promote deaf rights: there were various protests in Indian cities in 2018 and there are ongoing campaigns for sign language recognition (NewsHook, 2018).

I had to consider my position as a deaf person whose first language is English, with a hearing family as this meant although I shared the experience of deafness with deaf people around the world, I had not attended a deaf school, so my acquirement of sign language was as an L2 language. However, throughout the research project, I tried to prioritise the voices and opinions of local deaf people where possible, for instance through the co-creation of a keywords list to elicit capabilities, as discussed later in this chapter (**Section 3.3**).

It was important to keep deaf-centred knowledges in research contexts, such as local ways of understanding deaf identity, at the forefront when designing the methods. During fieldwork, I centred deaf knowledges by opting to use sign language and writing in English to communicate while with deaf participants in the project. I could not use ISL due to the time constraints so an Indian colleague assisted in written English where possible and ISL-English interpreters were not available. This was achieved by inviting the feedback of local Indian participants upon keywords relevant to their lived contexts, that were used to elicit capabilities.

Since the advent of the field of deaf studies in the 1970s, the majority of scholarships started out by delineating deaf identities along the D/deaf binary (Temple & Young, 2014, p. 38). Kusters, De Meulder and O'Brien (2017, p.8) claim that the 'foundational concept of Deaf Studies is thus very much based upon a (monolithic/essentialist) dichotomy between "Deaf world/Deaf culture" and (an often hostile, discriminatory and inaccessible) "hearing world"' but add that some deaf studies scholars in academia have opened up these definitions to situate deaf identity within a more contested and multi-layered field, such as 'bicultural' notions of deaf identity found in a study from South Africa (McIlroy & Storbeck 2011, p.494). For instance, Brueggemann (2009) points to multiplicities of ways of understanding the deaf subject. She also comments on how the betweenness of deaf identities – determined by cultural markers, by relations to other subjects of difference/disability, by language (whether spoken, lip-read or signed) and, most recently, the formulation of deaf identities in mediation with new technologies of communication – are reformulating these questions in the twenty-first century (Brueggemann, 2009).

Some voices suggest the concepts of '"Deaf culture", "Deaf community", and "Deaf identity" generated in the 1970s – while ground-breaking, emancipatory and pioneering in those decades – have evolved into "top-down concepts", and have, at times, led to "frozen" ways of thinking and structuring descriptions and analyses of deaf lives' that do not reflect the variety within contemporary deaf people or communities (Friedner, 2017, p.132). This study argues for deaf-centred epistemologies that take account of various understandings of what it means to be deaf from a global perspective, such as more fluid definitions of deafness emanating from the grassroots, and the promotion of local understandings of sign langauges and local cultural knowledges. Likewise, creating space in current deaf studies for fresh epistemologies and ontologies from Global South communities, where the roles of intersectional identity, local cultures and histories mean that understandings of capabilities and functionings are mediated through local voices and contextual understandings. If we build on this analysis for deaf people, the meaning of a high quality of life in intersection with gender, education levels and location will shift (**Section 6.4.2**).

3.2.3. **Deaf Epistemologies**

Previous attempts by deaf scholars, such as Bauman (2008), Ladd (2003) and both Ladd and Lane (2013), to work from a centre of deaf ontology and epistemology

emphasise the need to consider what Connell (2007, p.viii) terms ‘the nature of social-scientific knowledge (epistemology, methods and forms of communication) in a context of respect for intellectual traditions from the global periphery’. The production of knowledge from deaf and sign language communities has typically been situated in the periphery and remains marginalised today, as the promotion of ISL on the Indian Educational curriculum has only began recently.

By referring to deaf epistemologies and ontologies throughout the conceptualisation of research design, I aim to challenge the ‘normativity of methods,’ used in qualitative research (Law, 2004, p.4). The research demonstrates choices, freedoms and actions that are valued by deaf communities. The prevalence of themes that are deaf-centred throughout the research emphasises where some capability domains might have been missed off Nussbaum’s core CA list. Novel methods with deaf groups could entail ‘forms of knowing of embodiment,’ or of ‘situated enquiry,’ where ‘we will need to rethink how far whatever it is that we know travels and whether it still makes sense in other locations and if so, how,’ reinforcing the distinctions between the Capabilities Approach as used to refer to all human beings, and the need for distinct approaches in some cases of core capabilities from a deaf perspective (Law, 2004, p.3).

Recent scholarship proposes a move beyond the foundational perspectives of the discipline towards ‘bottom-up accounts of deaf ontologies and epistemologies’ that are more explicit and regarded as embodied (Kusters et al., 2017, p.14). Concepts moving to the foreground in current understandings of deaf epistemologies and ontologies include ‘corporeality and embodied subjectivity, which means our bodies influence our experiences and thoughts’ and the central role of the visual and of tactile senses in the creation of these ways of being and knowing (Kusters et al., 2017, p.15). However, extending these bottom-up accounts from Indian, Ugandan and Ghanaian deaf communities, in a way that is inclusive of embodied subjectivities, yet still offers sufficient commonalities among the variety of grass-root definitions of deaf ontology for effective comparison between these deaf communities, is a fresh challenge. Efforts to address these complexities regarding the application of Nussbaum’s CA to Global South deaf communities constitutes new knowledge.

Connell (2007, p.xi) suggests it is necessary for social science research to move beyond utilising the categories ‘produced in the metropole’ and ‘dialogue with the ideas produced by the colonised world.’ Much like indigenous communities, marginalised

languages and colonised societies, the knowledge and sign languages of deaf communities have often been disenfranchised. For example, deaf sign languages have been treated as '"traditions" of historical or ethnographic interest, but not as sources of intellectual authority in the present' (Temple & Young, 2014, p.29). Das (1995, p. 30) has discussed the disenfranchisement of 'local bodies of thought' in India, after being sourced by intellectuals and, subsequently, their authoritative knowledge being forcibly relegated to the past, as outdated, irrelevant or disproven knowledges. To an extent, this idea of the intellectual authority of deaf communities in the present, is what Deaf Studies as a discipline has been seeking to achieve in the United States and Europe since its inception in the 1970s, with varying degrees of success. This echoes Bauman's (2014) empowering proposals of 'deaf gain' (p.xxi), where he suggests deaf identities and communities are formed from shared visual, tactile and cultural ways of being in the world, as opposed to the more familiar discourses that classify deaf communities as oppressed minority groups within a dominant status quo.

The role of knowledge production and of ways of being are central when considering links between a person's ability to make decisions and their perception of what specifically has influenced their realisation of core capabilities. Research methods as traditionally practiced can often be discordant with deaf epistemologies, where knowledge rests on visual language, gestural expression and communication across space (De Clerck, 2010, Pollard, 1992, Young & Hunt, 2011). Unless such methods are adapted appropriately to accommodate deaf ways of knowing and deaf ways of being, any attempts to capture a full picture of what a high-quality of life means, and what it might be as pictured from a deaf perspective, can be one-dimensional.

This study aims to center deaf ways of being through processes of co-working with deaf colleagues to produce research in the P2PDM sites; makes aspects of the research methods visual in order to allow deaf people to utilize their own visual ways of being during the research process; and uses some inductive input from deaf staff for some of the mapping activity methods.

3.3. Developing an agreed capability list

To use the Capabilities Approach with research participants who are laypersons, it is important to recognise the theoretical language which defines well-being, capabilities and functioning need to be expressed in accessible concepts from the everyday. Tensions often fall at the interface between local and intersectional

understandings of human capabilities as opposed to generalised, universal interpretations of core human capabilities (Nussbaum, 2001, p. 51). In simpler terms, the tension in the Capabilities Approach is between a 'plurality not grounded in the singularity of individual trajectories' with the richness and diversity of the individual persons' preferred capabilities and choices creating informational bases that are too complex and far-ranging to apply in a pluralist Capability Approach framework (Zimmerman, 2006, p. 476). Indeed, Gasper (2007) points out that although calls 'for equality of capability concerns equality of access to … valued functionings … when individuals do the valuations of their situations then they each value different functionings and the criterion of equality becomes in practice unworkable' (p.352). The same conundrum applies to 'equality in the space of capability,' where comparing two individuals and their opportunity to achieve their goals (agency) is not possible when two individuals have vastly different ones (Gasper, 2007, p.352). Therefore, the rationale for standard, universal criteria for the Capabilities Approach is clear – when too many individual preferences for capability inputs and capability sets are included, the framework becomes unworkable.

Similar viewpoints around the place of universalist and local norms accompany debates around signed languages and deaf cultures, firstly in Cameroon, where there is 'a need for further capacity-building in the areas of research and teaching in sign language, deaf studies and deaf education' (DeClerck, 2011, p.1421), and secondly, in Uganda, where research was led by two deaf scholars, one from Belgium, and the other from Uganda who 'was a native UgSL signer, who has actively been involved in his community's development' (DeClerck and Lutalo-Kiingi, 2018, p.373). In both contexts, an intersectional analysis of deaf communities was utilized, where local situations and the identities of local individuals added constitutive elements on top of universal approaches taken within deaf studies to deaf culture and identity. Analysing individuals' and a community's quality of life in local terms poses significant challenges to the validity of universal norms, such as the minimum standard of living conditions proposed by Nussbaum (Nussbaum, 2007, p.23-24).

My approach aims to take into account more than just 'resources, primary goods, welfare or negative liberty' (Burchardt & Vizard, 2011). The development of an appropriate capability list for the deaf communities in these contexts employed both deliberative strategies from local project staff, where capabilities were selected by reading through comments in the data, which, in turn, were verified with in-country

Indian consultant and other senior project staff. The Capabilities Approach provides a generative, universalist approach that aims to match standards recognised in international human rights law. Nussbaum (2007, p.23-24) proposed her human capabilities represent an essential minimum threshold necessary for all human beings to reach in order to have access to a basic quality of life, drawn from a prescribed list, which constitutes a normative and universalist understanding of basic human needs (**Section 2.1, 2.3.3**).

The research methods described in Section 3.5 and 3.6 elicits where participants were positively accessing functioning in respect to certain capabilities, and where means, conversion factors, or other individual reasons inhibited functioning/capabilities realisation. The two-stage procedure of deliberative and participative approaches, necessary to create a refined core capability list applicable specifically to deaf communities, would require extensive resources in terms of education, time, budgets and methodological expertise that exceeded the scope of this thesis (Hoffman & Metz, 2017). Creating a refined, deaf-oriented core capabilities list, rooted in participative, deliberative practice, would firstly necessitate educational projects on human rights, international standards and principles of core capabilities, if it were to apply to deaf persons beyond an educated, elite group (Tikly & Barrett, 2011). Such a list would require the adaptation of the language of these core capabilities into concepts deaf communities in these developing contexts could understand. This would need to be followed by a deliberative research exercise to expand and transform these core capabilities according to processes of participative consultation and input.

In addition, applying the Capabilities Approach to Global South deaf communities must allow for alternate understandings of what is meant by well-being and alternative options of desirable capacities/capabilities, rooted in a multiplicity of deaf epistemologies. To reiterate earlier points, contemporary scholarship on the Global South is moving away from the employment of American and Eurocentric deaf epistemologies (Kusters et al., 2017) (**Section 2.1)**. Deaf epistemologies for Global South communities are still in emergence. Inevitably, the meaning of capabilities and achieved functionings would shift depending on the priorities of each location and the deaf signers there.

3.4. Surveying development projects

The capacities of deaf individuals and communities participation in development projects were tracked. A sample was taken from 18 development organisations that worked across 23 project countries in the Global South. The method utilised was a questionnaire with seven questions (**Appendix 5**). Projects in the dataset worked with a range of different deaf communities, and each trialled a variety of attempts to promote change and transformation, such as through sign language teacher training, which upskilled local staff, and passed on sustainable forms of income and employment, through greater awareness of deaf people's rights under the UN CRPD; through addressing marginalization and through the implementation of peer-to-peer methods.

The researcher's approach to surveying development organisations was undertaken with theories of agency and empowerment in mind (Sen, 2001, Narayan et al., 2005). These framings of agency and empowerment meant questions posed to the project leads of development organisations were concerned about peoples' access to education, their social belonging in their communities, their ability to plan for the future, and in the case of deaf communities at a collective level, their ability to speak out on others' behalf and act as community representatives.

The research generated an overview of the field and offered a third-person perspective of participants' opportunities to achieve capabilities and agency. The data showed the viewpoints of project leads and their assessments of the impact of the projects on capacities and empowerment. However, it was not feasible to track the opinions of participants themselves retrospectively, as many development projects had already concluded.

3.4.1. Participant selection amongst development organisations

The researcher questioned development organisations which included individuals and academic institutions that had previously worked on projects with deaf communities. Initially, it was intended to focus the survey on NGO projects based in the Global North, who completed work in the Global South; however, it gradually became clear that academic institutes and deaf individuals conducting informal training had also been conducting pivotal development work. The development organisations sampled are summarised in *Table 4.1* in Chapter Four.

Organisations conducting capacity-building work were identified through Google search. The search terms included: deaf development; hearing impaired in developing countries; deaf education; deaf access to health Africa, Asia; deaf NGOs;

deaf health; and deaf sign language training. The utilisation of an Anglophone search engine means it is likely several development organisations operating in other languages, or local sign language initiatives in many Global South countries, were missed in the search.

After potential organisations had been identified, 30 development projects were considered. The scope of those surveyed was narrowed further to development projects whose aims aligned with improving education, literacy, early-years intervention in health or human rights knowledge. This was to ensure the agency and capabilities in the development organisation questionnaires would have some level of comparability with each other and with the output capabilities envisaged by the P2PDM project.

Some consideration of health and safety concerns were underlined by the researcher, for instance safeguarding while working with research participants in IDBA. Other considerations revolved around ensuring clarity of communication with the deaf participant, that they had full access to the information being shared and that they fully understood what their research insights would be used for.

Subsequently, project leads were contacted via email to explain the research and ask if they would be willing to participate. Participants were given information in a Participant Information Sheet, which was also translated where requested (**Appendix 3**). After organisation leads had confirmed they were happy to take part, informed consent was collected through their agreement to a consent form (**Appendix 4**). Questionnaires were then sent to participants over a staggered period between June and August 2018. Details of responses were stored securely in a database in accordance with data protection requirements. The Participant Information sheet notes that although efforts will be made throughout the thesis, and any resulting publications, to minimise the likelihood that participants can be identified, it is extremely challenging to maintain complete annoynmity within this sector. This is because at times it could be possible for individuals to use jigsaw identification, and discover which project leads or organisations had commented on development projects with deaf people in specific areas. This is because the number of projects in each country working directly with deaf participants are often few in number.

For respondents to the development organisation questionnaires, I refer to respondents as R1 etc. For the subsequent participants within the P2PDM project, I refer to participants with P1, P2 etc. The coding system allows questionnaire response, and

participants in the mapping activities and focus groups to remain confidential in the thesis, with the respondents and participants deidentified. However, it was not possible to entirely anonymise participants despite efforts to preserve participant privacy. This is because the number of projects and organisations working with deaf individuals is small in number, and individuals working in the field might be able to guess who respondents are in certain cases.

3.4.2. **Questionnaire design for development organisations**

Questionnaires (**Appendix 5**) were designed to elicit details about the development organisation, project aims and project duration, followed by the perceived impact on participant agency and capabilities. An assessment of agency used the frameworks of Archer (2000) and Larkins (2019). In order to be accessible to deaf people, respondents were given the option to respond in written English or to arrange to meet online via Skype. The majority of respondents (15) elected to respond in written English, but three deaf respondents chose to use sign language; the questions in the questionnaire were posed face-to-face over Skype for these three cases and video recorded. These development project questionnaires were distributed in April 2018.

Project leads were asked to identify which dimension of agency they believed the project work encouraged participants to utilise most: internal dialogue, voice, resources, or impact (**Section 2.2**). This aimed to demonstrate where project leads believed participants were accessing capability inputs, and areas where deaf people accessed empowerment through participation in development projects.

Respondents were then asked about the specific assets and capabilities which their projects targeted. In the framework, individual assets include material items, such as land ownership, housing, livestock and access to loans. Question six was designed utilising a Likert scale numbered 1–5, with 1 representing ‘not at all’, 2 ‘a little’, 3 ‘somewhat’, 4 ‘a lot’ and 5 ‘very much’.

The questionnaire also aimed to assess: collective assets and capabilities, which includes voice, capacity to discuss and resolve problems, or general communication abilities; the capability of representation, which includes representing themselves, their family, or a deaf organisation, conducting discussions on behalf of the deaf community in everyday contexts, at a municipal level or at a national level with governments; the collective capability of organisation, by which people were able to organise themselves

and campaign for positive changes at either an individual or a community level (Samman & Santos, 2009). Samman and Santos advocate for a 'concept of empowerment [that] is multidimensional, culturally grounded and relational, and that it applies at different levels of aggregation' (p.2). In addition to the applicability of such an approach to different projects in a range of contexts, the approach built upon that of Ibrahim and Alkire (2007), and that of Sen (2001).

This informed me that such an approach could account for different social structures that surround individuals, such as the state, the economy or society, known as 'spheres' (Alsop et al., 2006, p.19), and also consider capabilities and agency as they play out at different levels of national or municipal institutions (macro), within the community (meso) and in the home (micro) (Samman & Santos, 2009, p.6). When agency and capabilities can be realised across these different areas, it is known as multidimensional.

3.4.3. Data Analysis on prior development projects

For the first section of data analysis, I drew up on phenomenological analysis in a coding process within my thematic analysis. As is pointed out by Morse (1989), these techniques can often be blurred together, or elements of both used. However, these are distinct approaches, with phenomenology originating from the philosophical approaches of Husserl (1999), who suggested that human consciousness is always consciousness of a stated phenomenon. In order to apply the method, researchers must examine the 'intentionality, description, reduction and essence' of the subject and of the phenomenon, where the 'object of enquiry is the description of phenomenon as experienced by the individual' and the subject is the person experiencing 'the external world' (Baker, 1992, p.1356).

In terms of coding, phrases and words from the 18 participant samples were extracted by the researcher, coded across common overarching themes in all projects and built up into different themes. Finally, the samples were coded for cases where project leads had raised awareness of their work with the deaf and for project sustainability. I identified initial preconceptions about phenomenon (with a focus on capacity-building projects) and coded under a theme word. In phenomenology this is referred to as reduction. After reduction, the phenomenon was 'varied imaginatively' in order to 'identify its characteristic attributes' (Baker, 1992 p.1356). Reduction should lead to the essential foundations and essence of the relevant phenomenon. More simply,

phenomenological approaches seek to ‘study how people make meaning of their lived experience,’ (Starks & Trinidad, 2007 p.1372). Consequently, the research provided a list of key terms for how development orgnisations aimed to maximise the agency and capabilities of their project participants.

Each project lead was asked to assess which asset or capability they believed the project targeted the most among the participants in each case. These were not divided into individual or community capabilities and assets, as it was challenging to know at the outset of the research how many participants would be taking part in each capacity-building project, and the extent to which projects tackled the problems encountered by deaf individuals or the deaf community.

Some central challenges with the data included that of the validity of project leads’ perceptions; for example, as surveys were sent to project leads, rather than project participants, responses were a summary of perceived agency, rather than a detailed analysis of the extent of participants’ contraction or expansion of personal agency and everyday freedoms. However, deaf participants responses from the P2PDM project on their capabilities was intended to triangulate prior findings and suggestions arising from the comments of leads working on previous development projects. As project leads could demonstrate a variety of experience working with deaf communities, across a range of Global contexts, it could be assumed that any similarities emerging from both the development questionnaires and staff capabilities questionnaires were valid.

3.5. Surveying P2PDM project staff capabilities

For the second stage of the research, the researcher aimed to track how capacities and skills of project staff across the three project countries of India, Uganda and Ghana had changed throughout the project duration. The data were collected through sending online staff capabilities questionnaires to project staff, who discussed their perceptions of how their skills and capabilities had transformed. Questionnaires were selected as it meant data could be tracked in a more objective way. Interviews in sign language would have been more accessible, but would have made it harder to measure such changes, especially when conducted with nine participants.

In Figure 3.1, the three project sites can be discerned as red circles: New Delhi in the north of the country, where DFDW have offices in the city; the IDBA in Indore

City in the centre of the Madhya Pradesh state; and HHSD, Binka in the rural Odisha state in Eastern India.

The second P2PDM project country, Uganda, as detailed in Figure 3.2, is a country in eastern Africa, bordered by Kenya and Tanzania to the east and south, Rwanda in the south-west, the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the east and South Sudan to the north. It is classed as a Low-Income Country (LIC).

Finally, the third project country was Ghana, as detailed in Figure 3.3, where project staff worked with participants in Accra, at the Mampong Akuapem School for

Figure 3.1 India project sites map

Figure 3.2 Uganda project sites map

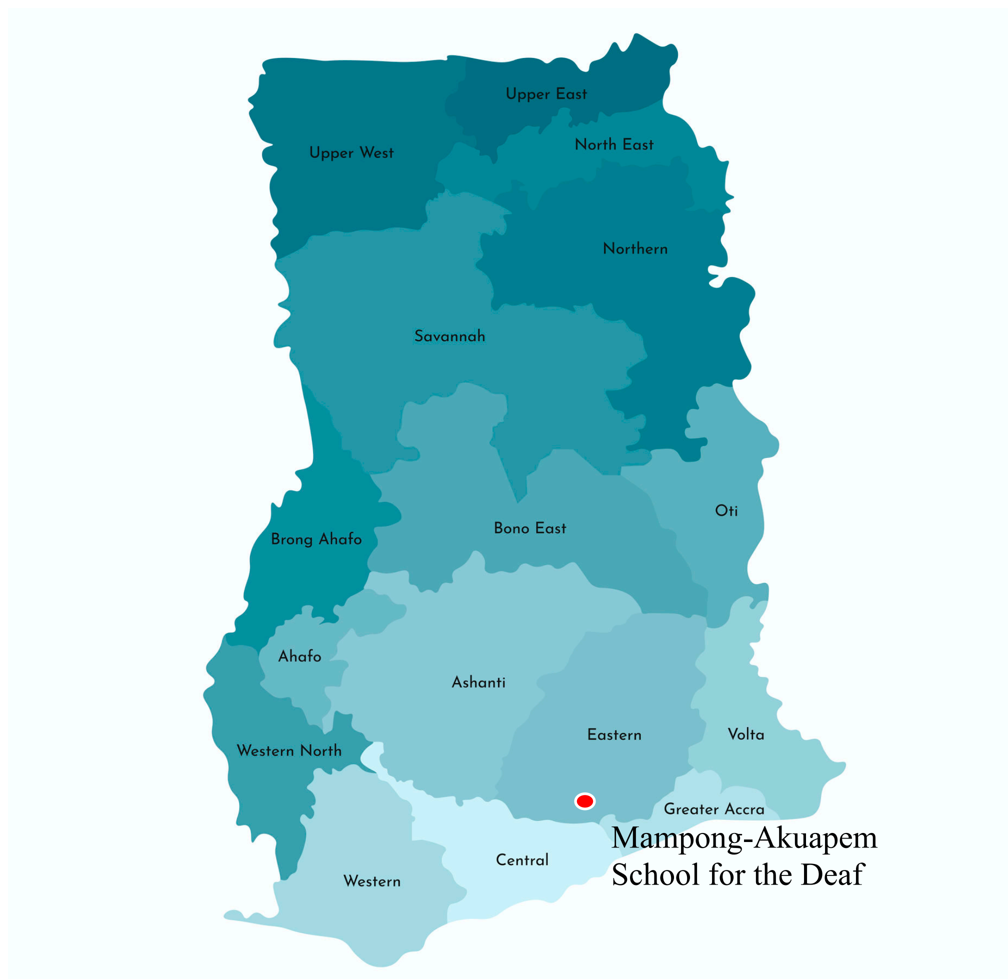

Figure 3.3: Ghana project site map

the Deaf, in the Akuapem region. There are 16 regions across the country in west Africa, which is bordered by Cote d'Ivoire to the west, Burkina Faso to the north and Togo to the east. The population is around 28.8 million and it is classed as a Low Middle-Income Country (LMIC) (Swanwick et al. 2019, p. 142).

3.5.1. Participant recruitment

Participants were recruited by the researcher, who contacted project staff via WhatsApp and email to ask if they would like to participate in the final stages of the research project, as detailed in Figure 3.4. It was made clear to the participants that they could opt in or opt out, and there would be no disadvantages for them for doing so. The researcher gathered data from a sample of nine people, three of whom were research assistants, and six of whom were peer tutors. The sample was taken from across all three project countries. One peer tutor left the project, so although there were initially ten participants. The full sample includes nine project staff members, with their pseudonyms and reference code listed in *Figure 3.4* below.

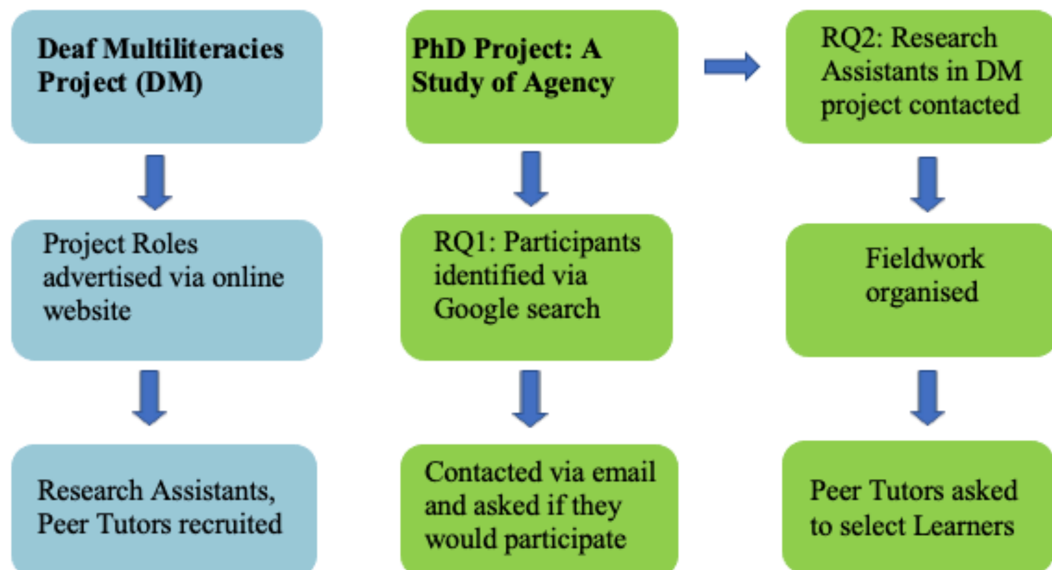

Figure 3.4 P2PDM Staff Recruitment Process

Participants from two sites in Uganda took part: the Uganda National Association of the Deaf (UNAD) Vocational Resource Centre, which conducted training for adult deaf people and classes for deaf children at Uganda School for the Deaf in Ntinda. The project team also included a principal investigator from Makerere University, and the Ugandan National Association of the Deaf, who assisted in the recruitment and training of project staff.

Table 3.1 Project staff in all three project countries

Participant code	Participant Role	Participant Location	Pseudonym
P1	Research Assistant	India	Arun
P2	Peer Tutor	India	Ganesh
P3	Peer Tutor	India	Hara
P4	Peer Tutor (promoted to Research Assistant mid-project).	India	Karthik
P5	Research Assistant	Uganda	Mukisa
P6	Peer Tutor	Uganda	Miremba
P7	Peer Tutor	Uganda	Adroa
P8	Research Assistant	Ghana	Ebo
P9	Peer Tutor	Ghana	Zuhrah
P10	Peer Tutor	Ghana	Adwempa

3.5.2. Staff Questionnaire design

In October 2019, questionnaires were sent out to ten members of project staff based across the three project countries (**Appendix 6**). It enquired about P2PDM staff perceptions of certain skills, the frequency with which they utilised these skills, the number of skills participants acquired as a result of being directly involved in the Deaf Multiliteracies project and their perceived confidence level.

Participants responded using their own written English style, which was occasionally difficult to understand, in which case I sought clarification by email and through messaging in Whatsapp groups where possible, although my own knowledge of the English style of deaf Indians increased as the project went on. Participant responses were written in English, which was the L2 language of some project staff, whose L1 languages were a sign language.

The staff capability questionnaire also enquired who staff members asked for help with the development of each skill, thus setting out an initial tracing of team networks used during the project. The term 'Senior project staff' referred to the UK-based project lead and co-investigators. In India one consultant is a deaf native user of ISL in India, while in Uganda and Ghana to the co-investigators are hearing academic staff. In the questionnaire, staff in each country referred to different country co-investigators and/or to the UK team staff. Project staff in Ghana rarely asked the co-investigator in Uganda or India for assistance, for example, but cross-country collaboration did occur on occasion. As explained in further detail in Chapter Five (**Section 5.4**), team networks formed a component of surrounding structures, whereby the opportunities of individuals as agents to achieve capabilities are situated.

The thirteen skills (see *Table 3.2*) were selected after both fieldwork in India had been conducted in January 2019 and the results of the organisations' questionnaires had been collected and analysed. Consequently, I had some idea of what tasks Indian staff valued doing in their jobs, and aimed to ask about such skills, while looking for similarities in the responses of the 18 project leads to see if any broader themes were emerging. As a consequence, skills were selected to match broader tasks of peer-to-peer teaching, communication skills and conducting research, all skills that were valued by Indian participants. The skills referred to included general skills, such as applying for jobs and improving organisational skills. Three skills were selected to demonstrate the

communication ability of deaf participants: they were asked about their experience of communicating with other project members to increase and share skills, improving skills and communicating with deaf groups via WhatsApp, and improving English skills through social media, through the platform Sign Language to English for the Deaf (SLEND), reading.

Skills relating to peer tutor roles and teaching were also asked about, including lesson planning and preparation, finding information and making posters and materials for teaching. While staff perceptions of their literacy skills were captured through asking about the use of professional sign language when teaching and use of professional English when teaching.

Staff perceptions of their capacities in regard to data collection, data presentation and data dissemination was gathered through questions pertaining to four skills: planning and implementing collection of visual data (for example, video recordings and mapping game charts), presenting at conferences in your country or abroad, making PowerPoints/micro-case studies/multimedia documentation about the data, and organisation of collaboraties (a style of conference) in-country and with neighbouring countries.

Other contextual questions including 'What did you do?', 'When did you first do it? (month and year)' and 'How often?' were asked to collect background information from participants on when they utilised the skill and the frequency of use, in order to see whether there was any correlation between how often a skill was utilised and staff perceptions of their capabilities.

The categories for those who provided help included: UK team member (for data presentation this was amalgamated into senior project staff, a term which collated in-country principal investigators and overseas principal investigators of the P2PDM project), research assistants, peer tutors, learners, people from another project country and myself. Participants were asked whether it was hard to learn the skill before the project and could select from the options yes or no. This gave some indication of whether involvement in the P2PDM project was directly related to the skills development of participants.

Statements made by Indian staff during fieldwork addressing barriers that they faced enabled me to identify indicators of conversion factors, where it seemed that something had enabled or constrained their capabilities realisation. These conversion

factors were categorised in addition to the specific perceptions staff had of their capabilities regarding the skill. Their view of being capable or being unable to utilise a skill was captured with a multiple-choice question about their current level of confidence; staff could select from fully independent, still learning, and need support. In addition to selecting one of these options, staff were asked to make a statement regarding how they feel about the skill now.

Finally, staff were asked to indicate that they were fully independent in exercising the specified skill, or still learning, or in need of support. This question aimed to elicit responses regarding their perceptions of their capabilities for each specific skill, and they were asked to complete how they feel about each skill now.

3.6. Analysing survey responses from project staff in three countries

A small range of nominal data was counted and categorised in an Excel spreadsheet across the sample of nine participants. Firstly, the thirteen skills were split and grouped into the following categories: general work-related skills, communication skills, teaching skills and research as shown in *Table 3.2*. Counts were made and recorded in Excel of when a participant is assisted by other P2PDM colleagues. To identify who the participants reached out to for assistance, the results were counted across skills groups and presented in diagrams.

Subsequently, the categorical data from the multiple-choice options were grouped and analysed across skills groups. The data was analysed critically in terms of conversion factors, which enabled or constrained the ability of participants to use the skill. The participants' choices concerning their level of confidence now also offered some indication, in combination with their statements, about whether they were realising their core capabilities in each skills group, their job role and their daily lives.

Social network analysis (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2014) was employed to examine relational structures amongst project staff. Social relation theory suggests that 'human behaviour is driven by people's temporally unfolding relations with each other, not by their intrinsic characteristics' (Singh, 2019, p.2). This perspective prevents researchers from depicting 'agents as either unbridled creative actors or puppets of their structural conditions' (Singh, 2019, p.2).

Table 3.2 Staff Questionnaire: skills by category

Category	Skills
General work-related skills	'Applying for jobs.' 'Improving organisation skills.'
Communication	'Improving skills and communicating with deaf groups with Whatsapp.' 'Improving English skills through social media/SLEND/reading.' 'Communicating with other team members to increase and share skills.'
Peer teaching and curriculum planning	'Lesson planning and preparation.' 'Finding information and making posters and materials for teaching.' 'Using professional sign language when teaching.' 'Using professional English when teaching.'
Research	'Planning and implementing collection of visual data (For example, video recordings, mapping game charts).' 'Making powerpoints / micro-case studies / multimedia documentation about the data.' 'Presenting at conferences in your country or abroad.' 'Organisation of collaboraties in-country and in neighbouring countries.'

Epistemologically, the theoretical underpinnings of social network analysis which envisages 'only social ties as the form of relational structure,' contrasts somewhat with the perspectives of field theorists, who have suggested that 'multiple forms of relational structure, including but not limited to those with social ties' exist (Singh, 2019, p.1). It is the latter approach of field theorists which posits multiple relational structures, and which has most significant overlap with the environmental lattice structure of the capabilities and agency approach (Archer, 2000). However, for the purposes of interrogating deaf staff, with the associated challenges in translation, it was simpler to draw on Social Network Analysis (SNA) to analysis staff relations within the scope of the current study. SmartArt was used to build a series of diagrams demonstrating these connections (**Section 5.4.1,** Figure 5.6, Figure 5.7, **Appendix 9**).

For the questionnaire conducted with deaf project staff across three separate project countries, some initial problems that presented included: ensuring the skills selected were applicable across all three project countries of India, Uganda and Ghana

so that the three countries could be directly compared; ensuring that the questionnaire was as accessible as possible to the sample who utilised three different sign languages; and ensuring project staff could receive the Staff Questionnaire electronically and respond via email. When the researcher completed data analysis from Indian, Ghanaian and Ugandan teams, it was important to consider different social, geographic and cultural factors, and the influence of people's ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Filep, 2009). The research decided to use written English with deaf signers in the sample despite its potential shortcomings as it allowed participants to express things in their own words via a shared language as they do not know BSL, and I was unfamiliar with UgSL, GSL or ISL.

There were few problems in terms of recruiting participants, despite the remote locations, as they were already embedded in the P2PDM project as staff members. Moreover, potential concerns around translation were addressed by sending the questionnaire to the three countries in written English, which is used for writing on Whatsapp among colleagues there, for instance at UNAD in Uganda.

3.6.1. Challenges with the data analysis

For the questionnaire conducted with deaf project staff across three separate project countries, some initial problems included: ensuring the skills selected were applicable across all three project countries of India, Uganda and Ghana; ensuring the questionnaire was accessible to the sample who utilised three different sign languages; and ensuring project staff could access the questionnaire.

There were few problems in terms of recruiting participants, despite the remote locations, as they were staff already embedded in the P2PDM project, and the Indian participants had been involved in the Deaf Multiliteracies project in 2015. Skills had been tied to the job tasks of research assistants and peer tutors in the P2PDM project, in anticipation of ensuring they were applicable to the participants. Moreover, potential concerns around translation were addressed by sending the questionnaire to the three countries in written English, which is in widespread use amongst the project staff across all three sites, though for some Indian participants it is not their L1.

3.7. Surveying Indian participants in P2PDM

3.7.1. Fieldwork in India: surveying Indian participants' capabilities

The fieldwork in India aimed to answer questions concerning the extent to which participation in the P2PDM has affected the capabilities of participants in the project. Firstly, data collection sought to assess whether capability achievement had been impacted by participation in the P2PDM project. Secondly, opportunity structures which enable or constrain this ability were investigated. Fieldwork involved interviews with two Indian consultants, and focus groups with two Indian research assistants (one of the peer tutors was promoted to the post of research assistant before fieldwork took place in January, 2019), two peer tutors, 11 learners, four household staff and two local deaf volunteers, who were senior members of the deaf community and experienced tutors. These participants were recruited as highly skilled individuals, some of whom had knowledge of English, and had previously been involved in the DL project. As staff were involved in different project roles, and from different regions, it was particularly apt to select these participants in order to assess if there were any instances of multidimensional agency and capabilities realisation occurring in multiple domains and levels.

3.7.2. Field sites

Fieldwork took place between the 12 and 24 January, 2019, across three sites in India: Happy Hands School for the Deaf (HHSD), in Odisha state, Indore Deaf Bilingual Academy (IDBA), in Madya Pradesh state, and the Delhi Federation of Deaf Women (DFDW). These sites were selected because they are locations in the P2PDM project with staff members who are actively working with deaf communities and teaching literacy, as detailed in the earlier discussion of geographic and demographic profiles in Chapter One (**Section 1.5**).

3.7.3. Participant selection

The roles, locations, participant codes and pseudonyms of the 23 participants recruited in India to answer RQ3 are listed in *Table 3.3*. Participants had different roles in the project, including RAs and PTs, as well as learners, members of household staff at HHSD and two external volunteers, who were senior members within the Indian deaf community, and who were informally affiliated with the project. Peer tutors were

Table 3.3 Project participants in India. Note that P1 to P4 also took part in the survey for Research Question 2 (see Section 3.5.1).

Role	Project	Code	Pseudonym	Gender	Age 16-20	Age 21-25	Age 26-30	Age 31-35	Age 36-40	Age 41-45	Age 46-50
Research Assistant	India	P1	Arun	Male			26-30				
Peer Tutor	India	P2	Ganesh	Male			26-30				
Peer Tutor	India	P3	Hara	Male			26-30				
Peer Tutor	India	P4	Karthik	Male			26-30				
Consultant	India	P11	Rohit	Male							46-50
Consultant	India	P12	Mohindra	Male							46-50
Volunteer	India, Binka	P13	Manu	Male			26-30				
Volunteer	India, Indore	P14	Nadeem	Male				31 - 35			
Learner	India, Indore	P15	Faizan	Male	16-20						
Learner	India, Indore	P16	Rani	Female	16-20						
Learner	India, Indore	P17	Deevesh	Male	16-20						
Learner	India, Indore	P18	Arjun	Male	16-20						

Learner	India, Indore	P19	Sarita	Female	16-20						
Learner	India, Indore	P20	Maneet	Female	16-20						
Learner DFDW	India, Delhi	P21	Saranya	Female			27				
Learner DFDW	India, Delhi	P22	Lata	Female		22					
Learner DFDW	India, Delhi	P23	Kanchana	Female		25					
Learner DFDW	India, Delhi	P24	Kanika	Female		22					
Learner DFDW	India, Delhi	P25	Binita	Female		21					
HHSD Household Staff	India, Binka	P26	Pallavi	Female		21-25					
HHSD Household Staff	India, Binka	P27	Disha	Female						41-45	
HHSD Household Staff	India, Binka	P28	Gita	Female				31-35			
HHSD Household Staff	India, Binka	P29	Ajay	Male				31-35			

contacted by their local Indian project lead and asked if they were happy to take part in focus groups and mapping activities.

3.8. Access, ethics and informed consent

The participant recruitment process included verifying whether participants understood the purpose of the research, obtaining informed consent before data collection was carried out and explaining how their personal information would be used and shared. In Binka, after discussing these terms with the researcher, one of the research assistants used their knowledge of local deaf culture and language to explain key terms that participants needed to be aware of, such as what was meant by 'academic research', 'PhD thesis', 'international conferences' (where the research would be presented) and 'academic publications'.

There were marked contrasts between Odisha and Indore, in terms of the availability of sign language interpreters and the extent to which participants could understand English. In Odisha, a rural location, formal English-to-Indian Sign Language interpreters are not available. For those deaf participants from more remote areas, cultural, socioeconomic and other factors mean that they may have had limited exposure to information that hearing people take for granted. With this in mind, great care had to be taken to explain details about my research, so that participants' consent is as 'informed' as possible.

3.8.1. Mapping activity design

Ideas of relevant capabilities were developed in a series of brainstorming sessions with other deaf academics at ISLANDS, who had prior experience of working with deaf people in the global South. The tool used a range of everyday contexts deaf people might be familiar with, which emerged from both a top-down approach utilised by the researcher – from the theories of Samman and Santos (2009) on capabilities and assets, measuring these through direct and indirect indicators and through everyday capabilities – and bottom-up suggestions fed in from an Indian deaf consultant, Rohit, as well as Indian staff Hara, Arun and Karthik.

The first version of this activity was designed in order to elicit responses about capabilities. The chart had two lines along two axes, one vertical and the other horizontal. One axis was labelled CAN/CANNOT and the other axis was labelled WANT/DON'T WANT with the intention of activity participants placing their cards

with various capabilities along two scalar lines, shown in Figure 3.5. 28 capabilities cards were selected by the four participants and included capabilities dealing directly with sign language teacher training and capabilities related to personal autonomy as listed in Table 3.1. The autonomy capabilities were then linked to political participation, social affiliation, and the ability to pursue valued goals. The mapping activities in India evolved from a co-design method, where Indian peer tutors were encouraged to take part in the design of the data collection tools. A facilitator was responsible for the translation of the mapping keywords and the questions from the focus groups, from written English into ISL.

Table 3.1 Selected capabilities for the first version of the Mapping Activity.

<table>
<tr>
<td>Capabilities directly linked to sign language projects
• Learn a foreign sign language
• Translate a book into sign language
• Make a YouTube video about
• Find (new) work
• Become a sign language teacher
• Use sign language interpreters
• Campaign for better deaf schools
• Help deaf children</td>
<td>Autonomy capabilities
• Meet with the town mayor
• Control own finances
• Organise full access to a religious event
• Help a friend in difficulty
• Make an informed vote in an election
• Travel around the country
• Good communication with family members
• Buy a motorbike</td>
</tr>
</table>

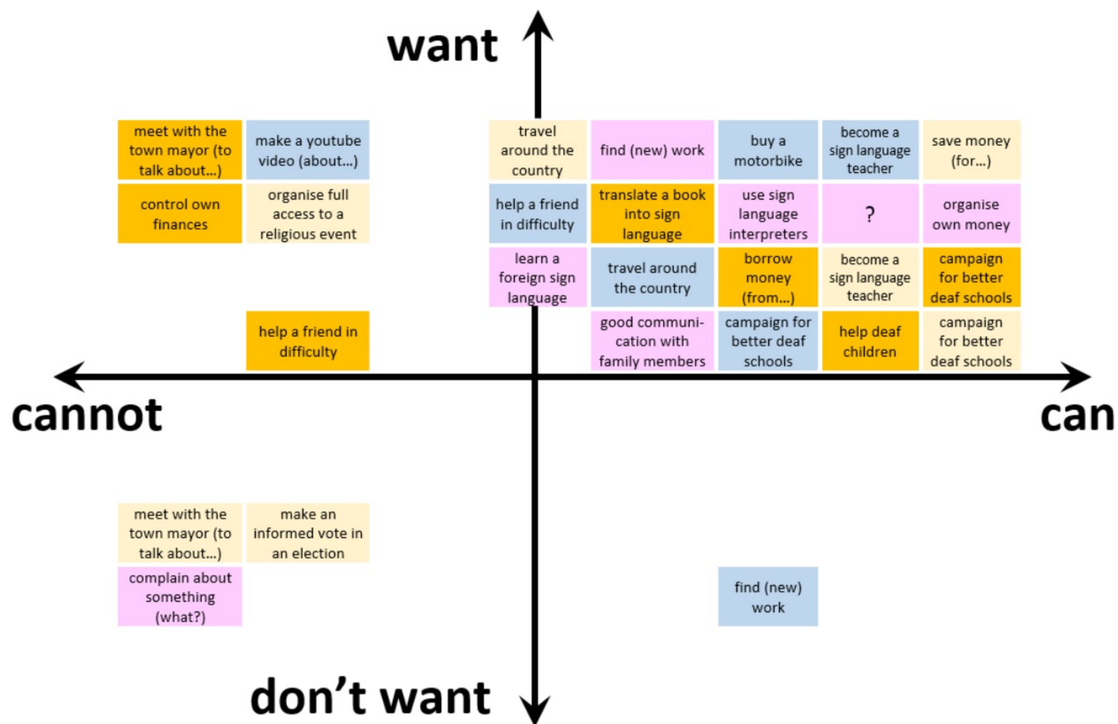

Figure 3.5 The First Version of the Capabilities Mapping Activity

The mapping activity was refined into a visual scale with four categories, shown in Figure 3.6. The scale included a range of values: 'I have already done it,' 'I feel confident that I have the knowledge and skills and I am thinking about how it could happen,' 'I feel I do not have the knowledge or the skills but I am thinking about how it could happen,' and 'I cannot do it and I have never thought about doing it.' (MG1-6).

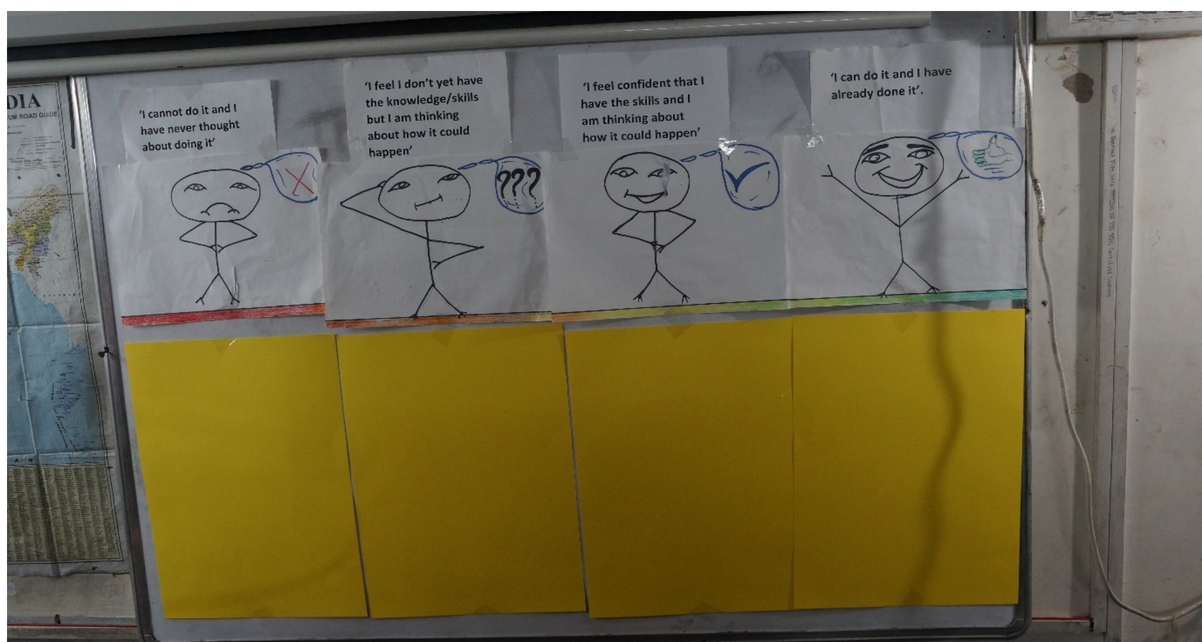

Figure 3.6 Visual scale co-designed with Indian Staff

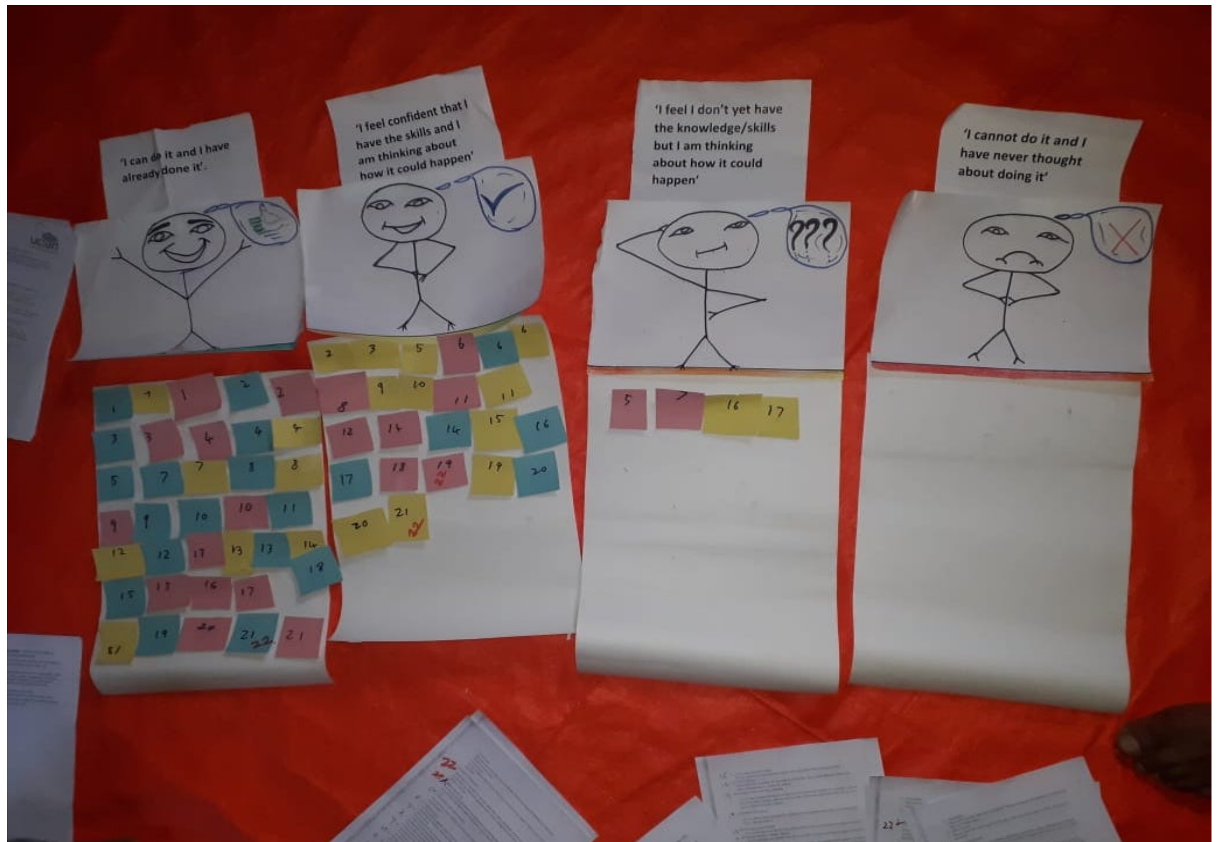

Figure 3.7 Capabilities Mapping activity chart for India, HHSD Odisha

The capabilities/keywords utilised in the mapping activity were then matched to questions written in English, a full list of the words are attached in the Appendix (**Appendix 7**). These words were translated into ISL with the assistance of the facilitator during fieldwork.

The methods were developed in a way in which they were more accessible for sign language users, with the use of pictures to visually explain the scale of ability. This reinforces how a project between the Global North and Global South and between hearing and deaf communities considered, to some extent, the influence of different epistemological centres. The data was captured using two film cameras to record the group discussion involving four signers, plus the facilitator. The importance of deaf space was considered, as aspects such as 'layout of a room may influence how well people can communicate visually in that they need to see each other', so this was considered in the arrangement of camera placement and where participants needed to sit (Temple & Young, 2014, p.133).

3.8.2. **Focus group design**

In addition to the mapping activity, four focus groups were conducted. By using a focus group set-up to gather data, discussion was intended to uncover aspects of deaf

culture and the daily lives of participants, which might be unfamiliar to the researcher. Contributors to the literature have argued any research method utilising group settings slides between an informal community chat and a formal focus group by a matter of degrees, and rather than being concerned about when a group is too large or too small to qualify, one should apply a broad umbrella to the method (Morgan, 1996). The research not only picked up on in-depth details pre-designed surveys would have missed, but gave participants more freedom in which to convey their perceptions and understanding of the dimensions of their social worlds.

Focus groups offered insight into a community's attitudes, beliefs, feelings and experiences that other methods, such as participant observation or multiple answer questionnaires, might not demonstrate as clearly. As participants discuss issues which affect their community in a group setting, they can highlight different points of view, disagreements amongst participants and power differentials, for instance power differences were defined between researchers and learners in the P2PDM project. It has been found that the focus group research method is particularly suited to collecting data from groups who are illiterate; being able to contribute in a group can allow individual participants to discuss questions they need clarified with each other, and exchange tips and guidance; discussion in one's own language has emancipatory potential (Litosseleti, 2003, p.16). Similar findings around the positive impact of allowing participants to converse in their local languages were evident in the project questionnaires, where three participants preferred to use their own sign language for communicative clarity (**Section 3.5.2**). In the staff questionnaires the written format of the questionnaire itself (in English) confused some participants, and led some of the participants to seek additional support in completing their responses, however, intra-group dynamics and insight into power differentials were not evident (**Section 3.6.2**).

The literature has indicated focus groups, in addition to their general application, have emerged in several key specialisms which transgress sociology's key subdisciplines; for example, a study on low-income amongst African-American women drew on inequality, race and ethnicity, in addition to the subdiscipline of family sociology (Jarrett, 1994). In the case of this particular study, where focus groups are being applied with concepts from sociology to participants whose worldview and ideologies, as sign language communities, are rooted in the discipline of deaf studies, there are particular concerns for research utilising focus groups with deaf and hard-of-hearing subjects. One paper suggests the 'physical environment of group

communication might count more than we usually notice'; typically, it is more challenging 'to *focus* focus groups in some cultures so we must allow for that'; 'genuine communication may require more time and patience than one might expect', and 'confidentiality in a marginalised community may require special attention' (Balch & Mertens, 1999, p.265).

The set-up of the focus groups was relatively formal at both HHSD and at IDBA. Unlike the mapping activity, where staff had visual prompts, participants of the focus groups had to concentrate and consider each question carefully, so a shortened list of seven questions was used (see **Appendix 8**). These focus groups were recorded, firstly via video footage, stored securely in accordance with data protection requirements upon return to the UK, before later being translated and transcribed by Indian-based ISL-to-English translators.

Conducting the focus groups without hearing interpreters present, with a local facilitator, allowed the participants to share their experiences and insights more freely and naturally, in their first language. However, there were also some disadvantages to this: the language barrier resulted in limited opportunity for the researcher to ask for clarification, while in the field. Additionally, there were few opportunities for the researcher to ask follow-up questions or probes during the fieldwork period. Scholars in the field suggest that 'depth and detail' is important for qualitative research (Rubin & Rubin, 1992, p.131), with these kinds of questions exposing specifically where deaf people feel they possess or lack access to capabilities.

There were shortcomings of conducting the interviews and focus groups without an English-ISL interpreter present meant there were limited opportunity for the researcher to ask for clarification while conducting data collection in the field. Conversely, the use of a local facilitator to conduct interviews, without the use of an interpreter present, allowed the participants to share their experiences and insights more freely and naturally, in their first language, than they would have with an outside researcher. The employment of a local facilitator added to the risk of bias and manipulation, affecting results; facilitators or senior project staff may have influenced the statements made by other peer tutors or learners in a focus-group setting, making them more likely to say what they thought the interviewer wanted to hear, or creating a false consensus, where stronger personalities and voices dominated the direction of the discussion, while other quieter voices and opinions were silenced (Litosseleti, 2003). This could be observed in some focus groups; for instance, in Indore, one volunteer,

who was a senior member of the deaf community, can be observed making strong suggestions to a peer tutor in terms of responses (FG1), while facilitators (also in Indore) ask follow-up questions of learners, thus shaping the discussion (FG3, FG4).

3.9. Data transcription and analysis

For all of the data, including those that related to the third research question – the capabilities mapping activity and the focus group discussion data from India – I employed thematic analysis, making a ‘close inspection of a sample of data about a specific issue’ to allow the researcher to ‘generate an increasingly refined conceptual description of the phenomena’ (Rapley, 2016, p.332). Methods of decoding also drew on suggestions of studying the ‘descriptions of peoples’ “five R’s”: routines, rituals, rules, roles and relationships,’ where trends or instances of familiar statements can be used to ‘solidify our observations into concrete instances of meaning’ (Salvana, 2015, p.6). Subsequently, the focus moved from ‘what is said by participants, what you’ve observed them doing or what you read in a text’, towards exploring and explaining what is ‘underlying’ or ‘broader’ or to ‘distil’ in essence, meanings, norms, orders, patterns, rules, structures (Silverman, 2016, p.332). Other scholars suggest detail can be selected by the researcher through highlighting where repetitions, similarities and differences and indigenous typologies and categories occur consistently throughout the samples (Bernard & Ryan, 2010).

Coding consists of two processes: firstly, decoding, where the researcher reflects on the sample text in order to work out its underlying meaning and, secondly, encoding, where the researcher determines which labels to apply to the data (Salvana, 2015). Phrases and longer statements were coded in NVivo according to narrower themes, such as awareness of the CRPD, deaf education, peer tutoring, and peer learning, and then catalogued under broader overarching themes.

The role of both inductive and deductive analysis of transcripts highlights the risks of the role of the researcher of overinterpretation of findings drawn from thin data sets, or of confirming bias based on pre-existing beliefs about the themes which emerge from the data. Another risk was of conceptual tunnel vision, where the analytical process is disrupted by the researcher putting too many conceptual ideas into the same category, or stretching the confines of overlapping categories (Morse & Mitcham, 2002, p.31).

In terms of analysis, responses were not measured as binaries when referring to achievement of capabilities. For instance, for the capability input of 'access to literacy,' it is too essentialist to state participants had access or no access to reading and writing skills. Rather, all project participants had had access to education in some shape or form, though there might be cases of total illiteracy amongst deaf individuals across populations in these regions more generally. The dichotomies of access or no access were broken down by analysing participants' statements, which inferred while some participants could understand some English, many felt they still needed further practice.

3.10. Translation from sign languages to written English

Accessibility posed a challenge after the recruitment stage, where the following questions had to be asked: are the data collection methods comprehensible to participants for whom English is a second language? Can deaf participants respond in BSL or their national sign language? However, in the Global North, many deaf people can now access written information through Facebook and other social media platforms, where calls for research participants are commonly disseminated in online formats by third sectors, governmental and deaf organisations. Recruiting NGOs, organisations and deaf participants working in the Anglophone world was more straightforward. Ensuring that the research methods were accessible to deaf communities meant that respondents were given the option to reply either in written English or in their preferred sign language. This also meant that issues of translation were sometimes present – for example in the first stage, one deaf respondent replied to questionnaires in BSL – which the researcher could follow and understand, yet another deaf respondent replied in International Sign, which is unknown to the researcher. Transcripts written by the researcher from the video recordings of the interviews conducted in sign language were checked by iSLanDS staff. For the three respondents utilising different sign languages in the development questionnaires in the first stage, I translated and transcribed these myself. For the data collected in India, the video footage was outsourced to an Indian interpreter and translator, based in Delhi, who typed up the English transcripts.

As suggested in existing scholarly literature, interpretation, transcription and translation are not only tools that support data analysis but should be seen as 'processes which mediate how we as researchers use language to represent others' (Temple & Young, 2014, p.130). The influence of interpretation and translation, upon the final constituted meaning of written translation, misses communicative aspects that could be

important considerations within both filmed spoken-language interviews, and those conducted in a different modality, such as sign languages. A written transcript, translated verbatim from video footage, could miss aspects of language that involve informal gesture, facial expression, humour and, most importantly, cultural knowledge (Temple & Young, 2014, p.131). Returning to a point where language sits at a cultural praxis, scholars have argued that keywords not only constitute language, but also social worlds (Wierzbicka, 1997).

Throughout the research process I ensured that there were no issues of miscommunication by ensuring that the local Indian facilitator had a copy of all the information in written English. However, in future research I would bring a qualified Indian Sign Language interpreter too to assist me with translation from spoken English into the local language.

Many concepts in ISL, especially regarding cultural nuance or certain types of signs, have no direct equivalent in English. During fieldwork, for the researcher such misconceptions included: translations from ISL by the sign language interpreter and ways in which this was to be written into an English transcript, misunderstandings around names of unfamiliar words, and mixing up gestures and signs. One statement from the Indian fieldwork, where the transcriber commented '(transcribers thought – the mouthing of "oh" is meant as after they understood / or after they were given a response. This is not elaborated in sign)' demonstrates differences in cultural understandings and nuance (MG6). The correction by a deaf person knowledgeable in ISL emphasises the importance of using highly qualified translators to interpret the data. A further example of paraphrase in translation are consistent references by the deaf to being allowed to 'develop' from participation in courses and projects. In English, the word 'develop' can mean 'to open out', 'to explain in detail, to elaborate on', or 'to discover, reveal' (Oxford English Dictionary, 2020), yet deaf participants used this sign in a way related to self-growth or self-confidence.

I witnessed various cultural differences, with many local deaf jokes made by one of the study participants – a peer tutor – who was a great mimic, using visual humour and gesture not employed in many spoken languages. Finally, a gesture that looked like waving two arms in the air was mistaken by the researcher to be an ISL sign in meaning something similar in British Sign Language (BSL), but it was just a gesture, not an ISL sign. These examples highlight how language can be mistranslated, not only by literally

misunderstanding words or signs in the language, or from misattributing words from one sign language to another, but also from a lack of local contextual knowledge.

Interpretation, transcription and translation are not only tools to support data analysis but should be seen as 'processes which mediate how we as researchers use language to represent others' (Temple & Young, 2014, p.130). Such processes affect the final constituted meaning of written translation, miss communicative aspects that could be important considerations within both filmed spoken-language interviews, and those conducted in a different modality, such as sign languages. A written transcript, translated verbatim from video footage misses aspects of language involving informal gesture, facial expression, humour and, most importantly, cultural knowledge (Temple & Young, 2014, p.131).

3.11. Justifying claims in qualitative research

Deaf ontologies and epistemologies as native signers significantly impacted understandings of the Capabilities Approach. Nussbaum makes no specific mention of the needs of sign language users although she refers to disability specifically (Nussbaum, 2001, 2007). The difficulty of making qualitative claims about achieved capabilities when participants might not have fully understood the concepts being asked (translation and cultural differences), and when the Capabilities Approach had not been applied to deaf communities specifically before meant that the justifications were tentative.

Additionally, the application of the Capabilities Approach emerged in-situ, meaning a combination of deductive and inductive analytical processes were used. The researcher ensured both methods were held in balance, and is demonstrative of the distinction between etic analysis, based on the researchers' observations and conceptions, and emic analysis, based on the conceptual framework of those being studied. If, among other factors, the research design situates the research in appropriate literature, articulates the connection between theory and data with clarity, explains and justifies case selection, pays attention to different explanations and specifies research limitations, then the case for research claims are fairly robust (Silverman, 2016).

Some weaknesses of qualitative research include anecdotalism, where researchers skew their findings through 'a tendency to select their data to fit an ideal conception (preconception) of the phenomenon' whatever pattern this might be, and predispositions to use 'field data which are conspicuous because they are exotic, at the

expense of less dramatic (but possibly indicative) data' (Silverman, 2016, p. 357). In the case of this study, this might mean selecting more dramatic findings around the impact of peer-to-peer teaching on teacher and learner agency, as opposed to more subtle factors impacting on agency, such as project sustainability. Other issues might include establishing the extent to which the data is representative of a more general trend or phenomenon, and the fact the findings are built upon the materials and interpretations the researcher has chosen to utilise. Building upon the idea of credibility, Musgrave (2007) refers to Popper's theory of critical rationalism, which argues the researcher should seek to demonstrate in each case the existence of solid evidence that would destroy any assumptions, made by the researcher, between phenomena in the data.

Finally, in order to establish scientific credibility, the data also had to be presented as both valid, where the results were truthful, and reliable, where these findings were stable or consistent across the samples (Silverman, 2016). The reliability of certain phenomenon in the data was highlighted, as different participants mentioned similar instances around specific themes and, in another case, one participant mentioned a similar occurrence happening more than once. In addition, some similar issues manifested across different locations by project participants; this occurred across Odisha and Delhi (India), Kampala (Uganda) and Accra (Ghana), again lending reliability to the findings.

The next three chapters explore the responses from data collection in regards to participants' wellbeing freedom, voice and choice under the Capabilities Approach framework. Chapter Four explores the situation across the 18 projects and addresses RQ1 about the capabilities of participants. In turn, Chapter Five answers RQ2 about how P2PDM project staff are actively realising their capabilities, and Chapter Six studies capabilities realisation among Indian participants and the relationship with surrounding deaf communities.

4. Capacity-building projects with Deaf communities in the Global South

The investigation of previous development projects framed the responses of project organisers within wider discourses about deaf communities and human development. This chapter dissects the influence of capacity-building project work on deaf participants, considering their capabilities and agency, both as individuals and as a collective. Organisations have conducted capacity-building projects around the world from Albania to Uganda to Vietnam.

This chapter answers RQ1: 'How have capacity-building projects with deaf communities been developed and implemented in the Global South, particularly with respect to agency?' An analysis of responses highlighted the extent to which the capabilities, assets and agency of the project participants were considered by project leads and built into organisational strategy. Ways in which project participation facilitated access to sign languages, deaf culture and networks in some Global South countries were explored.

Of the 18 projects surveyed, 17 were run by organisations in Global North contexts carrying out projects with deaf communities from the South. Throughout this chapter, I refer to respondents as R1-R18, and the corresponding projects by number, Project 1-18. The researcher has access to a list of respondent names (**Section 3.4.1**). In recent years, the focus of sustainable development programmes has begun to shift towards projects that aim to improve the living conditions of marginalised people, human rights and ideals of social justice (Boland et al., 2015). These concerns are reflected in the comments of the respondents in the dataset, who are concerned with addressing linguistic, structural and/or sociocultural factors that oppress deaf communities. Organisations have taken a variety of approaches to address such challenges in resource-poor settings. Within the dataset from questionnaire respondents, some projects aimed to increase the extent to which individuals were involved in capacity-building work, while other project work was concerned with addressing marginalisation on linguistic, social and geographic levels, and others with creating space to foster collective action.

The projects were categorised according to the field in which the activities took place: access to sign language learning, accessible education, human rights, business

and employment and early-years intervention, as detailed below in Figure 4.1. Educational projects prioritised training deaf staff, either in the English language or other subject teaching. Other projects were concerned with the establishment of accredited college and university courses that were accessible to sign language users. Some projects focused on raising awareness amongst participants of their rights according to the UN CRPD and encouraging further mobilisation or lobbying. Finally, for the projects in the latter two categories, Business/Employment and Early-Years Intervention, the aims were to raise the employability of deaf participants or to target young deaf children's families' awareness of deafness.

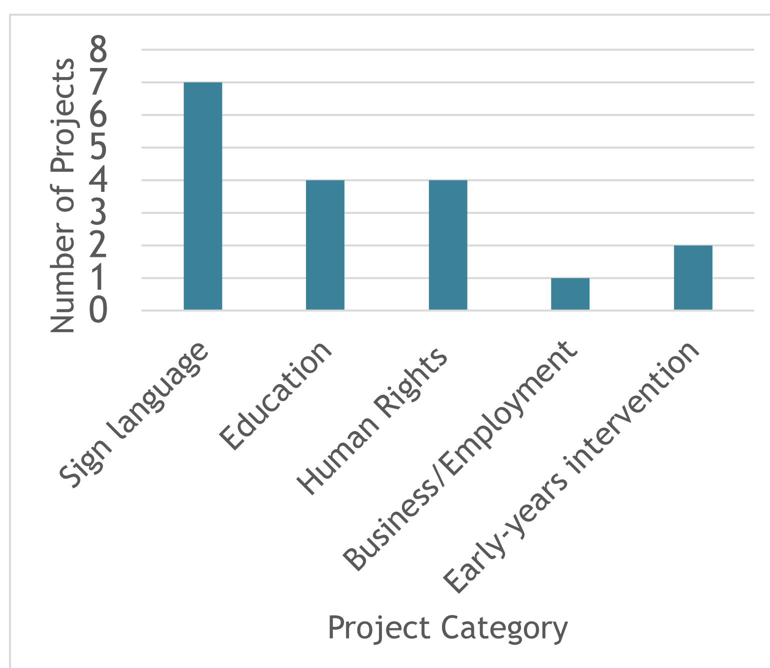

Figure 4.1 Categories of development project

The 18 projects are summarised in the following table, with information about project titles, locations and durations, with more detailed information at the end of the thesis (**Appendix 2**). As detailed in Table 4.1, the projects ranged from large national projects over five years, for example in the NGO-led ones (Projects 6, 8, 11, 14, 15), to projects concerned with shorter snapshot interventions (Projects 3, 7, 10), which took place over six weeks or over the course of one workshop. Some of the projects were short-term, and as noted later in the chapter (**Section 4.7**), the sustainability of projects had significant implications for the extent of deaf participation and for long-term impacts on deaf communities and individuals on a meaningful level.

Table 4.1 Development organisations and project duration

Project	Development Project	Development Organisation	Location / In-country partners	Year	Duration (years)
1	Early Initiative for Deaf and Hard of Hearing in Zambia	Zambian Deaf Association	Zambia	2013 – 2017	3 years
2	Human Rights awareness project	Finnish Association of the Deaf	Albania, Albanian Association of the Deaf	2000 - Present	10 years
3	'Yes, we can … operate a snackette'	Deaf Association of Guyana	Guyana	2018 – 2019	1 year
4	Dictionary of Mexican Sign Language	Mexican government, civil society	Mexico City, Mexico	2015 - 2017	2 years
5	Sign Language project	Individual	Cambodia	2008 - 2012	4 years
6	Intergenerational Deaf Education Outreach Project-Vietnam	Gallaudet University	Hanoi City, Ha Chi Minh City, Thai Nguyen province, Quang Binh province,	2011 – 2016	5 years
7	Rural Sign Language Project	Manos Unidos	Nicaragua	2013	1 year
8	Organisational Development and Training Project of Malawi National Association of the Deaf (MANAD)	Finnish Association of the Deaf	Malawi, Malawi Association of the Deaf	2008 – 2016	8 years
9	British Council UK-China Partnership project: academic staff exchange on English and Deaf Studies and developing multimedia learning platform in China and England.	University of Central Lancashire	China	Jan 2016 - Dec 2018	2 years
10	Sign Linguistics project in Iran	Individual – BSL teacher trainer	Iran	2015	1 month
11	CRPD and Teaching	Christian Blind Mission (CBM)	Vietnam	2004 - 2007	3 years

12	The Birds and Bees project	Deaf Child Worldwide in partnership with Ugandan National Association for the Deaf and SignHealth	Kampala, Masaka and Jinja, Uganda	Nov 2017 – June 2019	2.5 years
13	Letras Libras Project	Universidad de Santa Catarina	Santa Catarina, Brazil	2006 - 2012	6 years
14	Early Literacy Development / Early Reading Method for the deaf child in Uganda and Tanzania	Kentalis	Uganda and Tanzania	2017 - 2020	3 years
15	Early Childhood Intervention: Increasing Parents Awareness of (mostly) hearing parents of deaf young children.	Kentalis	2012-2016 in Zambia; 2012-2014 in Uganda; 2016/2017 in Rwanda; 2018 Rwanda and Zambia.	2012 - 2018	6 years
16	Capacity-development of the deaf	Christian Blind Mission (CBM)	Dili, Timor-Leste	2017	1 year
17	Situational analysis of access to education and employment	Christian Blind Mission (CBM)	Vanuatu	2017	1 year
18	WFD Human Rights project	World Federation of the Deaf	2013 El Salvador, Azerbaijan 2014 in Dominican Republic and Mongolia, 2015 in Colombia and Serbia 2016 in Ethiopia and Jordan.	2013 - 2016	3 years

More broadly, the structure of project work also intersected with participation capability realisation. These were taken from respondents' observations about the impact of project work upon participating citizens' capabilities, assets and agency and will be explored in the sub-sections below: the extent of deaf participation within capacity-building project work (**Section 4.1**); deaf participation and leadership in projects (**Section 4.2**) peer tutoring, leadership and training (**Section 4.3**); general awareness of CRPD rights (**Section 4.4**); and access to employment (**Section 4.5**). The next two sections discuss three forms of marginalisation across five projects (**Section 4.6**), and collective capabilities within capacity-building projects (**Section 4.7**). The final sections examine development direction within the projects (**Section 4.8**) and sustainability (**Section 4.9**). These project interventions had the potential to set positive virtuous cycles into motion, where deaf people gained new knowledge, qualifications and experience as opposed to vicious cycles of poverty or marginalisation often experienced in resource-poor contexts.

Through exploring the influence of capacity-building work on deaf communities across such a variety of contexts, the findings set out in this chapter provide some preliminary preconceptions for the following two chapters, where a comparison can be drawn between the processes of previous development organisations and the approach of the P2PDM project in encouraging participants' human capabilities realisation.

4.1. Capacity-building work

Have organisations' models of working emulated good practice as outlined in the Working Together Manual for Sign Language Work within Development Cooperation (WFD 2015) regarding deaf participant empowerment, or indicated new potentialities for capacity-building work? Has project work, in addition to stated aims, enhanced deaf participants' access to their human capabilities, expressed agency and generated potential for participants to be empowered in any way? Have projects targeted areas within individual capabilities of internal dialogue, voice, resources and impact.

The researcher selected four areas of internal dialogue, voice, resources and impact as being the most important for agency realisation (**Section 2.2**). Project leads determined the extent to which they believed their projects had enabled realisation in these areas. The total number of responses across the 18 projects was only 15 because three respondents did not complete question five.

In the questionnaire, agency was defined in terms of enhancing participants' self-awareness and critical-thinking skills (internal dialogue), enhancing their ability to speak out on issues that affected them in their daily lives at a local, community or national level (voice) and the acquisition of material wealth or other less tangible goods, such as new skills (resources) (Archer, 2000, Samman & Santos, 2009). The number of respondents who believed certain dimensions of participants' agency were most likely to be affected by involvement in the project intervention are shown below in Table 4.2. Many of the respondents stated that although they perceived one dimension of agency to be particularly affected, other dimensions were equally impacted or just as important. Comments such as 'all four apply to the project but I suppose "voice" is most salient' (R5), areas where a person's power might be increased are 'hopefully all of them though for now it would be impact' (R16) or 'hopefully all of them but for now resources' (R17) demonstrate the multidimensional nature of agency and empowerment. Some elements of all four areas of empowerment did come into play across the projects.

Table 4.2 Dimensions of agency affected by project intervention

Dimension of agency	Number of projects
Internal Dialogue	3
Voice	2
Resources	5
Impact	5

Project leads were asked to rank the dimensions of agency tackled in order to provide a scale of comparison of project impact on participants. For question six of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to rank the project in terms of the extent to which they perceived the listed capabilities and assets of deaf participants to have been affected. For example, in Project 2, participants' material assets were affected 'not at all', while participants' abilities to represent the deaf community were affected 'very much' (**Section 2.4.2**).

A second perspective suggested agency can be determined by both a persons' individual assets, which include land, housing, livestock and savings, and by their individual capabilities of all types, which include human, social and psychological capabilities (Narayan et al., 2005, Samman & Santos, 2009, **Section 1.6**). Additionally,

project work was often conducted with deaf communities as opposed to individuals, so it was useful to look at deaf groups' collective assets and capabilities, which includes voice, organisation, representation and identity (Samman & Santos, 2009).

As detailed in Figure 4.2 below, most projects deemed resources or impact to be the most important area of empowerment tackled through their project, but other factors came into play. However, although voice and internal dialogue were discussed as being the most important aspect of just two and three projects, respectively, it can be seen from the results from question six that participants' individual human and psychological capabilities were deemed to be affected positively 'very much,' while participants' collective capabilities, such as organisation, representation and voice were assumed to be affected 'very much' or 'a lot.'

Eleven respondents mentioned high levels of deaf leadership or participation, while 3 mentioned a lack of deaf leadership or involvement, due to factors such as language deprivation, different pedagogical bases and the terms set by organisations' contracts.

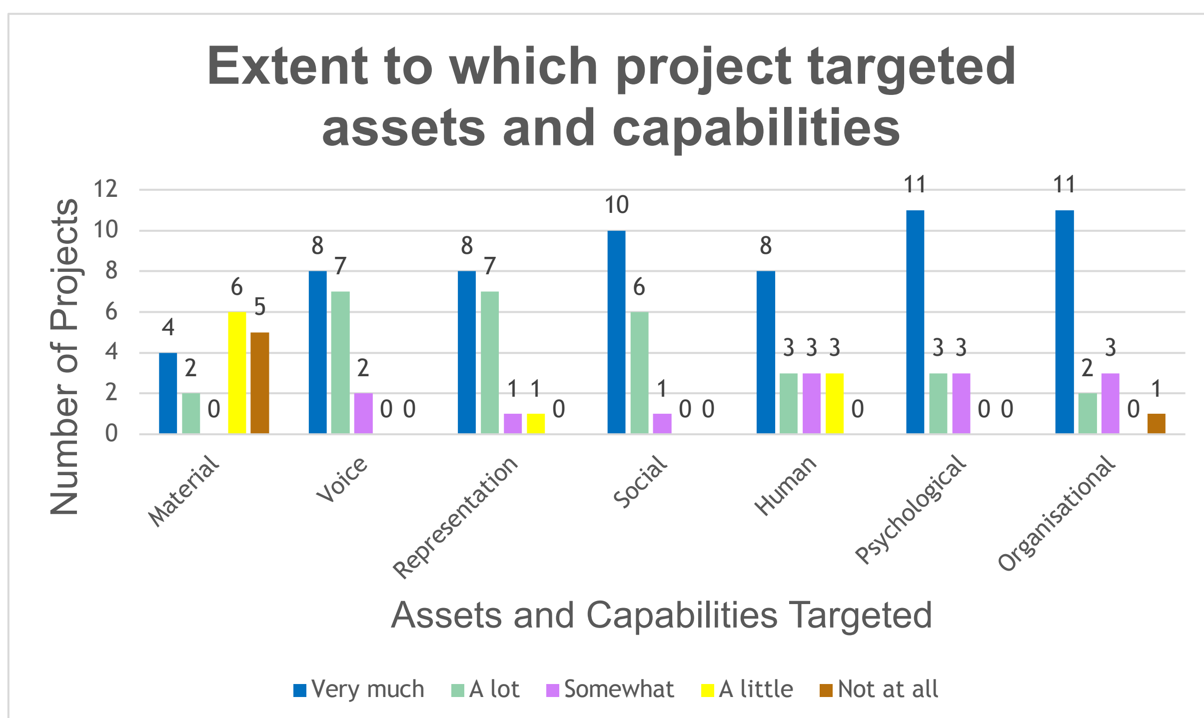

Figure 4.2 Extent to which projects tackled capabilities

to project leads. As set out in Table 4.3 below, there were a total of 16 responses to question 5 about the project's focus on participants capabilities and assets on a scale not at all to very much (**Section 3.4.2**). The number of participants dropped from 18 to 16 for question 5 responses because two deaf interviewees who responded in sign language

did not follow up via email with the written response to this question and stated during the interview the format of question 5 was difficult to understand.

Table 4.3 Individual capabilities in development projects

Individual Capabilities	Very Much	A Lot	Somewhat	A little	Not at all
Social	9	6	1		
Psychological	10	3	3		
Human	8	3	3	2	
Material assets	4	2		5	5

In terms of participants' individual capabilities, 15 respondents pointed to the development of social capabilities either very much or a lot as detailed in Table 4.3. In terms of individual psychological capabilities, the overall response across 16 respondents was positive with 10 respondents stating participants' psychological capabilities were affected very much. In turn, for participants' individual human capabilities, responses ranged from a little, with two stating their project only affected participants' access to education, health or employment a little, while three believed participants access to human capabilities were affected somewhat. However, 11 respondents claimed participants were able to access human capabilities a lot or very much, implying 11 of the development projects did have a significant impact on deaf individuals' human capabilities. Finally, in terms of material assets, five projects stated participants were not affected at all, or five only a little, suggesting most projects did not significantly impact deaf individuals' capabilities in terms of being able to gain further material resources and goods.

Meanwhile, other responses across the sample demonstrated collective capabilities and assets such as voice, representation and organisation were notably targeted as listed in Table 4.4. For example, in terms of participants in projects being able to utilise voice, responses suggested although participants in two projects were only affected somewhat, for the majority of the sample, participants' capabilities to speak out were affected a lot within six projects, while eight claimed participants' capabilities in voice were impacted very much. In terms of representation capabilities, half of the sample were participants affected very much, while six organisations were

not far behind, stating participants were affected a lot in terms of their ability to represent the deaf community. For organisational capabilities, ten organisations claimed participants were affected very much, while two claimed participants were affected a lot, and three only somewhat.

Table 4.4 Collective capabilities in development projects

Collective capabilities	Very Much	A Lot	Somewhat	A little	Not at all
Organisation	10	2	3		1
Representation	8	6	1	1	
Voice	8	6	2		

Some findings in the chapter sections below from respondents' written statements suggest respondents' perceptions of their project participants' capabilities of voice and of representation were underreported. Many written responses throughout the sample consistently refer to being empowered through representing the deaf community, and to representation and voice in ensuring participants are aware of the UN CRPD, yet the responses do not refer to these.

Several key themes emerge from the data analysis through the use of thematic analysis from which inductive premises were formed. These thematic areas were participation and leadership; peer training and tutoring; access to information for parents of deaf children and amongst deaf adolescents; access to information about UN CRPD rights; and access to employment. Subsequently, the impact of marginalisation along various axes on deaf participants is examined, and how development initiatives mitigated these conversion factors; alongside the role of collective agency in capability realisation.

4.2. Participation and leadership: extensive or limited

Questionnaire responses were extracted from the leads of Project 4 in Mexico, 8 in Malawi, 10 in Iran, 16 in Timor-Leste and 17 in Vanuatu. The effects of five capacity-building projects upon deaf participants' capabilities to participate in development work, whether as beneficiaries, volunteers, leaders or staff is examined in this section. The extent of deaf participation and leadership in capacity-building projects

had an effect upon the intrinsic agency and capabilities of deaf individuals, with staff having more opportunities to achieve functioning for many of their individual capabilities such as in the psychological, human, social and material domains. In two of the projects, 16 and 17, participants' abilities as individuals to socialise with other deaf people in sign language, to access community, and to access education were targeted, yet the situation of deaf individuals in these remote Pacific island communities were quite removed from those in other projects in this section. In two of the projects, 4 in Mexico and 8 in Malawi, participants' collective capabilities in voice, representation and organisation were effectively targeted. The leadership roles of project staff had an important impact in growing the organisation, and by fostering collective action, exhibited instrumental agency and empowerment.

Current viewpoints promote the involvement of local and community actors within project work, yet implementing such projects without some power imbalances across the key axes of nation and of language is particularly difficult when working with deaf communities in Global South settings (Nyamu-Musembi & Cornwall 2004, p.4). Local power relations can affect the interpretation of the reality of situations on the ground, how the development work proceeds, the people to whom benefits of the project accrue in the aftermath and whether the project benefitted the most disadvantaged deaf individuals in each locality. Addressing the root structural causes of injustices is another method through which the participation of deaf people was enhanced. The following social conversion factors were apparent: marginalisation such as geographic dispersal where individuals were isolated in rural areas; linguistic deprivation where individuals did not have access to sign languages; lack of awareness of deafness or signed languages amongst surrounding communities.

Occurrences of capability inputs, and enabling and limiting conversion factors are detailed in Figure 4.3 and in Figure 4.4 the collective capabilities to participate and develop leadership skills amongst participants in five projects are shown. These figures detail the overall structure of the Capabilites Approach throughout these projects in relation to one or two skills that a range of projects sought to enhance, and the associated capability inputs, with which factors were enabling or limiting and where functioning was achieved.

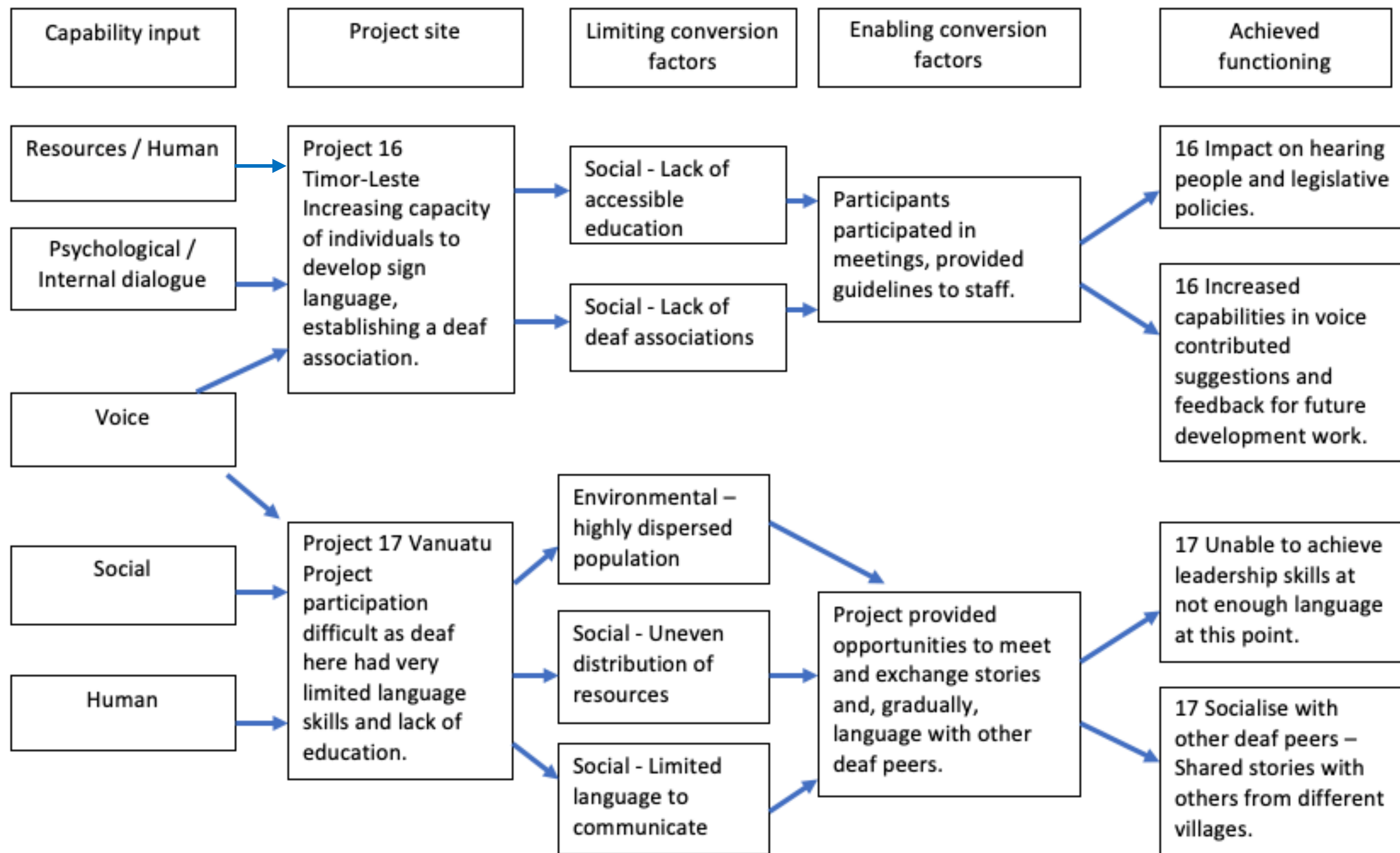

Figure 4.3 Participation and leadership: individual capabilities

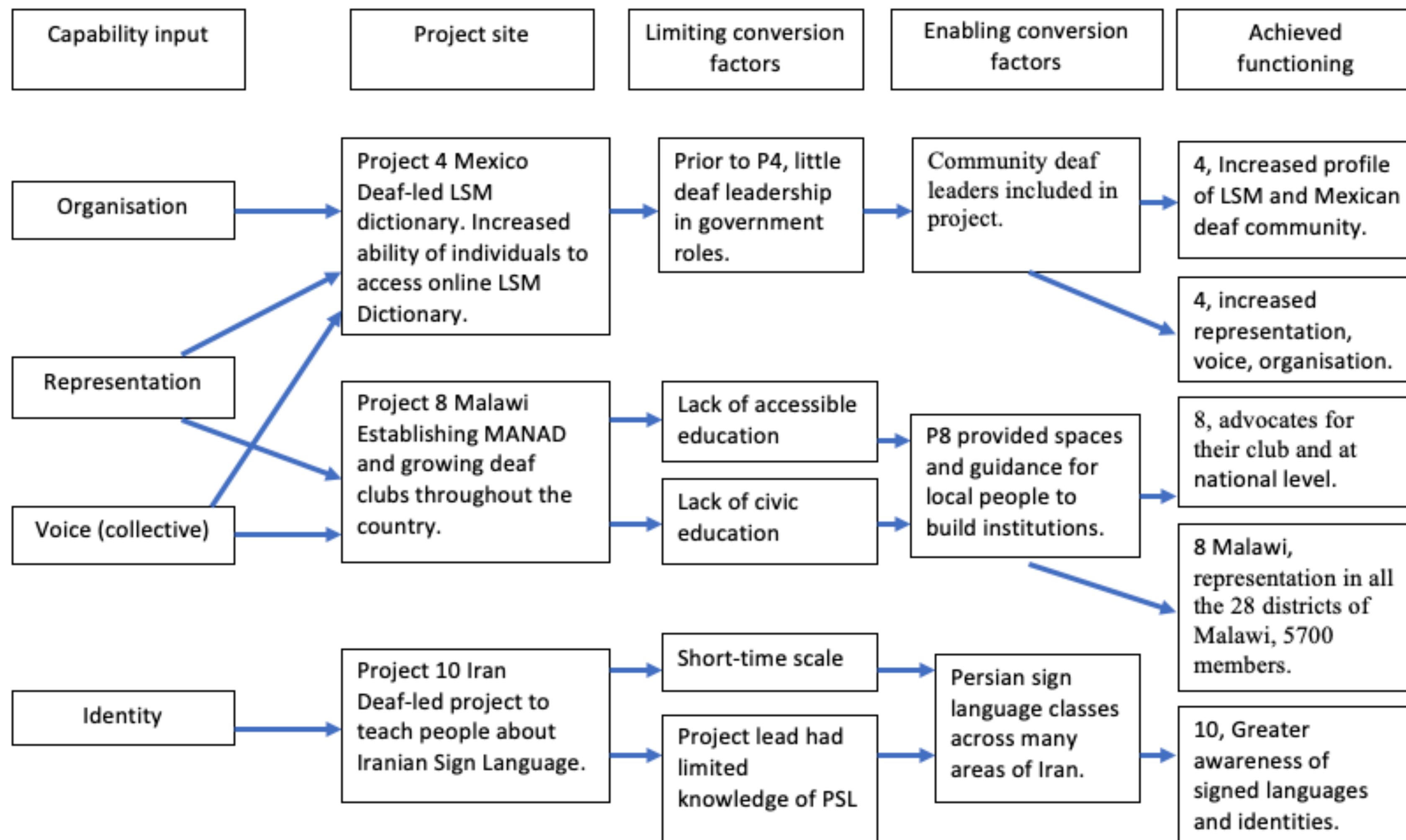

Figure 4.4 Participation and leadership: collective capabilities

Although Figures 4.3 and 4.4 appear to be unidirectional, this is because a nondynamic application of the Capabilities Approach was used, and it was not possible to track these capabilities temporally over time in the projects regarding individual participants' development of leadership skills. These two figures give a clear picture of the various associated factors of the Capabilities Approach and how they are applicable at an organisational level.

Project 17 was led by an organisation working on a remote Pacific island, Vanuatu. The republic is classified as one of the world's least developed countries by the UN (UNICEF & Republic of Vanuatu, 2014). The Vanuatu 2009 census reported only 13% of the population have a disability, of whom 7,323 people have "hearing complications", with minimal difference in gender distribution of these (UNICEF & Republic of Vanuatu, 2014). Alongside the island of Timor-Leste (P16), Vanuatu is a Pacific island nation, and listed amongst the Small Island Developing States (SIDS) which face similar challenges, such as small but growing populations, limited resources, remoteness, excessive dependence on international trade, and susceptibility to natural disasters (UN, SIDS, n.d.).

As the project lead, respondent 17 was contracted to do a situational analysis though deaf people from Vanuatu were not involved in the design of the project. Although deaf people did participate as interviewees in this process, R17 commented putting local deaf people in leadership roles was 'hard as the majority had limited languages to communicate' (R17). The statement demonstrates the impact of linguistic deprivation experienced by deaf people in this locality, which often results in an uneven distribution of resources, and is a limiting social conversion factor. R17 commented 'ultimately hearing people are running the show' and 'deaf people will not be able to be change-makers individually until they have language, to my great dismay' (R17). Referring back to the idea 'the poor and marginalised … tend not to have access to sympathetic knowledge … nor resources, nor infrastructures, nor the full range of capabilities that would help their grassroots activities flourish,' it is evident projects working with deaf people must co-exist alongside unfairness of resource distribution in the short term 'in order that they might induce changes that make them more appropriate to a just future' in the long-term (Smith et al. 2012, p. 13). Many projects fall under what scholar Smith states is an incongruous contradiction in terms, where organisations should take additional steps to empower excluded local actors, in these cases local deaf participants, and work to re-establish local networks of organising.

Conversion factors in the Vanuatu project site were constraining for deaf participants in terms of agency. Limiting social conversion factors became apparent such as participants lacking access to sign language, to deaf peers and educational resources. Partially as a consequence of language deprivation, it appears participants had limited access to resources such as knowledge, and limited opportunity to use their voice to lobby on issues. It is evident deaf participants in the Vanuatu project were not able to realise their capabilities in voice, to speak out about issues or to campaign effectively for change on their own behalf. In terms of comparison to other project sites, it appears Vanuatu had environmental diversities in terms of a highly rural population, like Timor-Leste, and in contrast with participants in project sites in Mexico and Vietnam.

In turn, the same individual was project lead for Project 16, which was led by the same organisation CBM. The project worked with deaf communities in a remote island and had limited deaf participation. The project lead commented deaf people were involved 'somewhat,' as they 'provide feedback on the training / meetings' which helps 'guide the development of the next visit to Timor-Leste' (R16). In the longer-scale projects, deaf staff were delegated more responsibilities for leading training programmes, or were co-working to develop training curricula. The impact of project length on participant capabilities is discussed in a later section (**Section 4.9**). In Project 16, the lead commented sometimes it was their role to 'step back and ensure they are being heard in meetings, and at times provide context to the hearing people' (R16). In comparison to project beneficiaries in Project 17, participants in project 16 were perceived to have demonstrated higher levels of empowerment and agency. At times, participants demonstrated individual capabilities in the use of voice, as they provided essential feedback and guidance to the project lead on their opinions on how to improve the usefulness of the training programmes.

Throughout Project 16 and Project 17, there were opportunities for deaf people at different levels. Project participation does appear to have given deaf people access to positive expression of individual psychological capabilities (planning for the future, self-confidence) and collective assets such as voice and representation. For instance, in terms of future planning in Project 16, the project lead aimed for 'deaf people to take on board the training and then [be] able to independently do these things on their own,' with these skills including hosting meetings, and facilitating training for other deaf people in the community, and consultation on official agenda meetings and emails. In

terms of future planning in Project 17 reference was made to being able to plan ahead to meet other deaf people in order to develop language, and to being able to attend training sessions as initial steps (R17). The respondent stated the Timor-Leste project 'encouraged the deaf community to be leaders and advocate so they can actively make an impact on hearing people and on legislation and policies' (R16). By building 'up their capacity to advocate individually and for the community' on a range of issues such as establishing a deaf association, improving training for sign language interpreters and recognition of sign language, it can be deduced participants' self-confidence improved after these interventions.

However, Project 4 in Mexico, and Project 10 in Iran, were almost entirely deaf-led and initiated from the grassroots, which gave local people the chance to build skills and experience. Deaf participants with differing levels of formal career and educational experience were encouraged to participate. In Mexico City, a deaf person led a government project to establish the Mexican Sign Language dictionary (R4). The project lead 'started to invite many deaf friends who are leaders to conform a circle of deaf professors,' and from lengthy discussions with them, plans for a national sign language dictionary began to form in an organic manner (R4).[1] The project lead then drew on local volunteers from a range of neighbourhoods where 'we get together in about two months just about two hundred personas from all municipalities in Mexico City' (R4). This highlights how deaf people from different regions of the city were encouraged to participate and benefit from involvement in the project. As well as voluntary participants being encouraged to realise intrinsic agency in their abilities to communicate with peers, increasing their individual capabilities through increased self-confidence (psychological), or interaction with peers (social), it is clear the organisation encouraged greater levels of deaf participation in the social sphere at the micro level in their homes and neighbourhoods, and the intermediate level in their communities.

Participants had opportunities to realise their collective capabilities of representation, with large numbers of deaf individuals from various regions of the city taking part and of voice, as the expansion of sign language dictionary firstly, raised the knowledge of deaf Mexican signers across the country, secondly, created a sign language resource which could be utilised by the population, and thirdly, raised awareness of Mexican sign language and deaf culture more broadly across the country

[1] R4 was a deaf participant from Mexico City, whose first languages were Spanish and Mexican Sign Language, although R4 did have some English proficiency.

by making a sign language dictionary available for all to access online. In another sample, the project lead commented ‘for deaf people community it is very important to empower individuals, and because if more deaf people learn about language, they can participate more’ (R4). R4 suggested if ‘non deaf people learn more about deaf community, they will be interested to get closer and learn more’ (R4). As a result of deaf leadership throughout the project, it can be observed Project 4 had significant levels of local deaf participation, as local communities became invested in the project.

Similarly, a capacity-building project run by a deaf association in Malawi, in collaboration with international partners, sought to encourage greater deaf inclusion and involvement in the project over a sustained period of five years. In Malawi, prior to 2008, studies have demonstrated deaf and hearing-impaired people felt they were excluded from many facets of society (Braathen & Kvam, 2008, p.469), excluded from the political processes such as voting, as ‘there is a need for disability policy awareness-raising activities among both civil society and government in Malawi’ (Wazakili et al., 2011, p.23) and deaf people in particular lacked access to civic education (Munthali, 2011, p.24). In terms of education, Malawi now has four special schools for the deaf, which are privately run, require budgeting and fees, and can accept only a small proportion of the total deaf population (Braathen & Loeb, 2011, p.72,82-83). However, the Malawi government has been trying to mainstream disability issues across all sectors of development in order to meet the UN SDGs (MSDPWD, 2006).

The stated aims of Project 8 to ‘mobilise the Deaf to form branches/Deaf clubs in all regions of Malawi,’ and to ‘train the deaf how to participate and have influence in their association’ enhanced access to deaf associations and leadership across many local communities (R8). R8 reported increased participation had subsequently led to positive outcomes where ‘Deaf people of Malawi are active human rights advocates at local and national level’ (R8). The efforts of the intervention enhanced deaf realisation of their capabilities of representation and voice in local deaf associations, which then fed into the creation of more experienced deaf leaders who felt able to advocate for their communities and act as representatives at higher levels in the intermediate domain of the social sphere at the regional and even national level.

The Finnish Association of the Deaf (FAD) was the collaboration partner of the Malawian National Association of the Deaf (MANAD) working in-country, which aimed to support ‘work done by the Deaf themselves for the benefit of the Deaf’ (R8). R8 stated initially, in 2008, ‘MANAD was practically in a dormant state without any

staff and office premises and … 3-4 branches equally inactive … membership of the organisation was unofficially assessed as just above 1000' (R8). The comment suggests low levels of awareness about deaf rights, sign language and few opportunities for advocacy, representation or campaigning on the part of deaf organisations. However, R8 reported 'project proposals were always designed based on the need MANAD members and other Deaf people highlighted' (R8). The conduction of a baseline study and needs assessment in 2008 – 2009 by a deaf assocation, the FAD, found there was a significant lack of deaf associations in the country, and MANAD was in a near-defunct state. Through a combination of interviews with deaf people from the country and the situational analysis of two FAD experts, a strategic planning paper was produced jointly between the two organisations, and plans set out to initiate development efforts in the country.

Yearly fieldtrips, with frequent updates via webcam meetings and regular reports written by project leads tracked the progress of the FAD project. While senior project staff in MANAD and in FAD retained responsibility for tasks including project steering, project administration, the implementation of annual plans and providing technical or material assistance, some other tasks were delegated. Other tasks such as providing peer-to-peer training or receiving training, the implementation and supervision of project tasks, and doing advocacy and information work were conducted by junior deaf staff and these roles opened to deaf people from Malawi. Deaf people 'organize[d] and establish local branches/Deaf clubs taking part in the organization activities' (R8). After some years, deaf people throughout the country began organizing local branches. Now MANAD has representation in all the 28 districts of Malawi with over 5700 registered members of the organisation.

Project participants realized their collective capabilities of organisation through the successful establishment of deaf branches, and increased representation of the Malawi deaf community. The growth of MANAD as an organisation with many local branches highlights deaf participants throughout the country have successfully addressed the 'collective action problem,' necessary to overcome in order to work in a group, created 'consensus' and established individuals as 'leaders' or followers (Samman & Santos 2009, p.8). The collective action problem can best be described as being unable to carry out positive action on behalf of a cause due to a lack of collective support. Barriers to collective support can be caused by a lack of cooperation, by differing worldviews and by structural inequities.

For deaf individuals and communities in Malawi, the collective action problem was partially caused by, and exacerbated through, a lack of access to Malawian Sign Language. For instance, R8 stated in Malawi, ‘the most burning issue is the lack of research and documentation of Malawi sign language which hinders further progress in most crucial fields of the deaf development work (e.g. recognition of Malawi Sign Language, service provision/quality sign language interpreter training, quality bilingual education)’ and ‘the lack of recognition, acceptance and use of sign language in all areas of life is the major barrier the prevents deaf people from enjoying full human rights’ (R8). MANAD has professional staff to manage the daily routines and take care of the project management of numerous small-scale projects. For projects where there were greater levels of deaf participation, deaf staff and participants were more able to access individual capabilities such as self-confidence and leadership skills, within the broader capabilities of representation and voice (Samman & Santos 2009, p.3).

Within capacity-building, the extent to which deaf participants from Global South contexts are truly driving projects should be considered. Project leads within Global North organisations might be overly keen to emphasise levels of deaf participation which are in line with currently held views of correct ways to do development work with the deaf, yet in practice few development projects have enough deaf participants and local leadership to be classed as truly community driven. A range of factors such as project timescales, physical distance from the project site, funder requirements, educational level of in-country participants, written literacy skills of in-country participants all had an impact on the ability of organisations to promote deaf leadership. In summary, the examples of limited local deaf participation in Projects 16 and 17 highlighted a sharp contrast with the extent of deaf participation amongst more involved communities and individuals in Projects 4 and 8.

4.3. Peer-to-peer training and tutoring

Efforts to enhance the extent of deaf participation in project design and work overlaps with accessible education. In educational settings – whether vocational, in a school or another type of training – deaf individuals typically realise their capabilities in settings surrounded by hearing peers, where interactions will be Deaf–Hearing (D–H), or surrounded by Deaf peers, where interactions will be Deaf–Deaf (D–D). Where deaf individuals provided input to a lesser degree, training can be dominated by Hearing–Hearing interactions (H–H). For peer-to-peer and tutor training it can be assumed that

personal means, such as motivation to study and to teach, or having the financial means to attend training had an impact on participants' capabilities. The use of multimodal education processes included peer-to-peer and tutor training by deaf tutors. The recruitment of deaf staff, teachers or trainers to work with deaf participants can enhance the participatory nature of projects. Amongst the projects that trained up local trainers (as opposed to practices of training overseas staff or none at all in other projects) in various project elements, whether in early assessment, early intervention for children, workshop facilitation or quality monitoring, teaching sign language or creating lesson books and teaching guides, the long-term aim of passing on training knowledge to local deaf participants was important in instilling knowledge and self-confidence, which had the potential to affect capabilities realisation and agency.

The use of peer-to-peer tutoring, in which deaf adults teach other deaf individuals, meets the recommendations, including ensuring the involvement of deaf persons in the planning, implementation and evaluation of the programme. The provider organisation has an awareness of deaf culture and how local cultures understand deafness and should network with others working in the field of deaf rights and development (Wilson, 2005). Peer interaction is important for the 'development of social skills, taking multiple perspectives in social situations, learning conflict management, tact and other communication skills' (Antia & Kreimeyer, 2005, p164). Peer social interaction includes communication (linguistic and non-linguistic, positive and negative) and social play with peers. For deaf individuals, peer interaction and social competence are important components of daily life for enhancing freedom and wellbeing. Antia and Kreimeyer (2005) and Knoors and Marschark (2014) have pointed out that the quantity and quality of peer interaction, factors that influence peer interaction and the enhancement of peer interaction can all affect a deaf individual's communicative capabilities in educational settings. Knoors and Marschark (2014) found that, in integrated educational settings, deaf children face more challenges in socialising with hearing peers, with individual children 'more successful socialising in dyads than in larger groups' (pp. 147–148).

The impact of peer-to-peer training and training of trainers on the capabilities of participants in eight projects are now discussed. The first section explores peer-to-peer training with a range of aims that often took place in more informal settings in three sites: Projects 6 (Vietnam) and 11 (Vietnam) amongst hearing communities (**Section 4.3.1**). Only Project 12 focused on deaf youth training other deaf youth (**Section 4.1.2,**

4.3.2, 4.5, 4.6). Subsequently, the chapter examines the training of sign language tutors in Projects 5 (Cambodia) and 9 (China). The next section explores the training of deaf adults as tutors with early-years intervention schemes in education, literacy and health in Projects 1 (Zambia) and 15 (Rwanda, Uganda and Zambia). Processes of working with peers to acquire new skills particularly enhanced the individual capabilities of participants in self-confidence (psychological), their ability to communicate and acquire information fully during training (social) and their knowledge and skills (resources). In the immediate term, these five projects did not appear to have as much of an impact on the collective capabilities of participants.

Social conversion factors included the availability of deaf peers to teach in sign language, thus providing positive role models and facilitating access to knowledge, as well as social participation with peers. Another important social conversion factor was provided by the development interventions themselves, which provided an institutional setting in which deaf people could meet other deaf people, thus realising capabilities in the social sphere at the micro and intermediate levels. For Project 12, a limiting social conversion factor for participants to access healthcare was caused by a lack of social cohesion in the community, so participants did not receive information from their hearing peers. For Project 15, there was a lack of accessible qualifications for deaf participants across the project sites in Rwanda, Uganda and Zambia. This limited the abilities of deaf adults to access employment and to share their knowledge of early-childhood deafness.

All of the figures examine individual capabilities realisation as regards processes of peer-to-peer teaching both by and for deaf participants in the aforementioned projects. Figure 4.5 examines the influence of peer tutoring on capabilities realisation of both the tutors and the learners. In Figure 4.6*,* the training of sign language tutors who are deaf in project 5 (Cambodia) and 9 (China) show where individual capabilities were particularly affected. In Figure 4.7*,* the experiences of participants and trainers in 1 (Zambia and 15 (Rwanda, Uganda and Zambia) are surveyed. Peer-to-peer teaching of English is a central component of Chapter Six, where Indian peer tutors teach deaf learners.

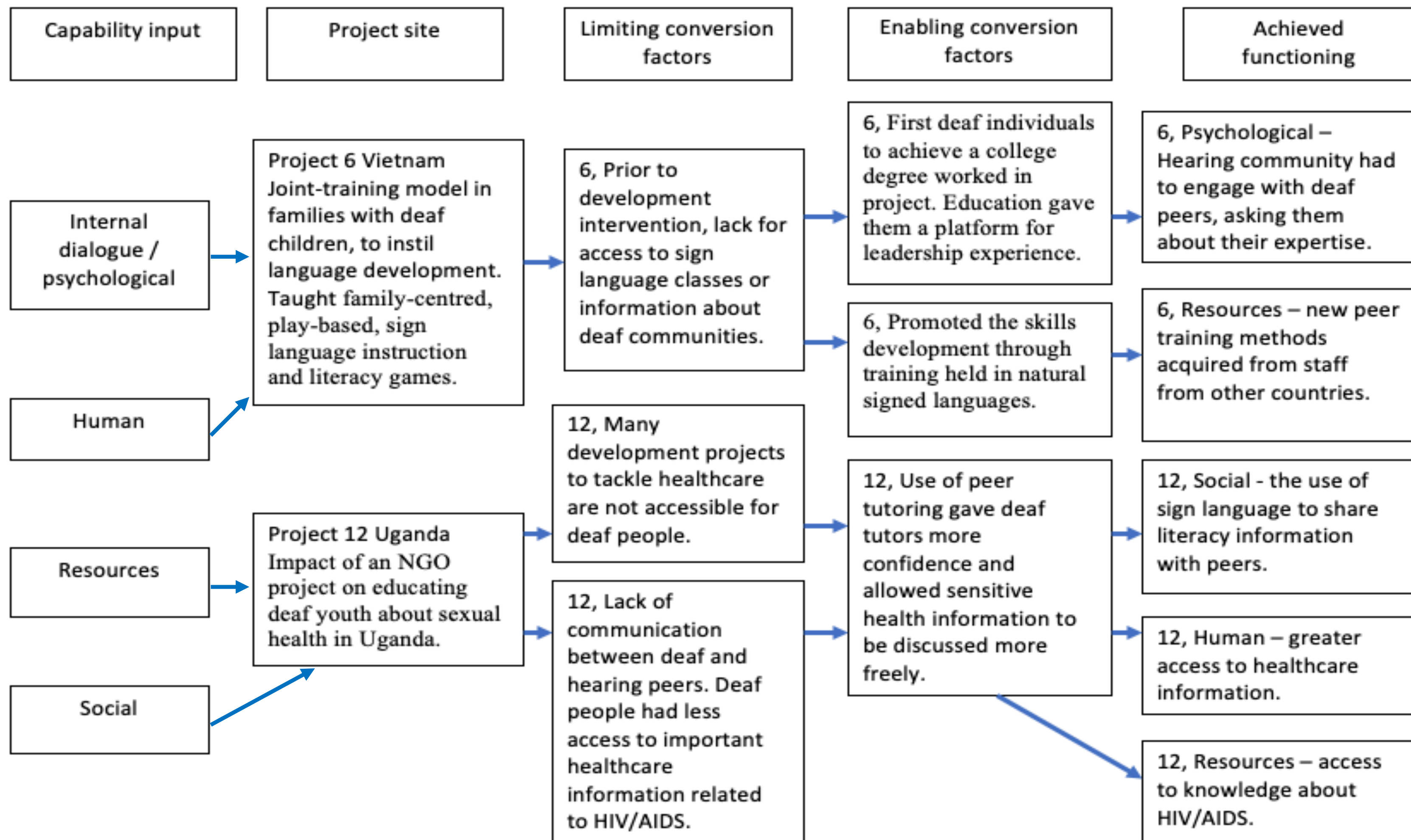

Figure 4.5 Peer training among deaf adults and youth: individual capabilities

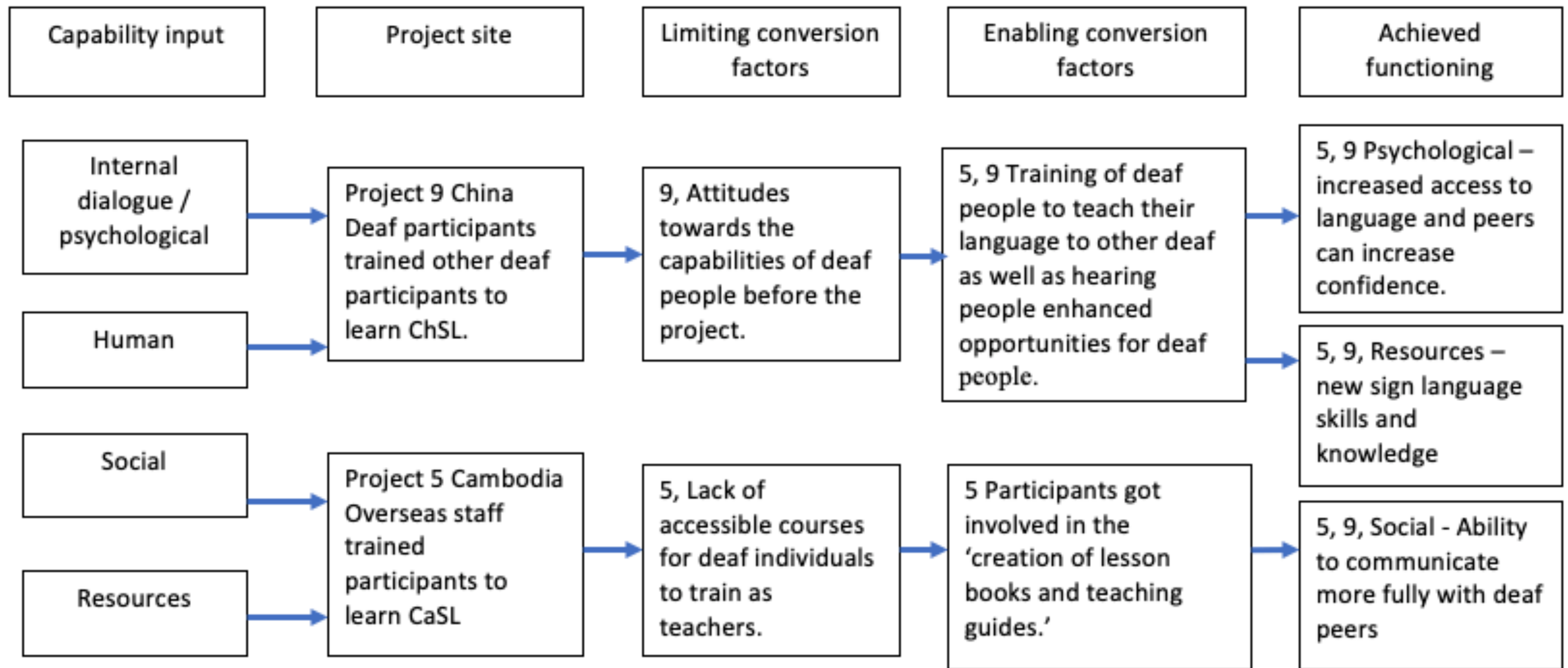

Figure 4.6 Peer-to-peer tutoring of sign languages: individual capabilities

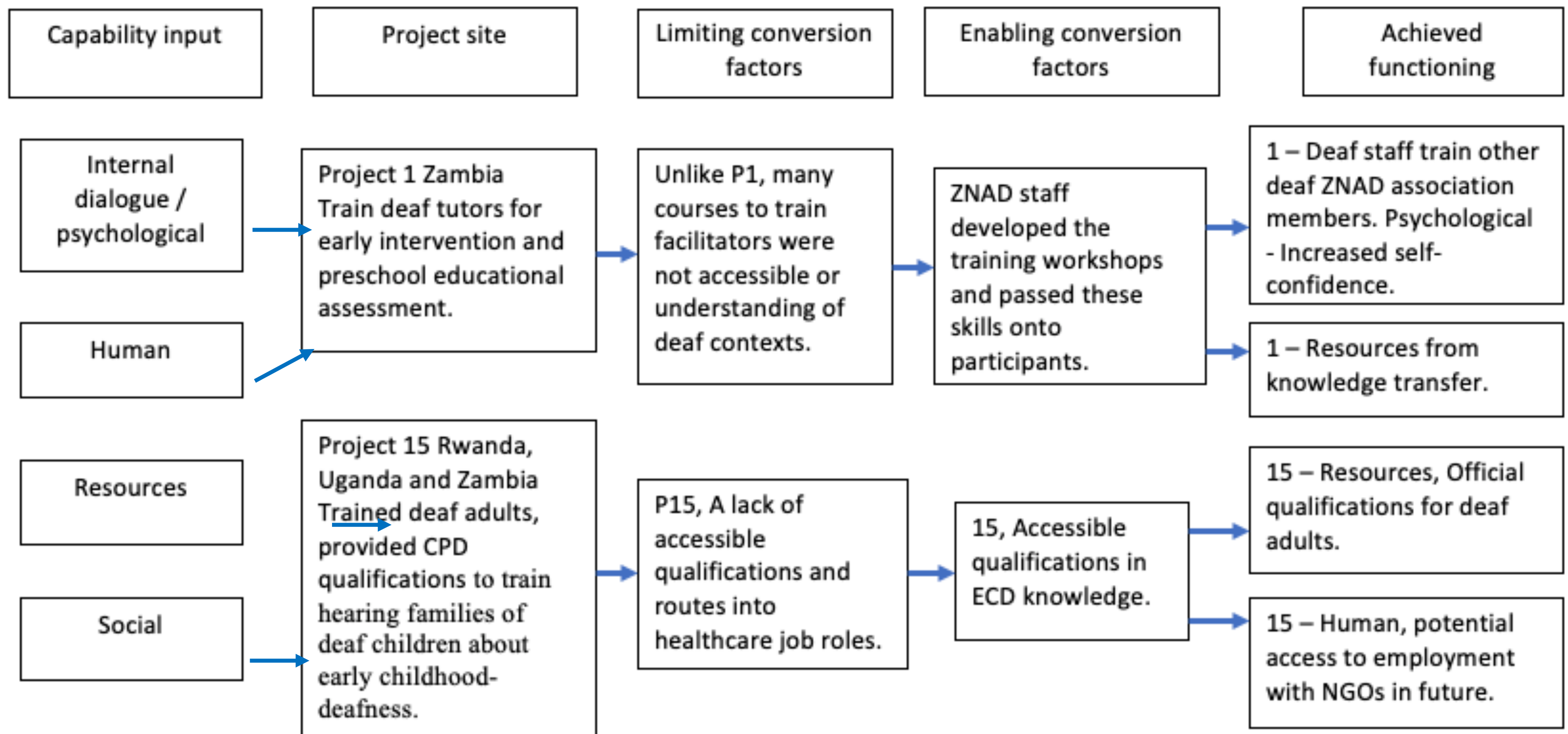

Figure 4.7 Peer-to-peer training: early-years intervention projects and professional capabilities

4.3.1. Tutor training

The respondent discussing one of the Vietnamese projects (R11) suggested that the peer-to-peer nature of the project, where local deaf people were recruited as peer tutors to educate deaf communities across the north and south of Vietnam about their rights under the UN CRPD, encouraged deaf staff to develop confidence and skills. The project lead believed that peer-to-peer learning for deaf students from local deaf peer teachers who have a shared experience of education using Vietnamese Sign Language (VSL) was of benefit, as it increased their confidence and resources in terms of access to sign language knowledge (R11). For the participants, it was one of the few times that they had access to training from a deaf peer, and their individual capabilities realisation in terms of increased self-confidence (psychological) and enhanced opportunities to talk with peers (social) were enabled by D–D interactions in the training environment.

Project 6 in Vietnam was academic led and took place over a period of five years. The initiative aimed to instil the inter-generational transfer of knowledge and utilised a system the respondent called the 'joint-training model', which trained deaf adults to conduct 'early childhood language development via family-centred, play-based, sign language instruction and literacy games' and trained hearing adults 'to encourage family participation in family mentorship sessions' (R6). According to R6, these were particularly vital for encouraging deaf people to realise their agency and capabilities, as it was unique in promoting the skills development through training held in natural signed languages. In turn, this ensured that deaf staff were placed in positions where they were able to share their expertise as trainers of their first language. As international deaf trainers visited Vietnam and provided training expertise, exposure to people from other countries encouraged an international exchange of knowledge and ideas with foreign deaf persons using different sign languages, together with a knowledge of new training methods.

In addition, Project 6 involved approximately ten of the first 17 deaf people to graduate from college (in 2012 and 2014). The lead commented that

> 'symbolically and practically, these particular Deaf leaders were proof that - if given the opportunity to study using a Vietnamese Signed Language - Deaf children could succeed and contribute to the country's development' (R6).

The introduction of deaf people with a college education into leadership roles created a strong foundation for subsequent development efforts and encouraged deaf peers to pursue educational opportunities.

In terms of collective capacities, access to sign language learning from deaf peers was vital for increasing social cohesion, mutual trust and co-working within communities and enhancing participants' abilities as deaf or hearing groups to represent deaf communities across the country. The decision of Project 6 to utilise deaf staff members to train deaf peers had important implications for other deaf people in the country, as it meant people might encounter processes of socialisation and interaction in educational settings as D–D interactions for the first time, with the benefits that brings to learning.

The practice of training local deaf staff served the double function of revitalising the use of local sign languages across various regions of Vietnam where the workshops took place and of building stronger relations between the hearing and deaf individuals within these communities over time. These two phenomena have the potential to challenge social structures that infringe on the linguistic rights of deaf communities. Other individual capabilities impacted were access to resources such as knowledge, as participants gained new assets in sign language literacies and knowledge of how to train others in the mainstream curriculum of the course.

4.3.2. Peer training amongst Deaf youth

In Project 12, the respondent discussed the impact of a project on educating deaf youth about sexual health in Uganda. Abimanyi-Ochom et al. (2017) found that only modest attention has been paid to the health issues of HIV/AIDS in Uganda in relation to disabled persons. They stated that 'persons with any type of disability had 20 days fewer since the last HIV test compared to individuals without a disability' (p.6), suggesting that lack of health access is a significant problem for disabled people in the country. Other scholars support the views of R12. Deaf people in Uganda experience low literacy, so a development intervention to educate participants about risks through peer groups and learning was particularly effective in enhancing their individual capabilities to teach others.

The respondent highlighted the use of peer-to-peer teaching to share information about HIV/AIDS transmission among deaf youth. The NGO wanted 'to put young people in the lead in the project' by training 'deaf young people as peer

educators', by creating 'youth friendly activities which meet young people "where they are" rather than creating new activities in places they wouldn't normally go' and by 'making health centres more deaf aware and accessible – often deaf activities are done separately and therefore continuing exclusion – want to challenge that' (R12). The employment of peer-to-peer teaching ensured projects reached a wider network of young people in different areas of Uganda, such as Masaka, Jinja and Kampala. Some social conversion factors that limited deaf individuals' capabilities to access healthcare was a lack of social integration with the hearing community. As a consequence, prior to the development intervention, participants had more limited access to health information than their hearing peers. However, subsequent to their participation in Project 12, participants who conducted peer tutoring had enhanced their individual capabilities in self-confidence (psychological), the use of sign language to share literacy information with peers (social) and knowledge of methods of peer teaching, health literacy and common issues related to HIV/AIDs sexual health (resources/human).

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4.3.3. **Peer training of sign language tutors**

Another project focusing on sign language teaching pointed out that using the 'training of deaf people to teach their language to other deaf as well as hearing people'

encouraged greater agentive action amongst deaf peer teachers. Respondent 5 commented that 'by spreading the use of Cambodian Sign Language (CaSL), more deaf people acquire "voice", self-expression' (R5). As well as allowing local deaf people to gain experience as teachers and become involved in the 'creation of lesson books and teaching guides', local participants were encouraged to enhance their experience (R5). The respondent suggested that, in terms of changes to both participants and to society, 'on the micro level individuals do benefit such as those who learn CaSL via the project', while other 'aims such as impacting legislation are at the macro level' were being achieved too. Consequently, peer-to-peer methods encouraged participants to realise their individual capabilities, for example, an increased knowledge of how to teach CaSL (resources), while during campaigns for the legal recognition of CaSL, collective capabilities (voice and representation) were being realised.

In China, R9 commented that the project aimed to promote the role of teaching being available to deaf individuals and to enhance deaf leadership in China. It is estimated there are 27.8 million people with some form of hearing loss in China (Liang & Mason, 2013). The project increased deaf students' 'learning opportunities and resources' and 'encouraged deaf and hearing students to work together' through practices such as academic exchange trips, joint China–UK data collection and research, and the sharing of ideas and resources. On the project, the lead was a deaf academic, who commented that a

> 'deaf teacher/deaf student dialogue is very empowering for the deaf people involved, as they are able to communicate on an equal footing and are becoming more confident through this process' (R9).

A deaf academic from China, who is familiar with the culture and attitudes to deaf people in the country, stated that the ability of deaf participants to work alongside hearing teachers 'sends a strong message to hearing people that deaf people can achieve' and transformed attitudes towards deaf people, as they were 'seen in a positive light due to the leadership roles they were taking' (R9). In terms of capabilities realisation, the factors of peer-to-peer tutoring and a higher extent of deaf participation in development projects encouraged collective capabilities realisation.

4.3.4. Peer training for early years interventions: literacy and health

The respondent in an Early-Years Intervention Literacy project in Zambia (R1) trained teaching, college and medical staff to carry out early assessment, while only college staff were trained for early intervention and preschool educational assessment, which had important implications for participants' access to employment. The project enabled deaf staff to acquire knowledge of early-years literacies, thus allowing them to access employment with college staff and medical staff to assess deaf children (R1). Subsequent training was carried out by local staff teams so that 'Deaf ZNAD trainers train new Deaf ZNAD facilitators and offer them support and monitor the quality of the workshops' (R1). Additionally, training workshops allowed the transfer of knowledge to take place, which allowed for greater agency amongst the 'Deaf as a community – benefits, rights. Probably with the idea as a community you are stronger than alone' (R1).

In another African context, Project 15 took place across three contexts: a site in Zambia, a site in Uganda and a site in Rwanda that focused on early years. Prior to the organisations' work, it was difficult for deaf adults to share their expertise with hearing parents regarding deaf children and access to sign languages. The project trained deaf adults and provided continuous professional development (CPD) qualifications to recognise the knowledge of deaf adults as 'knowledge bearers' (R15). Consequently, Project 15 allowed deaf adults to provide intensive five-day training workshops to the hearing parents of deaf children and to 'focus on early childhood development, communication needs and opportunities, myths and understanding of causes of deafness and reaction of local community' (R15). The fact trainers were deaf meant they 'act as role models to the parents' (R15). The intervention allowed deaf adults to qualify as professional trainers and to access capabilities in knowledge as they 'gained knowledge on ECD, on didactic skills as trainers, and were examined in this CPD-certified course,' thus accessing individual capabilities in qualifications (resources), self-confidence (psychological) and potential access to employment with NGOs in the future (human) (R15). The researcher argues that through enhancing access to training, networks and potential employers, these capacity-building projects facilitated access to capabilities, including social affiliation, and allowed deaf people to build on their social capital (Nussbaum, 2007), develop positive psychological self-concepts as they developed new knowledge and new skills and achieve their human, social and material assets and capabilities over time (Narayan, 2005, Samman & Santos, 2009).

4.4. Awareness of CRPD Rights

There is an element of overlap between project participants' human rights and the framework for minimum life quality outlined by the Capabilities Approach. Project 6 specifically targeted individual capabilities such as resources, by providing access to knowledge about the UN CRPD directives. In turn, this knowledge enabled deaf individuals to gather and realise their collective capabilities of voice, organisation and representation, as deaf individuals presented to government departments and officials in Vietnam. Project 18 worked across a wide range of contexts to empower deaf associations and deaf leaders, thus focusing on the collective capabilities of organisation and representation. Some projects also focused on sign language rights through efforts to enhance its status in the country. By raising the profile of signed languages, such efforts could enhance the opportunities and protection afforded to deaf individuals. The structural influence of such development initiatives related to the UN CRPD is traced in Figure 4.8. This diagram focuses on how projects can increase surrounding opportunity structures available to participants as it raises awareness of sign langauges, reduces prejudice and shows the role of social and environmental variation upon deaf capabilities realisation at the individual level.

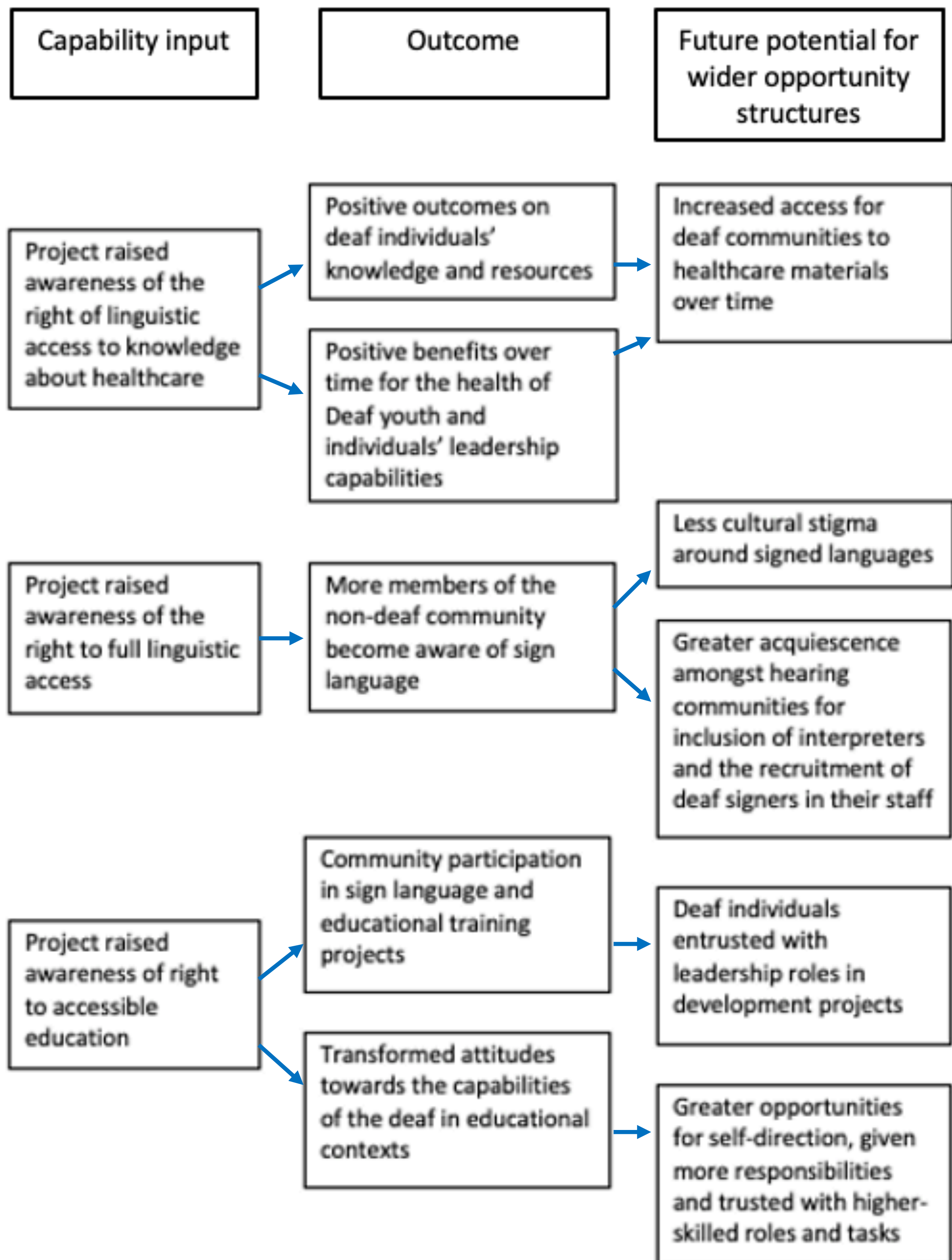

Figure 4.8 UN CRPD Rights and capabilities realisation

4.4.1. Awareness among deaf people of their human rights and the CRPD recommendations

In the intra-generational project in Vietnam, deaf communities 'worked to create allies among hearing community members, organizations, and families that support deaf leadership, social organizing, and sign language-related programming and policies' (R6). Subsequent stages of Project 6 increased participants' ability to realise their capabilities, as respondent 6 pointed out, 'Deaf people gave presentations to the Ministry of Education and Training officials and at school and community-based "Family Fun Days." Such presentations were important ways to infuse Deaf perspectives into the project from the very beginning, and model Deaf expertise for family, community, and government stakeholders,' thus enhancing collective capabilities such as the organisation of events for deaf communities and for advocacy more generally (R6).

A WFD-led project, Project 18, took place in several phases across El Salvador and Azerbaijan (2013), the Dominican Republic and Mongolia (2014), Colombia and Serbia (2015) and Ethiopia and Jordan (2016). Project 18 aimed to empower deaf leaders of national deaf associations in these contexts. This provided a strong example of deaf-led projects, where the ideal of deaf participation was transplanted from a theoretical idea to a workable reality on the ground. A deaf human rights officer from the WFD 'implemented the whole project. As the project lead stated they were 'a deaf trainer herself/himself' they felt able to act as a role model to provide "deaf-friendly" space to discuss human rights issues' (R18). The project lead commented 'these trainings were intended to provide them safe space to discuss any issue concerning their deaf community' (R18).

4.4.2. Awareness among hearing people of sign language rights

Other projects focused on the CRPD enhanced surrounding phonological communities' awareness of their rights, particularly policy-makers. For instance, R4 in the creation of a Mexican Sign Language dictionary accessible to all online, suggested greater linguistic status raises awareness of the deaf community because 'if more deaf people learn more about its language they can participate more, and if non deaf people learn more about deaf community, they will be more interested in get closer and understand deaf culture' (R4). Figure 4.8 depicts how the awareness of deaf individuals and surrounding hearing communities of a range of human rights under the UN CRPD could in turn have a positive

impact on individual and collective capabilities, given the right circumstances. By generating greater levels of awareness amongst hearing people in surrounding communities, more space is created for capabilities inputs including forms of support from communities, as well as voluntary organisations, which contributes to a supportive social climate. Such a climate in turn can create more enabling conversion factors in terms of social support and formal institutional support available to allow project participants to realise their rights (and human capabilities/achieved functioning) (Biggeri & Ferrannini 2018).

4.5. Access to employment opportunities

Across Projects 3 (Guyana), 13 (Brazil) and 15 (Rwanda, Uganda, Zambia), it is evident that some secondary effects of the development intervention included the creation of employment. Through gaining employment, many participants were able to access their human capabilities and obtain material assets, such as reliable streams of income. Chouinard (2012) has pointed out that 'material barriers to disabled people's inclusion in society and space are reproduced through processes of exclusion unfolding across geographic scales ranging from the global, to the inter-personal and intra-personal,' (p. 778). He suggests that poverty can be understood as a form of violence that prevents access to wellbeing and that 'acts such as the provision of inadequate income assistance and conditions of life such as malnutrition can be seen as manifestations of violence' (p. 779). For many deaf people in the project contexts, unemployment rates were high, and the consequences of exclusion from the job market on daily wellbeing freedoms was evident. Access to employment opportunities is also discussed later in Chapter Five, where project staff gained access to a wealth of development resources and opportunities.

Conversion factors that had an impact on the employment of deaf individuals were cultural stigma, where surrounding hearing communities doubted the capabilities of deaf people to work in professional white-collar jobs, such as teaching; a lack of accessible qualifications; and, for early-years intervention projects, a lack of accessible routes into vocational training. The distinctions and similarities in capability inputs and achieved functioning between projects that trained deaf participants to be professional teachers, those that encouraged deaf participants to be self-employed and those that trained participants to work in early-childhood deafness as professional trainers of the parents of deaf children is demonstrated in Figure 4.9 below.

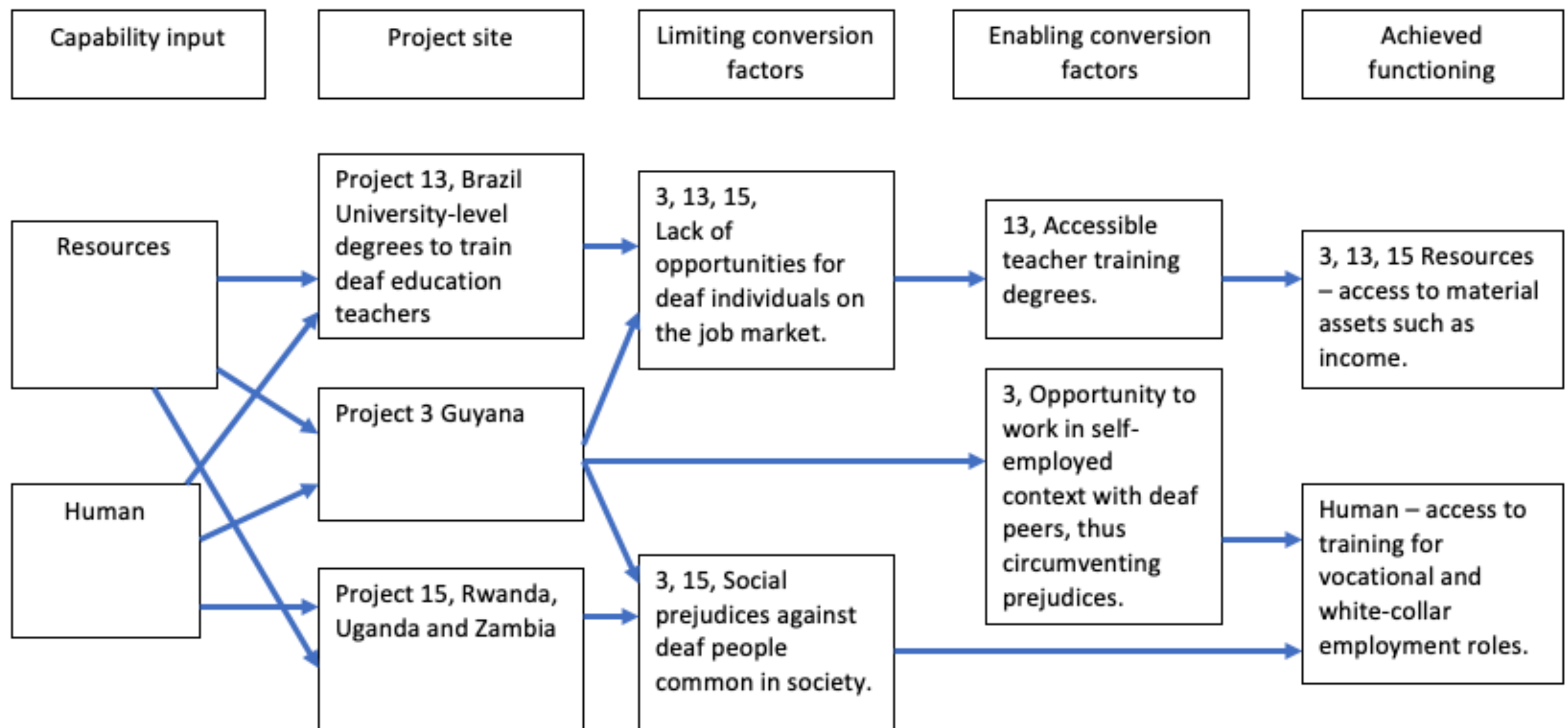

Figure 4.9 Employment and capabilities realisation

In Guyana, there is a lack of provision of education for people with disabilities, and equal access to inclusive services for those with special needs is a growing concern, with one of the key challenges being 'the provision of equal opportunities to indigenous and hinterland children, particularly those with disabilities' (Fraser, 2014, p.51). With a lack of accessible schooling for many deaf people throughout the country, they cannot access employment through standard routes where qualifications are required. In fact, many disabled people cannot afford transport to meetings, and with 'low government income assistance rates and the exclusion of most disabled people from employment – only 22% of disabled people are employed' (Chouinard 2015, p.7). This is indicative of the scale of the barriers facing deaf people trying to find employment. Additionally, in Guyana, poverty amongst disabled people is a real issue, with Chouinard (2015) pointing out in one study of '69 interviewees for whom incomes are known, all but two were struggling to survive on less than one US dollar per day (or $200 Guyanese dollars)' (p.5), so the creation of deaf-run businesses offered the study participants an important avenue to income creation. Creating jobs through vocational training programmes and self-start business projects on a small scale can offer alternatives for Deaf and disabled populations. In terms of power transfer, if the business were successful, it could have a positive impact on the employment chances of other deaf people in the area in Guyana.

A project that encouraged deaf youth to set up their own snackette was important in awareness raising, 'demonstrat[ing] to the Deaf – and the wider community – the Deaf can be self-employed' and 'run a business', which was particularly 'important in Guyana where Deaf of all ages continue to be marginalised in all aspects of public life' (R3). Project 3 had a specific focus on encouraging deaf people to embrace self-employment through setting up their own business in Guyana. The project lead commented that 'to find employment as a deaf person is very hard in Guyana' … the 'vision of self-employment will be an eye-opener for the deaf community' (P3).

The respondent believed raising awareness amongst the deaf community altered public perceptions of the capabilities of deaf people at the community level, which was important. Project 3 reversed the capabilities from those handed down to passive recipients of their employers to the deaf individuals themselves, who became active agents who were encouraged to create their own businesses and income streams. This is discussed further in the conclusion as one example of good practice (**Section 7.1.4**). The

project had a tangible impact on changing deaf access to employment on a practical level on the ground. The success of a deaf-led business challenged attitudes of mainstream societies towards deaf people, rejecting the notion of them being deficient in skills and knowledge. Finally, it was suggested that the snackette business could 'raise expectations to what deaf youth can achieve even in the absence of an enabling wider community' (R3), thus positively affecting participants' individual capabilities through increased confidence (psychological) and access to employment (both resources and human) in the event that the businesses continued long term. In terms of agency and enhancing deaf participants' quality of life, it was suggested that it was transformative because a 'business run by Deaf will be a first for Guyana' (R3).

The academic-led Letras Libras project in Brazil had a significant focus on deaf education (R13). By basing the entire set-up in sign language, with requirements in the sign languages, post-degree employability was enhanced for deaf participants. The respondent stated, 'all students got positions after they graduated' and were 'hired to work as teachers of sign language at universities all over the country' (R13). The process of being employed as teachers of sign language in paid employment was significant, as it allowed deaf participants to access individual capabilities, such as gaining income and social status.

Project 15 aimed to train deaf adults as knowledge bearers of early-childhood deafness in Uganda, Rwanda and Zambia. In these contexts, where deaf staff were trained as 'community facilitators,' being employed in these roles was empowering. The project lead argued that the project gave deaf adults 'didactic skills as trainers' and a qualification in a 'CPD-certified course' (R15). The project lead believed opportunities to network with NGOs involved in the area could 'provide opportunities for future professional training by the deaf' and 'create income for the deaf' (R15). There are similarities here from the earlier section, where the training of deaf adults allowed them access to new knowledge, but it also afforded the potential to access paid employment in the future with NGOs working in early-years intervention, thus allowing the realisation of other individual capabilities in resources.

4.6. Addressing marginalisation of individuals and communities

In Global South project sites, the marginalisation of deaf communities due to factors such as geographical isolation or linguistic deprivation was evident. Additional

forms of marginalisation deaf people commonly encounter in developing contexts can include exclusion from being represented in the media (Stadler, 2006, Zdrodowska, 2016), exclusion from participation in civic and political processes (Valentine & Skelton, 2003a, 2007b) and more covert forms of discrimination, stigmas and cultural prejudices that exist against disability, deafness and sign languages (Jones, 2002). There was no mention of representation in the media, as many of the projects were working on what were perceived to be more immediate and pressing concerns, often determined by external funders or charitable bodies rather than local deaf people themselves. The budgetary decisions taken by development organisations represent another axis of exclusion, as local deaf project participants, who are often poor and have linguistic deprivation, have less of the requisite capabilities to drive the direction and goals of development projects. However, examples of exclusion from civic participation and forms of discrimination against sign languages and deaf communities were referred to in the questionnaires, which indicates the extent of multiple forms of marginalisation; representation through the media can go some way to addressing such biases against deaf communities.

In many of these projects, the project provided an institutional setting that facilitated access to a range of individual capabilities related to a) status in the community as a deaf individual and opportunities available for deaf people in majority settings; b) opportunities to learn sign language; c) access to new knowledge, training and deaf peers.

In the five projects in this section, all individual capabilities and most collective capabilities are discussed in some shape or form. For the capability of access to a sign language, limiting conversion factors included being dispersed in a rural area (environmental conversion factor), a lack of access to deaf peers from whom to learn (social conversion factor) and, in some contexts, a lack of campaigns or official legal recognition of sign languages (social conversion factor). In the latter case, where there is no deaf organisation or association putting sustained pressure at the macro level on national governments or municipal councils, there is little impetus for long-term change. Other capabilities discussed in the following sections are access to education and access to community participation and belonging.

The section first examines cultural marginalisation in Projects 3 (Guyana), 6 (Vietnam) and 8 (Malawi) (**Section 4.4.1**). Subsequently, linguistic deprivation in Projects 6 (Vietnam) and 7 (Nicaragua) are discussed (**Section 4.4.2**). Finally,

geographic isolation as a form of marginalisation is explored across Projects 7 (Nicaragua), 8 (Malawi) and 17 (Vanuatu) (**Section 4.4.3**). In many of these contexts the 'absence of an enabling wider community' (R3) means exclusion is still the norm for deaf persons and for the representation of sign languages. Other comments, such as project work sending a 'strong message to the hearing community deaf can achieve'(R8), highlights how deaf people have typically been excluded from access to training courses, vocational qualifications and educational attainment on a par with peers in educational systems of most countries.

4.6.1. Marginalisation: Cultural prejudice and societal stigma

Cultural stigma is defined as 'elements of labelling, stereotyping, separation, status loss and discrimination occur together in a power situation' (Link & Phelan, 2001, p.177). Marginalisation of deaf individuals and communities on cultural terms is best understood as closely paralleling the broader aims of disability movements, which seek 'protection from discrimination, access to rights and grounds for the redistribution of resources' (Grue, 2016, p.957), along with indigenous movements (Murphy, 2014). Although stigmatizing practices concerning disability hold analogies with the social justice movements of other minority groups, such as by ethnic minorities or LGBTQ people for social justice, there are still some notable differences.

Notably, disabled individuals with sensory differences are often characterized as having 'invisible' disabilities, which highlights how stigmatizing cultural practices against deaf individuals and communities are more likely to cohere through linguistic and cultural axes. It appears deaf individuals occupy an ambiguous border between identity as linguistic minorities and an institutional legal framework that provides support for disabled groups, as discussed in Chapter One. Many identify Deaf Gain as a route to overcome cultural stigma. The implications of these for understanding cultural stigma means identifying practices of 'embodiment, history, identity and resistance in the construction and contestation of stigmatizing practices of all kinds' (Howarth, 2006, p.444). As a consequence of the axes of marginalisation being 'relatively stable patterns in of advantage and disadvantage in the distribution of resources, attitudes and actions that form the context for actions' (Larkins, 2019, p.416), the decision was made to structure the diagrams in this section from the starting point of three different conversion factors that recurred throughout many development organisations.

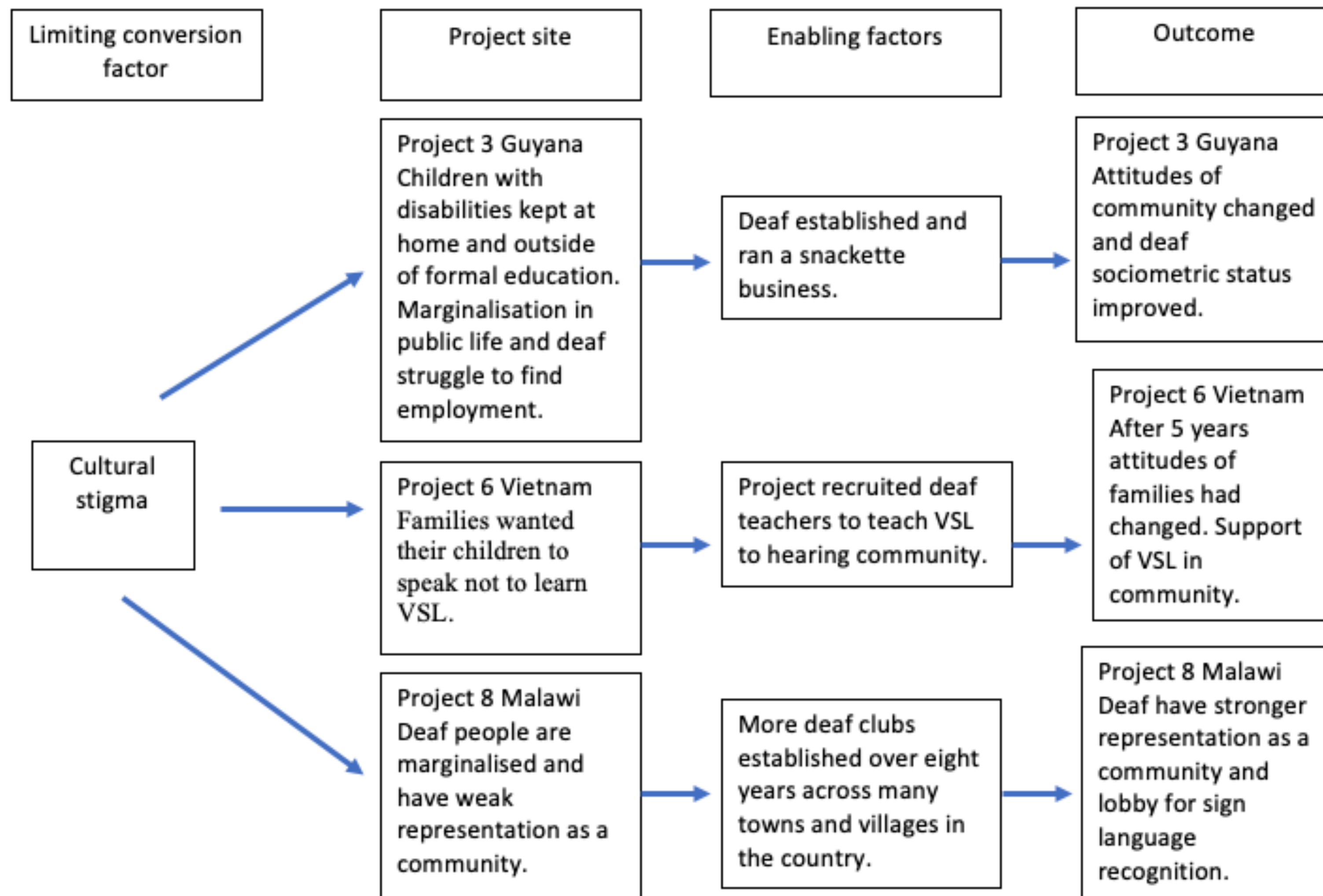

Figure 4.10 Marginalisation as a conversion factor: cultural stigma

Marginalisation in the form of cultural stigma particularly affected the Guyana Deaf population, as the majority of children with disabilities are still kept at home. In Guyanese society there is a 'general belief … children with disabilities are unable to cope with academic work. Social factors such as stigma and discrimination contribute to children with disabilities remaining at home' (Fraser, 2014, p.51). These negative attitudes towards the capabilities of deaf individuals often create exclusive tendencies amongst surrounding hearing societies from the outset.

The Guyana Deaf Mission is one of the few organisations with expertise in providing 'religious instruction in sign language to members of the deaf community and sign language training for hearing persons' (Chouinard, 2015, p.6). Interestingly, the capital city has 92% of the school places for special needs education, yet only 28% of the country's disabled population reside there (Fraser, 2014). One respondent from Project 3 in Guyana discussed high levels of prejudice against Deaf people, where 'deaf continue to be marginalised in all aspects of public life', suggesting that deaf people in Guyana experience social stigma, and experiences of exclusion among deaf individuals runs deeper than linguistic and educational inequalities, through to community participation and cultural prejudices. One study in Guyana noted that 'from a survey of 1485 disabled persons, 44% had experienced negative attitudes and treatment: 49% staring, 60% name-calling, 17% resentment from others and 13% socio-spatial exclusion' (National Commission on Disability, 2006, pp.59–60).

Respondents made reference to cultural prejudices against sign languages, as highlighted in Project 6 in Vietnam, where some families initially did not want their children to learn VSL and preferred their children to speak. One statement highlighted such attitudes as 'many in the family were reluctant and expressed a desire for their children to speak and not sign', which hinted at the social and cultural stigmas attached to sign language in Vietnam at the start of the project in 2011. However, by 2016 these attitudes had changed, and families actively supported their deaf children to learn the national sign language. Higher levels of recognition of the struggles faced by the Vietnamese Deaf community amongst hearing communities and the usefulness of natural sign languages facilitated the weakening of conversion factors, such as cultural and social stigmas. The weakening of these, in turn, encouraged deaf individuals to access their rights of access to language under the CRPD.

Another respondent stated, 'Malawi society has been sensitised and informed extensively about deaf people the challenges they are facing' (R8), as the requirement

for awareness-raising and sensitivity training both imply significant levels of cultural prejudices regarding the needs of deaf and disabled persons. Where cultural marginalisation exists, surrounding phonological societies often make little allowance for disability in learning processes, with the consequence that deaf individuals' capabilities in achieving qualifications or improving their written literacy skills might be more difficult to realise (Goodley, 2011). Similar observations were made by the FAD when commenting on behalf of Malawian Deaf people in Project 8, where many continue to be 'marginalised and have weak representation as a community' (P8). As a direct result of these attitudes, many deaf individuals are unable to access appropriate education, access employment, literacies or even access language.

4.6.2. Marginalisation: Linguistic deprivation

Linguistic deprivation was one of the principal forms of exclusion for deaf individuals and communities and is examined specifically in Projects 7 and 6. Although linguistic deprivation has been discussed more extensively in Chapter One, it is important to reiterate that in Global South contexts, many deaf people themselves do not recognise the need for sign languages and underestimate their own capabilities as a consequence of this.

In Project 7, an organisation taught sign language to deaf individuals dispersed throughout rural Nicaragua. Many had limited abilities in Spanish and no knowledge of Nicaraguan Sign Language (ISN), so their capabilities to use their voice to effectively campaign for change were limited. The project 'aimed to teach basic sign language to deaf individuals and their families in two rural areas of Nicaragua' (R7); the geographical isolation encountered by many deaf participants contrasted sharply with the contexts of other projects. The project took place in the villages of Nicaragua, where 'there were no signing Deaf communities or special education opportunities. Most of the families who participated had never met a signing deaf person' and 'there were no existing deaf communities in the areas where we offered the Rural Sign Language classes' (R7).

Although staff did make significant efforts to build a co-working process between the deaf and hearing communities, there were still some challenges, as local deaf people, given that they were based in rural areas, were working from a lower knowledge base due to years of severe linguistic deprivation with no access to sign

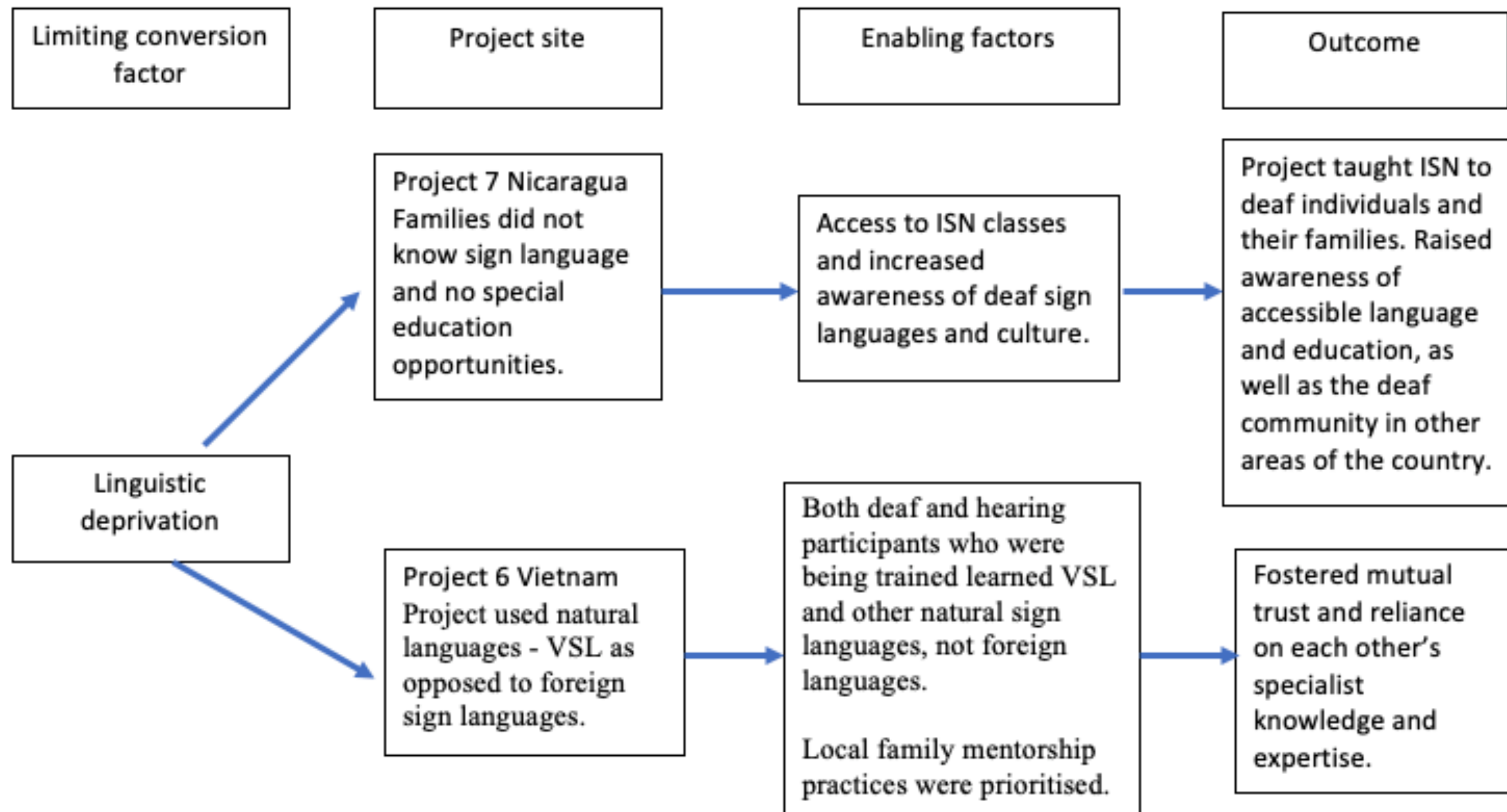

Figure 4.11 Marginalisation as a conversion factor: linguistic deprivation

languages and limited spoken language access. One Deaf individual was a board member of the NGO and advised on the project's co-working processes, demonstrated leadership and organisational knowledge and achieved individual capabilities in speaking out at the micro level for deaf people in their area (voice). In contrast, many of the participants were less able to achieve their capabilities in terms of project leadership, project organisation or driving campaigns for deaf education or sign language awareness.

Equally, in Project 6 (Vietnam), many participants had grown up with hearing families and appeared to have limited knowledge of signed languages due to marginalisation. However, the project used natural languages, VSL as opposed to foreign sign languages. This ensured 'deaf and hearing trainees socialized themselves to Vietnamese signed languages and family mentorship practices and families interacted using only natural signed and spoken Vietnamese languages', which, in turn, 'reinforced mutual trust and reliance on each other's specialized areas of knowledge and expertise' (R6). The introduction of sign languages enhanced project participants' access to their individual social capabilities, as they were enabled to communicate in an accessible medium, and their local language was elevated in status within the community. The use of natural signed languages had a positive impact on participants' opportunities to enhance their self-confidence, increase self-determination and raise their perceptions of their abilities, thus impacting individual psychological capacities.

In the case of deaf signers and organisations working within deaf development, providing access to language is one of the most significant ways to begin addressing the marginalisation of this group and giving individuals the tools to mitigate poverty or other limitations on their daily freedoms. As a consequence, developing organisational capacity must address creating or strengthening organisations to provide access to signed languages for individuals and communities. Subsequent to this, capacity building must include the strengthening or reforming of organisations that provide access to employment, training in new skills, knowledge of deaf rights and peer-to-peer teaching, amongst other skills.

4.6.3. Marginalisation: geographic isolation

Similar forms of marginalisation linked to geographic isolation as a result of low levels of accessible education and linguistic deprivation were present in Project 17 on the Pacific island of Vanuatu. The island of Efate hosts the main city of Port Vila, but

much of the population is scattered across the republic's various islands, many of which are not linked by public transport systems. In addition, the total population is around 292,680, and the majority of people live in rural areas. Studies have demonstrated that disabled children in the Pacific region face substantial disadvantages (OHCHR, 2012, Spratt, 2013). In Vanuatu, 'children with disabilities are significantly less likely to attend school than their non-disabled peers … among 10 to 19-year olds, the gap in primary school attainment is more than 53 percentage points. Among adults, differences in educational attainment based on disability status are less pronounced, likely because a majority become disabled when they are passed the school age' (VSNO, 2015, pp.32-33).

In these contexts, the project lead commented 'the majority of deaf people in Vanuatu did not have access to language, education, work or almost any other opportunities' (R17). The respondent remarked that when deaf people went to school in mainstream settings, 'they were either just bums on seats or they were asked to leave the school within a few weeks, if not days' and 'deaf people were not meeting to develop language' (P17). This highlights the intersections of linguistic deprivation with geographical isolation, as well as the lack of accessible schooling, all of which contributed to poor access to multiliteracies at a basic level and to subsequent educational outcomes.

In other cases, for instance in Malawi, the deaf community was initially scattered and low in number. The project aimed to enhance deaf community development in Malawi. The lead commented that 'especially in developing countries, deaf people are marginalised and have weak representation as a community in order to have means to influence on duty bearers (the state)' (R8). Deaf project participants struggled to have an influence in terms of civic, regional and national political participation. R8 stated, 'as an individual it's practically impossible for them [Deaf Malawians] to claim for their rights. The first and major challenge is how to build a strong and representative body with real organisational sustainability, [which] dedicates itself in hard, long term and target oriented advocacy work to change the society and ensure equal opportunities for each individual' (R8). R8 pointed to the importance of collective assets including representation, voice and organisation (Samman & Santos, 2009) for propelling 'the grassroots work of MANAD' and for allowing a 'participatory base of MANAD' to be established (R8). In Malawi, participants were able to pursue their goals more effectively as a group actor and to expand their collective capabilities if

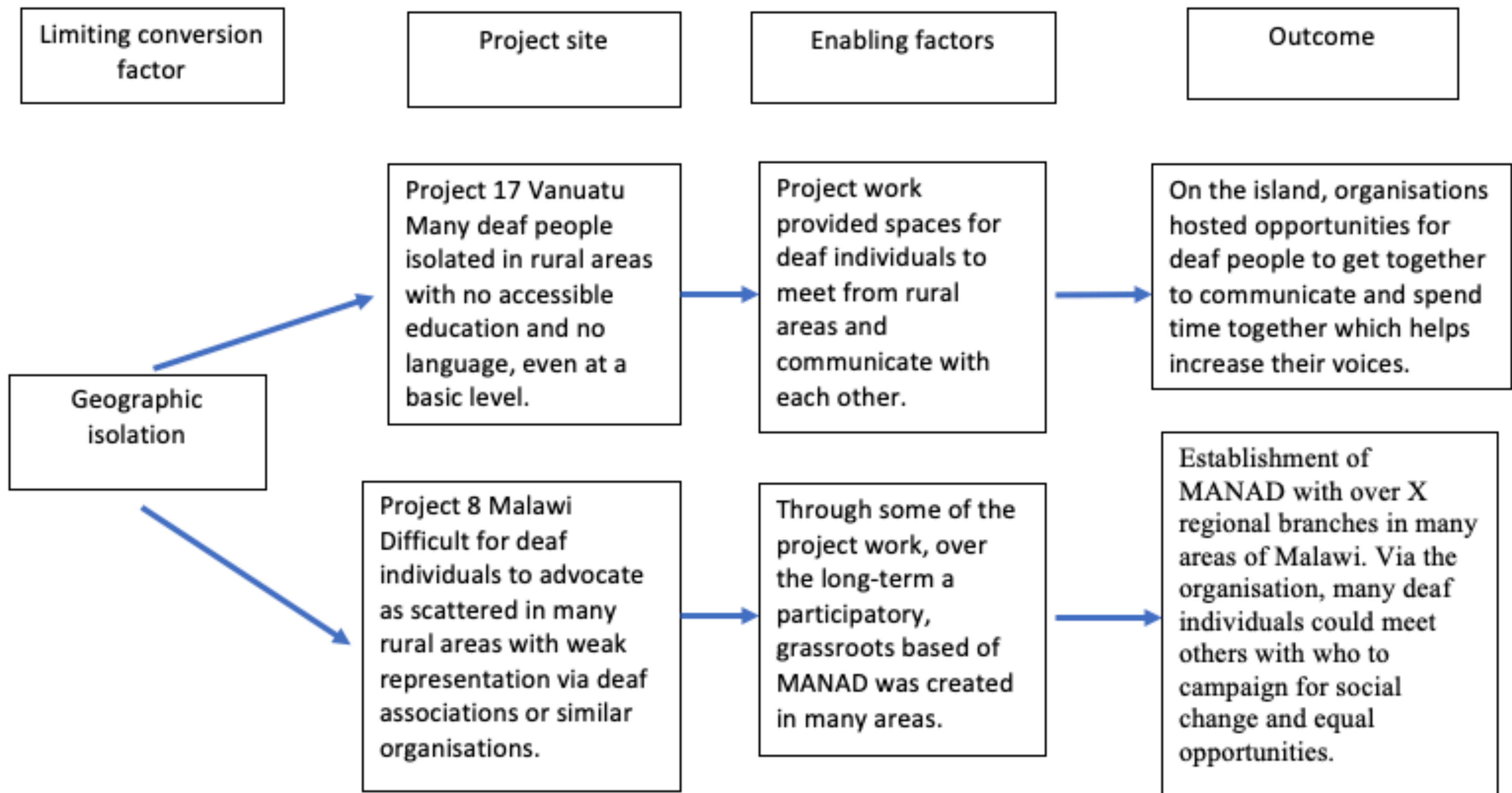

Figure 4.12 Marginalisation as a conversion factor: geographic isolation

they could gather in local Deaf associations. Achieving collective capabilities allows many deaf people in Malawi to substantially improve their everyday freedoms and life quality.

By addressing marginalisation, capacity-building projects are effectively widening the structural spaces in which deaf individuals can pursue valued goals (agency). It is evident that by facilitating social contexts in which deaf project participants can gather, whether 'to develop language' skills (P6, P7, P17) or to gather as a community, despite geographic isolation, (P7, P8, P17), or to work collectively and promote signed languages in spite of cultural stigma or societal prejudices (P3, P6, P8), the projects enhanced access to individual capabilities. Participants achieved functioning in terms of human (access to basic literacy and education and, subsequently, access to health), social (social belonging, development of deaf identity) and psychological (improved self-esteem and self-confidence) individual capabilities.

Through acquiring sign language and literacy skills, the opportunity structures of surrounding societies available to deaf participants were considerably enhanced. The limiting conversion factors for participants' individual capabilities included access to other deaf signers, geographic isolation, cultural stigma and lack of awareness amongst family members. Capabilities and conversion factors exist in ongoing processes of interdependence, where addressing one key issue can positively or negatively impact on a range of other capabilities that an individual has.

All capacity-building projects discussed facilitating the gathering of deaf individuals into collective groups, with strategies such as access to social capital and assisting individuals with the processes of forming collectives and group units in order to advocate for just transformations. Access to language learning and the reduction of prejudice were important for addressing marginalisation. These enhanced collective capabilities, including organisation – peoples' ability to recognise, organise and campaign for positive changes at a community level; representation – in this case, at the local level, peoples' ability to represent themselves, their family or organisation and their communities in everyday contexts; and, most obviously, voice – peoples' ability to communicate problems they are facing, to communicate in everyday contexts and to speak for themselves (and their families and communities).

4.7. Collective capabilities realisation

Alongside tracking these individual capabilities, project leads discussed the impact of collective capability realisation on participants. In the following examples, there is some level of interdependence between capabilities expansion at the individual and at the collective level. Individual capabilities and community capabilities have a range of differing affordances and potentials. There are limitations to the Capabilities Approach as it often fails to capture interactive relations between individual capabilities and social structures (Ibrahim, 2006). Ibrahim (2006) points out that social structures have an instrumental and intrinsic importance for individual participants to realise their capabilities, collective freedoms and collective agency, which can contribute to the capability functioning of an individual and vice versa. Similarly, collective action, institutions and social capital have a role to play in perpetuating the achievement of new sets of collective capabilities. One perspective suggests that community capabilities realisation, for instance, in organisation and representation, could then filter down to individuals and foster positive psychological or social capability realisation. In contrast, another perspective implies that enhancing individual capabilities, for instance, building up material assets or human capabilities, particularly access to land to grow food in rural areas or access to training or education, leads to capabilities expansion at the collective level too. This is because individual leaders then assist in creating more opportunities amongst their deaf communities by creating job opportunities for the deaf on farmed land or sharing their knowledge of a particular skill, such as running a business or providing assistance in accessing an educational qualification.

The achievement of collective capabilities in order to achieve goals that are valued by and benefit the collective group are evident in studies of indigenous people's movements for ecological justice (Scholesberg & Carruthers, 2010) and in the implementation of ICT technologies in a mountain region of Nepal, where mechanisms, including the use of social capital, led to successful collective action (Thapa et al., 2012). In the case of deaf individuals, in Project 3 (Guyana), individuals were able to achieve cooperation in order to run a successful business selling snacks, which benefitted all of them by providing employment and income, while in 16 (Timor-Leste), deaf individuals coordinated to act as a unit in order to campaign for pro-sign language policies and legislation. Evidence that this has been effective is the recent decision of the Timor-Leste government to implement the

learning of the local Tetum Sign Language in schools on the island. In turn, for Projects 6 (Vietnam), 12 (Uganda) and 13 (Brazil), it can be seen that participants coordinated their efforts to build social capital at local and national levels in all three contexts through the creation of local branches of deaf associations and clubs at the village and municipal level, while also organising campaigns to promote sign language recognition at the national level, all actions that benefitted participants as a collective group. Across these five organisations, it is evident that in addition to individual capability bundles, participants are working as a group to achieve superfluous collective capability bundles.

4.8. North-South and in-country collaborations

Within the international development field, in spite of recent efforts in development circles to utilise participatory approaches, issues such as 'gender-blindness, depoliticization of the development agenda, replication of ritualistic planning, and reproduction of unequal North-South relations' (Angeles & Gurstien, 2000, p.448) are common. In relation to health research in lower-middle-income countries, Atkins et al., (2016) propose that biases affect the ability of and opportunities for southern individuals to produce research that influences policy at the national and global level because of 'poor research production (in terms of both quantity and quality) and a critical lack of support for research development activities (including infrastructure and incentives), poor preparation of manuscripts, poor access to scientific journals, poor participation in publication related decision-making processes, and a bias of journals against LMIC authors' (p.2). These examples are indicative of the power imbalances affecting able-bodied, hearing participants from the Global South in transnational projects.

For deaf participants from the current study, many similar issues were present. Of the 18 projects surveyed, 16 were carried out by Global North organisations working with deaf populations in the Global South, with three notable exceptions: Project 4 in Mexico had a deaf Mexican lead; for Project 9 in China, the lead was a deaf Chinese academic with access to UK funding; and for Project 13 in Brazil, the lead was a Brazilian academic (hearing), as detailed in Figure 4.13 below. Political and environmental complexities varied from country to country, and the respondents' statements demonstrated project aims that envisaged long-term community engagement, with the anticipation that the effects would ripple outwards.

These trends are partially the result of funding constraints, as more funding tends to be available in the Global North, as well as the history of N–S intervention and the hearing–Deaf development direction, which can reduce the opportunities in Global South sites to carry out such projects or bypass local people's initiatives and impetus to conduct such work.

Figures 4.14 and 4.15 detail individual and collective feedback loops, which have been described as positive or negative, and aims to show the relationship between structure and agency as a 'never-ending story' with cycles of 'structure-interaction-structural elaboration' (Archer, 1995, pp.78–79). Such feedback cycles have been characterised as either virtuous cycles 'where a person, by being active – perhaps together with others in a similar situation – over time achieves more desirable functionings through subsequent cycles of change' or as vicious cycles that 'reproduce disadvantage' (Hvinden & Halvorsen, 2018, p.866). However, as there is no time dimension in these questionnaires, it was not possible to track these in practice, just to use diagrams as a supplementary tool to show such potential.

Collaborative research between the North and the South was evident across the span of development projects, with respondents stating they were keen to engage local deaf stakeholders. North–South partnerships have the potential to have a pivotal and wide-reaching impact on a range of deaf communities and organisations in the country beyond the key institutions involved in the North–South partnership. Development organisations sometimes require the expertise of local stakeholders and citizens to carry out their projects to maximum effect. On occasion, the projects of North–South NGOs encounter condemnation that includes the rejection of project findings and recommendations based on criticisms, for example, that the ideas have been produced by expatriates or by overly radical/partisan/unrepresentative NGOs (Connell, 2014, Galvan, 2014). However, development work conducted with deaf communities can often have a positive impact, regardless of the development direction. Unequal power differentials are often present when development is conducted by wealthier organisations in the Global North with organisations based in the South.

It must be noted that a majority of project leads working in Global North organisations claimed that the Global South organisations were involved as equal and full participants in development processes. The respondents for Projects 1 (Zambia), 11(Vietnam), 12 (Uganda), 14 (Tanzania and Uganda), 15 (Zambia,

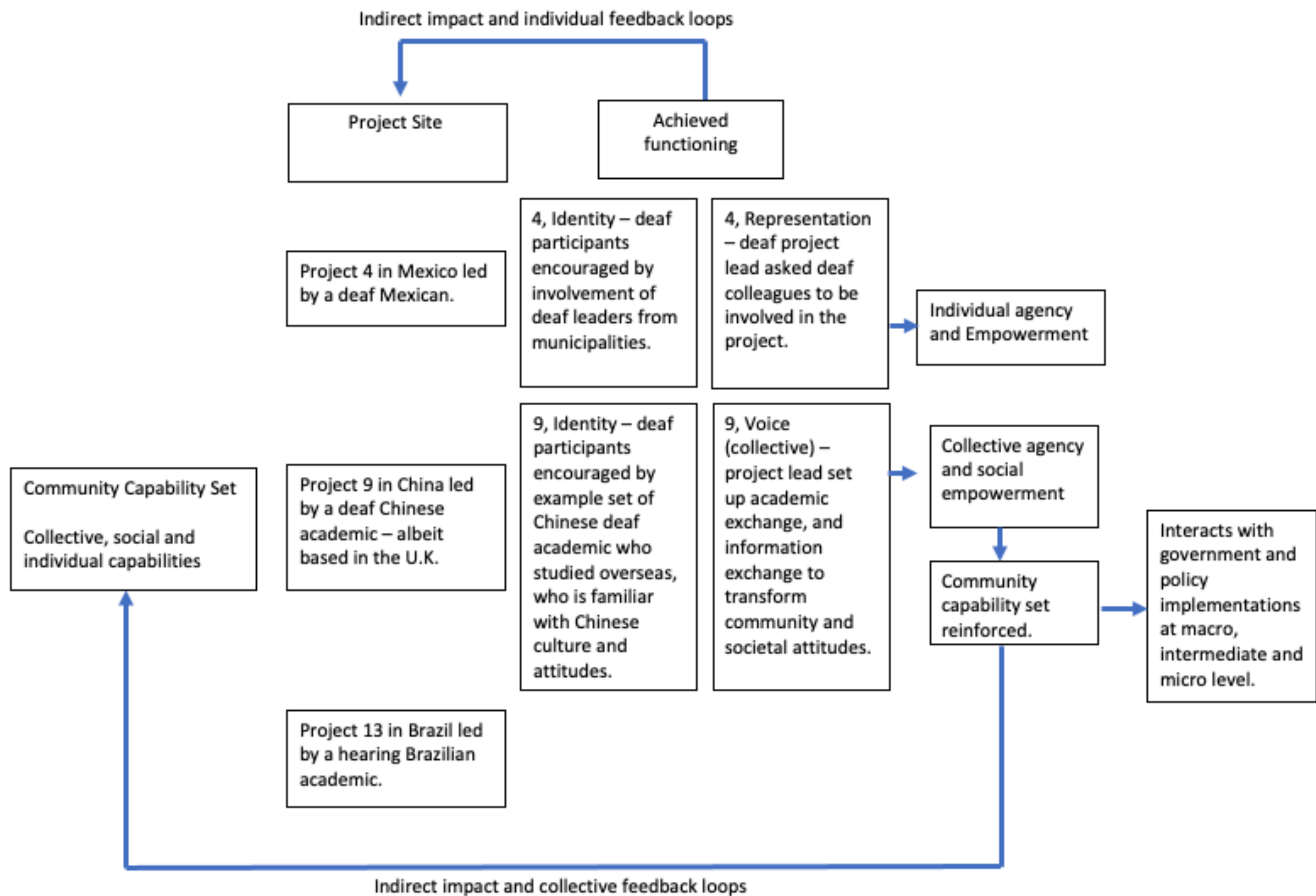

Figure 4.13 Development direction, organisational capacity and capabilities

Uganda and Rwanda), and 16 (Timor-Leste) were all representatives of Global North development organisations and all made statements to the effect that they aimed to work as equal partners with their Global South co-partner. For example, statements made included, 'ZNAD project team (mostly Deaf) is considered a full project partner' (R1); we 'want to put young people in the lead in the project' (R12); 'a deaf linguist from Uganda is one of the key team leaders for method development and research' (R14); 'based on their recommendations we designed the project proposals together (Dutch and Ugandan and Zambian deaf)' (R15); 'I fly in/out twice yearly to run training … deaf people take on board the training and then are able to independently do these things on their own – i.e. we lose our jobs because we are no longer needed' (R16). The statements emphasise that individual project leads do recognise the importance of local ownership of development processes for creating meaningful sustainable development.

A small number of projects within the sample of development organisations include elements that can best be described as being led by in-country deaf experts. For example, after deaf participants were involved in a sign language linguistics project in Iran, participants later 'studied for BA, MA' degrees or were encouraged to move from Global South countries, such as Iran, to study advanced degrees in other countries, in this case the United States (R10). Emigration of deaf people abroad is another risk factor in terms of a drain of deaf talent from Global South contexts to well-paid jobs elsewhere.

Shortages of local ownership of projects amongst Global South Deaf individuals means that, in the future, local people will still lack the ability to drive the project and have less opportunity to contribute elements to projects built on community feedback and insight. In combination with project sustainability, project ownership and the development direction (N–S, S–S) are critical factors for the realisation of participants' core capabilities and their ability to act independently to pursue their goals. Within development projects, core facets of individuals being able to realise their social capabilities, such as 'participation in the community and attaining the social bases of self-respect' are undoubtedly enhanced if other members of a community are invested and involved in the project direction and have some input into the conduct of the development work (Sen, 2001, p.75). Additionally, if participants from within the community are leading on projects and providing economic support, 'poor communities' are 'allowed … to create and seize new opportunities and to collectively

invest in their financial, human and social capital' (Ibrahim, 2006, p.399). Much as with the poor, the deaf are another marginalised group and suffer from unequal power relations within society, yet the ways in which organisations opt to conduct their work with reference to capabilities and agency can have a pivotal impact on participants' wellbeing and freedom to achieve valued beings and doings. By ensuring local participants are learning aspects of leadership roles within development interventions, people in the local community have further opportunities to realise social and human capabilities, as people they know well are more likely to share skills with an in-group, similar to social capital.

In some contexts, project ownership and the development direction can act as conversion factors, which allow individuals to realise capabilities, such as development project management, budgeting, people management, communication with municipal and government officials and how to attend and run meetings. In turn, these conversion factors can enable or prevent participants from realising capability inputs and achieving functioning. Due to language factors, where sign language use and a shared culture can smooth out the transmission of new skills and knowledge amongst peer groups, for deaf communities the local ownership of projects is an additional layer that reduces marginalisation and greatly enhances deaf participants' opportunities to realise both individual and collective capabilities. In terms of development direction and project sustainability, similar arguments can be made regarding the opportunities of community-driven development over the long term versus Global North, project development that provides for local individuals in terms of structural opportunities for self-determination, acting with agency and the expansion of capabilities.

4.9. Promoting project sustainability

Several scholars in the literature suggest that community-driven development 'can make services responsive to demand expressed by poor men and women and as a result can enhance sustainability' because 'community members are the most legitimate, informed, and reliable source of information about their own priorities' (Alkire et al., 2001, p.305). Views on the effectiveness of community-driven development are supported by the Voices of the Poor study, where although development organisations are often greatly appreciated as one of the few organisations working on behalf of poor communities, the role of community-based organisations that 'provide services in the local community' can 'build social cohesion' (Narayan et al., 2000, pp.271–272). In

terms of the Capabilities Approach, it must be highlighted that the nature of project ownership, as discussed in Section 4.8, affects capability inputs (including commodities and resources in a broad sense) that are potentially available to project participants. Local ownership of capacity-building work can contribute to enhanced access to social capital, as well as new knowledge that is important for development organisations, such as contacts with officials in municipal authorities and governments, knowledge of budgeting and other skills (Hvinden & Halvorsen, 2018, **Section 2.4.5**).

In Project 6 in Vietnam and Project 4 in Mexico, respondents noted that community-driven development, carried out in the longer term, increased the likelihood of project sustainability. For others, including Project 7, sharing sign language in Nicaragua, or Project 10 in Iran, the shortness of the intervention meant it was less effective in terms of impact on participants' capabilities in multiliteracies or language acquisition, which can be greatly enhanced with the increased occurrence of positive feedback loops, known as virtuous cycles or vicious cycles, over time.

For instance, in Project 7, although deaf beneficiaries did not lead the project, the project was able to benefit from deaf input by recruiting deaf people for the board from the same country. In Project 8, it was acknowledged that 'all efforts in the field have failed due to the fact the ownership of the process hasn't been community-based' and 'neither the approach hasn't been deaf-led', both of which the respondent argues are 'a fundamental pre-requisite for success and sustainability of the work' (R8). The contribution of these projects to good practice working with deaf communities within international development are discussed in-depth at the end of the thesis (**Section 7.1.4**). The dynamic model with representations of capabilities expansion or reduction is shown in Figure 4.15. In light of the impact of dynamic feedback loops, the figure highlights differences between three of the long-term initiatives in Projects 2, 4 and 6, with shorter-term interventions such as in Projects 7 and 10 not allowing these feedback loops to occur over time.

In the Vietnam project, a distributed community involvement was fostered as the intervention focused on multiple levels of local villages in two provinces, as well as in two cities, and took place over a number of years, though whether the efforts landed on the ground and have lasted in an ongoing way were not examined within the study. Another important point about the impact of projects that have greater longevity was highlighted by R6's statement about the attitude of parents of deaf participants in Vietnam. R6 stated that families were initially reluctant to participate in the mentorship

sessions and ‘expressed the desire for their children to speak not sign’ (R6). However, these attitudes towards sign language changed, as, after participating in sessions across a 1.5-year time frame, ‘parents showed appreciation for all the ways they interact and

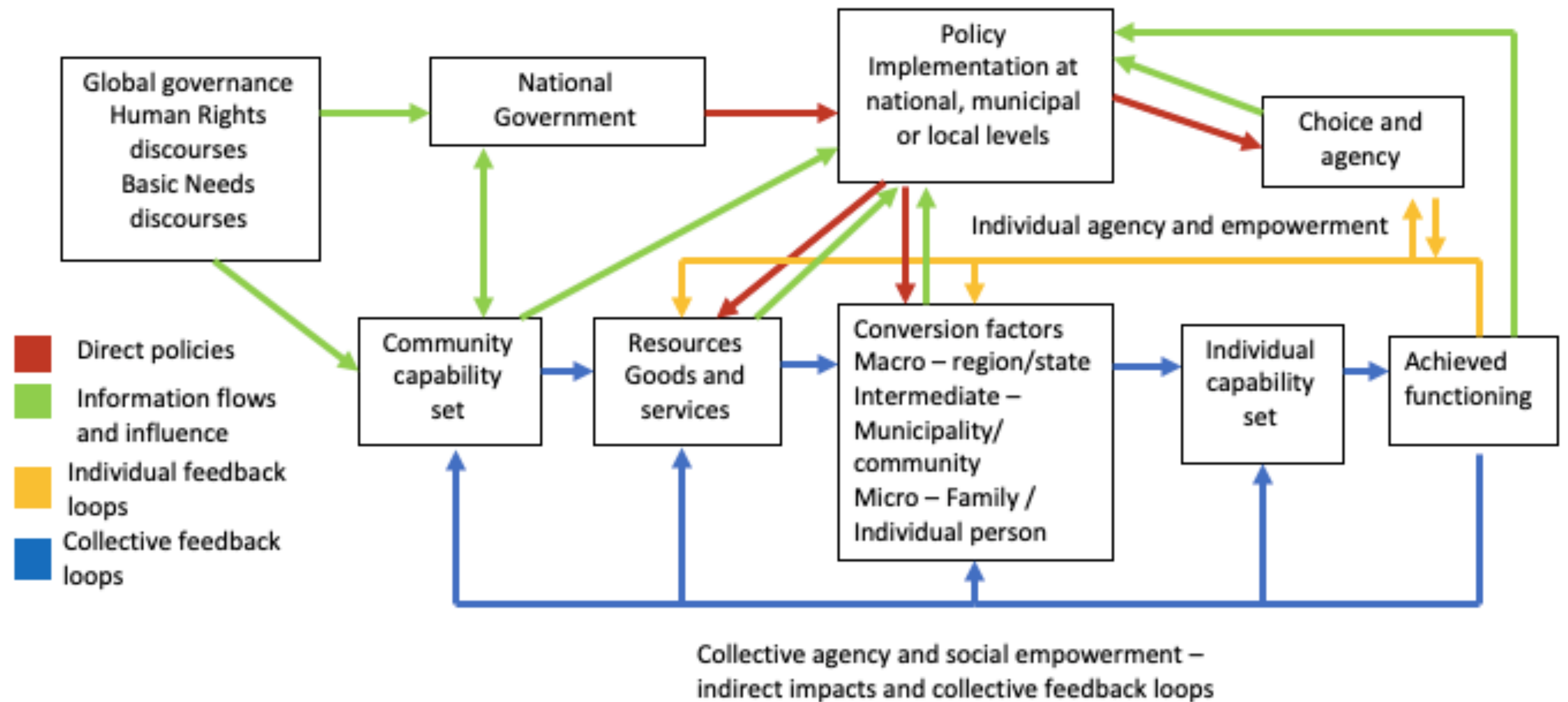

Figure 4.14 The Capabilities Approach: dynamic model with feedback loops (Biggeri & Ferrannini 2014, p. 62).

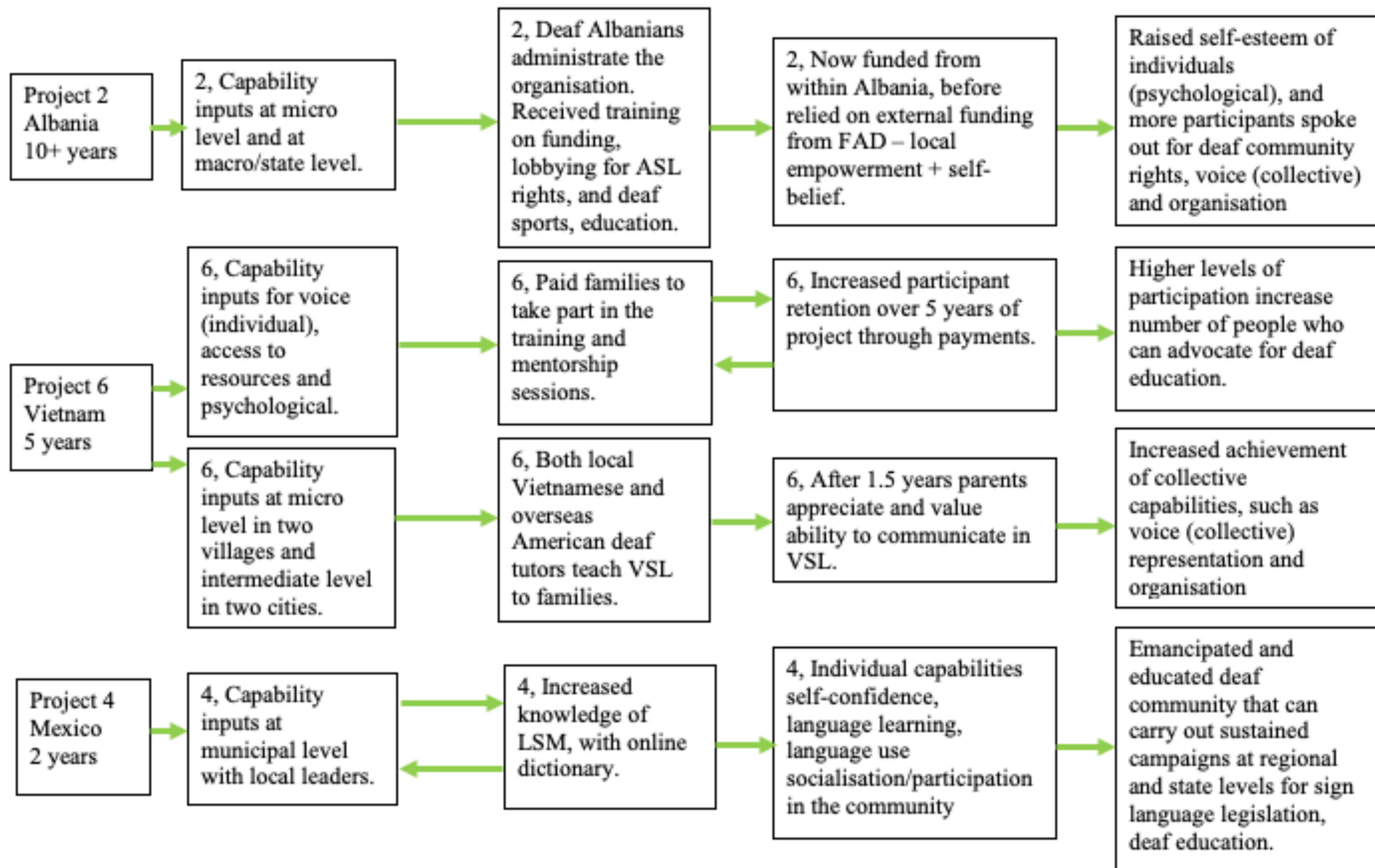

Figure 4.15 A comparison of long-term and short-term development initiatives and dynamic feedback loops

communicate' (R6). These comments highlight the impact long-term interventions can have in transforming attitudes towards deaf sign languages and cultures in a variety of regions. Greater community buy-in in the context of the deaf community affords project leaders more time to educate people about deafness, which is often greatly misunderstood. On a practical level, R6 noted that participants were encouraged to continue participating in sessions by being paid to take part in the training and mentorship sessions, which was an additional strategy to retain participants in the sign language classes over time (R6).

Similar impacts for project sustainability can be observed across other projects. If ownership is local, there is greater availability of opportunity for project participants to express agency. The importance of community involvement in the Mexican Sign Language Dictionary project was emphasised by the respondent in Project 4 (R4). The investment of local deaf leaders from a range of municipalities and the expansion of sign language formed interdepending synergies, whereby local leadership and increased linguistic status and appreciation of the sign language had positive impacts on a range of individual capabilities in self-confidence, language learning, language use and socialisation/participation in the community. The final chapter discusses how these findings could contribute to future good practice amongst development organisations working with deaf people (**Section 7.4.1**). Mention of the effectiveness of community-driven development is often side-lined in favour of development organisation interventions in the literature, yet it has been highly effective (Dongier et al., 2003, Narayan et al., 2000, Platteau & Gaspart, 2003). For instance, in Ecuador, over a period of 20 years, federations of indigenous organisations have built their power and now campaign effectively at regional and national levels on various policy issues, including land reform (Narayan et al., 2000). In turn, although the project in Mexico was government run, the community-driven aspects of the project, in which deaf leaders were involved and shaped the project direction, had important implications for the agency of deaf participants. R4 suggests the project gave participants the 'chance to empower themselves in order to have a voice, and then make an impact every day for their families and community.' This suggests community-driven development is so effective because it was the people directly impacted by the increased awareness of Mexican Sign Language, and the persons best placed to suggest where improvements might be needed or who highlighted project benefits, that were influencing its direction.

The respondent suggested that Mexican participants in Project 4 viewed ‘the Dictionary as a tool … intangible material which encourages deaf people to develop themselves in skills and knowledge’, and this too had important implications for deaf agency over the longer term, as longer, more sustainable projects equip participants with more time to learn new skills, acquire new internal dialogues and develop resources. Most importantly, the Mexican Deaf community was enabled to access its collective capabilities of organisation, as local associations from various regions of Mexico City were encouraged to collaborate on the project and campaign for greater sign language recognition. Furthermore, participants could attain capabilities of representation. Participants advocated and spoke on behalf of their communities and minority language at various levels of society and by raising awareness of regional signs to be incorporated in the Dictionary. Project work facilitated participants’ recognition of their collective capabilities of voice, as they were enabled to speak out on their natural sign languages in a prestigious project. Previously, sign language work had not had such an elevated platform in the country. Participants shared project work via institutional governmental platforms, supported the discussion of linguistic challenges the deaf community faced at national, regional and domestic levels (macro and micro levels). These projects created a sub-ecosystem that was more aware of deaf needs and increased the spaces and opportunities within which deaf individuals could more easily pursue the range of their capabilities.

This returns to the point that community-driven development can maintain greater support and retain longevity over its external actor counterparts, and it can often offer greater empowerment to local actors. Obviously, the counterbalance to this is the risk of ‘elite-capture’ in these projects, albeit from local rather than external actors, which can pose another set of issues (Platteau, 2004). Elite-capture in this instance is referring to the distribution of funds by NGOs to local actors, where the risk of misspending is addressed through the conditional and sequential disbursement of funds (Platteau, 2004). When only some elite members of a community are able to organise the distribution of funds amongst the rest, there are implications for capabilities realisation and the agency of project participants. The dominance of elites in capacity-building work means other marginalised deaf individuals do not get the opportunity to obtain new skills related to financial literacy, numeracy, people management or budgeting. Additionally, it removes the opportunity for individuals to learn how to organise in these areas in an autonomous capacity. In addition, Platteau (2004)

discusses the risk of 'praise culture' within development work, where organisations make an 'effort to influence work and present results will provide a more favourable impression' (p.224), which, in turn, can mask the effectiveness of development interventions.

Other respondents admitted there were concerns around the scope of their development work as a result of it taking place over a short time frame, but these shorter timeframes were often the result of dependence on limited funding. For instance, one sign language teaching project took place over one year; 'given the rather restricted nature of the project, and its limited goals' meant the project was aimed more 'at individual deaf people' who were only involved for a limited period. This also poses questions about development sustainability (R7). Similarly, another project leader suggested the short nature of a teacher training project meant that although their students 'were teaching beautifully' it was at 'a foundation level' (R10). The respondent suggested they 'wanted to go back and wondered how to increase their level to intermediate' (R10).

While the skills of external actors for sign language teaching might be in demand, and these overseas actors have simpler means to access funding, in terms of impact, equipping local actors from the community with the appropriate skills in the majority of cases can lead to more sustainable, embedded development. Organisations aimed at interventions that continued in the longer term, with local deaf actors building on previous work and intervention aims. However, longer-term interventions can sometimes contribute to dependency on development project funding to continue with local deaf participants, which can be unsustainable. In many of the projects, such as Iran and Nicaragua, longer-term interventions did not happen due to a lack of available funding.

4.10. Chapter Summary

The chapter highlights how development organisations can operate at the macro level, encouraging deaf individuals to link with their communities at the meso level through deaf associations, and at the national level encouraging deaf associations and individuals to campaign for changes in sign language policies and legislation, or in raising awareness among communities of their rights under the UN CRPD. In some projects, it was evident that the development interventions reproduced advantage over time, and created positive cycles of change. It was envisaged such cycles of learning,

training or advocacy in development work could continue to have a positive effect on more deaf participants within Global South countries over time. In terms of the overall impact of the project interventions, Projects 6 (Vietnam) demonstrated a considerable reduction in societal prejudices and stigmas families and surrounding communities had previously held towards sign languages versus spoken language, while 8 (Malawi) local branches of the deaf association were established and organisational membership increased over the time period.

The responses highlighted although deaf individuals often struggled to obtain qualifications due to language deprivation, and subsequent inaccessible education environments, vocational qualifications such as CPD certificates give participants future opportunities to learn specialised skills related to a development organisation's work, and to access employment, realising a central capability of entering mutual recognition with other workers and being able to access material goods (Nussbaum, 2007, p. 23 - 24). The ability of individual participants to act for the benefit of the collective deaf community was in evidence amongst participants in other development projects aimed to raise awareness of deaf peoples' rights under the UN CRPD.

By focusing not only on stated project aims and broader organisational strategy, but the wishes of deaf participants, capacity-building approaches emphasised capabilities realisation such as increased knowledge, resources and responsibilities over time, A secondary stated aim of most development projects was to promote greater levels of responsibility for the project aims on the part of the participants, with eventual aims of fostering independence and reducing the root causes of long-standing inequalities across those societies. By exploring what exactly it is deaf participants valued being and doing in their daily lives, it is hoped the study provides some useful insights for future practice in deaf development projects, and for ways in which to bridge the gap between the claimed fulfilment of human rights stipulations at the national level with the daily realities of what wellbeing and flourishing means to deaf people on the ground.

5. Project Staff capabilities throughout India, Uganda and Ghana

5.1. Introduction

The chapter focuses on project staff across India, Ghana and Uganda with individual capabilities that were realised as a result of participating in the deaf Multiliteracies project. The project could be distinguished from the majority of development projects that work with deaf people as it recruited paid deaf staff in ongoing key roles, such as RAs and PTs, as highlighted in Chapter Two. Deaf individuals were recruited into the role of RA in the P2PDM project, where they were responsible for organising conferences, the collection of research data in the project and the supervision of PTs. Second, they were recruited as PTs, who made lesson materials, planned classes, taught lessons and supervised students. The associations between holding a project staff role and capabilities realisation across a range of capability sets will be made clear through drawing attention to the role of conversion factors and whether the participants manged to achieve functioning and reach the goal they wanted to achieve.

This section aims to respond to question two: how are deaf project staff 'actively' realising their human capabilities in specific contexts within the P2PDM project? As discussed in Chapter One, a lack of access to the labour market is one area that drastically reduces well-being and freedom for many deaf individuals across the developing world. Employment can facilitate access to many other central aspects of 'the good life', principally through income. In addition, employment also fosters social standing in communities, reduces dependency and fosters the development of skills (Sen, 1993). Some project staff, before being hired in the P2PDM project in 2017 or in the preceding project 'Peer-to-Peer Deaf Literacy' in 2015, had not held any official employment in the labour market. The chapter provides new insights into how the recruitment of deaf individuals as employees within development organisations can have emancipating and positive effects on them across the Global South in terms of their capabilities and everyday freedoms, especially those of voice and of choice. Drawing on a qualitative approach to staff statements, and limited quantitative analysis of the responses by skill groups, the study sought to build up a picture of daily lived experiences and enhanced freedoms among deaf individuals across these three contexts.

The sample involved nine members of project staff, with the findings highlighting sociocultural challenges that deaf staff encountered; these included structural factors outside linguistic inequalities, for example, geographic location of training, knowledge and skills with multiliteracies, access to deaf networks and relationships within the hierarchies of the deaf community and factors that enable or constrain capabilities realisation.

The chapter initially discusses project staff roles and some general capabilities exhibited by the deaf participants as part of the recruitment process for joining the project, alongside reflecting on their experiences as employees (**Section 5.2**). The subsequent sub-sections go on to examine the capabilities discussed in the introduction, which are grouped into general work-related capabilities (**Section 5.3.1**), communication skills (**Section 5.3.2**), peer teaching and lesson planning (**Section 5.3.3**), and research skills (**Section 5.3.4**). Later, associations are then made between deaf networks and capabilities realisation (**Section 5.4**). The final section examines deaf networks by skill group and the impact of such networks on the upskilling of deaf individuals into more skilled professionals. It also looks at some impacts of transnational connections (**Section 5.5**).

5.2. Project staff and their roles

For a greater proportion of deaf individuals across much of the developing world, access to high-skill employment was the atypical experience, as explained in Chapter One, which was observed anecdotally among a range of communities that development organisations worked with in Chapter Three. The P2PDM project itself attempted to reach deaf individuals in the three project countries, many of whom were marginalised from local communities on a variety of axes, including geographically, socially and linguistically due to rural isolation, a lack of deaf schools or lack of awareness of the processes of deaf sociality, which, in tandem with the presence/lack of structures and institutions that cater to deaf populations (environmental variations), can exacerbate or mitigate these experiences. Consequently, deaf sociality plays a central role in enhancing access for individuals to wider pools of knowledge available both through sign languages and wider deaf culture.

Throughout the project, it could be observed that the participants' references to the support received through wider deaf networks also enhanced their access to capability inputs related to social affiliation. By gaining peer support provided by a deaf

network, the access of individuals to local sign language could be enhanced. The results of access to sign language in educational or professional environments can typically facilitate access to a range of wider benefits linked with multiliteracies knowledge, psychosocial well-being, a sense of community participation and belonging, access to critical information, access to new life skills taught by other local deaf people and a host of others. The presence of virtuous or vicious cycles further exacerbates these successes or deprivations of deaf people over time (Hvinden & Halvorsen, 2018).

Finally, the project staff were from three Global South contexts – India, Ghana and Uganda – and worked in various regions. Within India, the staff worked in the capital New Delhi, in populous Indore city in the Madya Pradesh state in the centre of the country and a rural village, Binka, in the Odisha state in the south. In Ghana, the staff worked in Accra, the capital, and more rural areas, such as Akuapem-Mampong in the eastern region where they grow cocoa. In Uganda, the participants worked with deaf people in Kampala as well as people from other rural areas, such as Masaka and Jinja. Thus, environmental variations, as well as personal heterogeneities. had an impact on the participants' capabilities realisation. In turn, when working across such diverse contexts, differences in relational perspectives were commonly evident, despite the shared experiences of being deaf, as a consequence of varied familial, cultural, religious and other attitudes across such diverse contexts.

Among the nine staff members in the sample, there were three RAs, with one recruited from each country of India, Uganda and Ghana. There were six PTs: three from India, two from Ghana and one from Uganda. For further details about the recruitment process and the project staff members, please refer to Chapter Three, *Table 3.2* (**Section 3.5.1**). One of the Indian PTs was promoted to the role of RA at the mid-point of the project in December 2018. For this reason, some of his responsibilities are blurred between those assigned to PTs and RAs; for instance, the PT acted as a facilitator and informal translator for me while on my fieldwork. In another instance, one RA based in India took over PT responsibilities of teaching in Delhi from two PTs who left the project.

The questionnaire enquired about thirteen skills, as detailed fully in Chapter Two (**Section 2.5.2**). The skills involved in the questionnaire, as detailed in *Table 5.1*, included 'applying to jobs' and 'improving organisational skills', under general work-related skills, followed by two skills associated with communication strategies, including 'communication with other project members' and 'communication with deaf

groups via WhatsApp'. These skills were employed by all project staff and overlap especially with project organisation, multiliteracies, English and practical reasoning skills required for writing reports and requesting other staff for assistance with job tasks. For the latter categories, 'Using professional English when teaching', 'Using professional ISL when teaching' and 'Improving English skills through social media / SLEND / reading' were assessed within multiliteracies skills, and two skills of 'lesson planning and preparation' and 'making materials for teaching' were assessed under teaching skills. These skills were principally used by the PTs and overlap with the tasks in the lower box in *Table 5.1*.

5.3. Capabilities of project staff

The following section examines the capabilities of the project staff – firstly related to the capability of control over one's environment – specifically being able to access employment. This is covered by questions about general work-related skills, including applying for jobs and organisation skills (**Section 5.3.1**), followed by a discussion of staff capabilities in affiliation through communication skills, such as 'communicate with project staff' and 'communicate with project staff via WhatsApp' (**Section 5.3.2**). The subsequent section looks at PTs tutoring English and the ability to plan for lessons, which enabled the realisation of a wide, interrelated web of capabilities, including senses, imagination and thought with increased use of literacy, affiliation with interaction with deaf peers in the project's educational contexts and practical reasoning, with staff planning ahead for curriculum development (**Section 5.3.3**). This was finally followed by a discussion of research skills, such as data collection, presentation at conferences and the organisation of collaboratories with other deaf staff (**Section 5.4.4**). Staff responsibilities and the role skillset are listed in *Table 5.1*.
As discussed in the prior section, and earlier in Chapter Two, the questionnaire sought to elicit responses about how often the staff utilised each skill throughout the project, how confident they felt and what conversion factors had facilitated or hindered their use of the skill.

Project Role	Tasks and Responsibilities	Skillset
Research Assistant	Creating micro-case studies Creating multimedia documentation about the project Presentation at conferences Collection of footage and other data from local events Contacting senior staff for assistance with collaboratory organisation Writing research assistant reports Uploading data from classes, e.g portfolios, reports into the online storage system	'Collection of visual data' 'Making documentation about data' 'Presentation at conferences' 'Organisation of collaboratories'
Peer Tutor	Selection of topics for SLEND Student supervision Teaching English grammar Marking Assignments Giving students feedback Assisting students with portfolios Making posters and materials for teaching Writing peer tutor reports Creating micro-case studies	'Using professional English when teaching' 'Using professional Indian sign language when teaching' 'Improving English skills through social media / SLEND / reading' 'lesson planning and preparation' 'making materials for teaching'
Both roles		'applying to jobs' 'improving organisational skills' 'communicating with other project members' 'communication with deaf groups via Whatsapp'

Table 5.1 Staff roles, tasks and skills

5.3.1. General work-related organisational capacities

The data demonstrates that in India, the RA and PTs were capable of applying for work yet found it simpler to apply for jobs via Facebook, WhatsApp and through informal deaf networks than to complete the written application forms in English or Hindi. This contrasted with the experience of the project staff in Uganda and Ghana, who stated that prior to joining the P2PDM project, applying for jobs was a difficult process. Organisational skills were another key component of work-related skills, and across all three countries, the deaf project staff stated that acquiring sufficient competency in completing written job applications in written English or Hindi before joining the P2PDM project was challenging for them. Conversion factors that inhibited organisational skills included lack of access to training and geographical isolation as the staff lived in rural areas and had some difficulty reaching the training sites.

There has been less research into the impact of communication strategies on the agency and capabilities of deaf people in workplace settings. It has been argued that 'communication difficulties have been a significant contributor to poor employment rates and continue to be a primary barrier to job maintenance and advancement' in the United States for Deaf people (Perkins-Dock et al., 2015, p.3). Another report suggested that in the United States only 48% of deaf people were employed in 2014. Although the rates of unemployment were similar between deaf and hearing people, for direct involvement in the labour force, the differences were more significant (Garberoglio et al., 2016, p.1). Almost half of deaf people at 47% were not in the labour force, compared to under one quarter of hearing people at 23% (Garberoglio et al., 2016, p. 2). Accessing the labour force is one way in which individuals can realise their capabilities and enhance them over time. It is also a capability input that greatly improves the quality of life and the opportunities to realise well-being freedom.

In India, many deaf applicants have been recruited by coffee chains as brewers, and during the process of applying to these jobs, 'none of the candidates had any work experience, and they noted this on their applications' (Friedner, 2013, p.40). In addition, they 'had little idea of what would be expected from them at this job, and they had come for the interview because the employment centre had sent them' (Friedner, 2013, p.41). Although the Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation) (PwD) Act 1995 mandated that 3% of jobs were to be reserved for people with physical and sensory disabilities, only around 10% of the actual number

of possible posts were held by disabled people (Friedner, 2013, p. 41). Additionally, the proportion of disabled people in these jobs was negligible (only 0.44 percent of the 3% mandatory postings) (World Bank, 2007). The 1995 PwD Act has now been superseded by the 2016 PwD Act, which mandates a 4% reservation of all government sector jobs for PwDs, with incentives given to employers in the private sector who recruit them (Narayan, 2017).

When completing application forms for job roles, the participants received support from external organisations to write their details in English. It appears that the project participants' reliance on senior project staff and RAs in their team for skills related to organisation, project management and future planning was high. By comparison, fewer participants requested assistance from senior project staff and RAs with the completion of job applications. Reliance on senior project staff was lower for the skill of applying for jobs as they were only asked for help in four instances, while the participants stated that they asked the RAs in their teams for support with job applications in two instances or other PTs one time. Some other PTs and RAs had left the project because they were offered other long-term and high-quality employment, demonstrating the skills provided by participation in both the P2PDM and P2PDL projects.

Regarding 'improving organisation skills', across the total sample of nine, the participants stated that they relied on senior project staff on nine occasions, Ras in their team in seven instances and other PTs six times, as detailed below in Figure 5.1. These responses indicate that although the RAs and PTs did some of the preparation for teaching learners and made some of the arrangements for events and training, such as the collaboratories, their capabilities were not yet sufficient to be fully independent in utilising the skills within organisation work tasks.

Figure 5.1 Staff support: general work-related skills

Despite the participants' responses that it was not difficult to learn the skill of applying to jobs before being involved in the project, the Indian participants made statements similar to peer tutor Karthik that 'it was not hard for me to apply because I had not experienced to apply to other jobs before the first project' (P4), and that by peer tutor Ganesh that, 'I worked differently, myself learn' (P2), which implies that they had no previous experience of completing job applications. For the P2PDM project, the application process was not difficult. It was designed to be inclusive for deaf people, with the participants being able to apply in sign language and having access to senior deaf team members who could offer advice and language support with their applications. Ganesh suggested that although he did not have the ability to complete formal job applications in written English or Hindi, he did not perceive himself to be excluded from the labour market due to his deafness as he 'worked differently' and learned through self-study (P2). The self-employment route is also commonly taken by deaf people in the Global South, as evidenced in Chapter Four, where a few development organisations work with deaf people to establish businesses.

Other participants, such as RA Arun, stated that applying to jobs was not a difficult skill to learn because 'there are different application jobs' (P1). The challenges that a deaf individual encounters when asked to prepare written applications in Hindi or English for Indian job applications can be greater in comparison to informal

applications through a deaf network for jobs within the sign language community, particularly when the application process has a focus on highly developed skillsets in written literacies. Despite assertions of competence in completing job applications, the participants' statements included suggestions that they had not completed job applications before or that they had worked for themselves and been self-employed. Their statements implied that completing job applications in mainstream contexts would be a significant challenge for many of the Indian project staff without some assistance – either with filling in written applications or with applying to jobs in a non-deaf context. In the case of applying for jobs as sign language tutors, there are fewer barriers. In fact, in India, the same participant, the RA Arun, went so far as to state, 'I usually don't see job advertisements in newspaper; I see in WhatsApp group of deaf, in Facebook, ask those deaf who got jobs. I don't like to see in newspaper for job, which is available mostly for hearing people. They check in newspaper for jobs, but I prefer what is suitable for deaf' (P1,MG5).

Of the five participants from Uganda and Ghana, all stated that the skill of applying for jobs was difficult to learn before the project. A summary of the level of confidence and how often the participants utilised general work-related skills is listed in *Table 5.2*. For the Ugandan participants, some conversion factors that inhibited their realisation of completing job applications included digital literacy skills. One PT, Adroa, claimed that he had poor knowledge of how to design a good C.V. (P7). Miremba stated that she used to complete job applications in a format that included 'handwriting and typing only' (P6). Applying to the P2PDM project was their first experience of applying for a job online. Ebo's statement reinforced the finding that the P2PDM project staff had mainly applied for job postings without needing to rely on written English in their applications. For instance, he stated that, 'they had never written application letters' for their role in a government posting, while a Ghanaian PT, Zuhrah, stated the same, suggesting that in Ghana, PTs had utilised deaf networks, such as contacts on Facebook or a WhatsApp group to secure work before the project commenced (P8, P9).

Regarding applying to jobs, of those who found it difficult to learn the skill before participating in the P2PDM project, one third of the participants felt fully independent in completing job applications, while two thirds of the sample were still learning.

Table 5.2 General work-related skills: Frequency and Confidence

	Applying for Jobs	Organisation Skills
Fully Independent	3	4
Still Learning	6	3
Need Support	0	2
Often	0	4
Sometimes	5	4
Only once	4	1

For 'improving organisational skills', six members of staff stated that it was really difficult as there was no opportunity to learn the skill before the project. Statements were made, such as by Karthik in India, that 'I had never experienced to organise any workshops and conferences because I had not knowledge how to organise them before' (P4); by Arun, who was a RA: 'I did not have experience much about big organisation events' (P1) and by Zuhrah, a Ghanaian PT, who had 'no experience engaging in organisational meetings' (P9). All of them suggested that there were few opportunities for deaf people to learn this skill across all three project sites of India, Uganda and Ghana before they joined P2PDM.

Limiting conversion factors included an inability to access training as it was far away and a lack of knowledge concerning how to budget (P1). For another PT in India, the training material for peer tutoring used in the P2PDM was difficult to understand, while a second PT based in Uganda stated that they had 'limited time' to improve this skill. The participant also cited politics as a factor that constrained their skill development. Conversion factors highlighted by a Ghanaian PT included his own personal characteristics as he found it difficult to create and implement new ideas for organisation (personal heterogeneities) (P9). Zuhrah also cited that finding locations for the events the Ghana team were planning could prevent their ability to realise the skill of organising a local event as they were unable to host locally in some cases (P9).

However, three other staff members stated that they had experience utilising organisational skills. A participant claimed that they had no barriers with this skill (P7). For example, a Ugandan PT, Adroa, suggested that they felt able to do 'organisation

tasks as assigned or delegated at any level' and through tasks such as 'training learners', 'leading programmes' and 'representing the director in meetings', he had built up significant experience regarding this skill. The limiting conversion factors for the participants, as cited by participant Miremba, included limited knowledge of 'how to write proposals' and 'lack of training' (P6).

Fulfilling many tasks related to their job roles as PTs and RA, particularly utilising organisational skills, allowed the participants to fulfil many of their capabilities linked to control over one's environment, such as 'exercising practical reason' and 'being able to enter into relationships of mutual respect with other workers' (Nussbaum, 2007, p.23). Being able to realise these skills enabled the project participants to achieve a fundamental aspect of human flourishing and access many tenets of the good life that are attendant with holding a job, such as access to income and the advantages this brings: enhancement of social status within the community and access to differentiated and positive regard within the community – all of which are often denied to the deaf, especially those who are unemployed, in Global South contexts.

5.3.2. Communication skills and multiliteracies

The project staff relied on different team members in the wider project for learning or enhancing their skills related to face-to-face communication, communication with deaf groups on WhatsApp and utilising written English literacies on various platforms, often realising their core capability of affiliation. For 'communication with other project members' the participants relied on senior project staff the most, followed by RAs and PTs, perhaps because this involves more complex communication across different roles and levels across the project (Figure 5.2). However, when utilising WhatsApp to communicate with deaf groups, the participants relied more on their immediate team members, especially other RAs and PTs. As a digital platform that enhances access for individuals to social networks and 'which ease[s] the interaction between individuals and groups', WhatsApp allowed the processes of 'social feedback' and the formation of 'tangled social relations' where people can work in a bottom-up fashion to form groups and create networks (as opposed to individuals joining pre-established WhatsApp groups in a top-down manner) (Cetinkaya, 2017, p. 60). The shift of social network platforms from computer-based ones, such as Facebook, towards those based on mobile phones have eroded the time and space constraints of interactions between real life and the virtual environment.

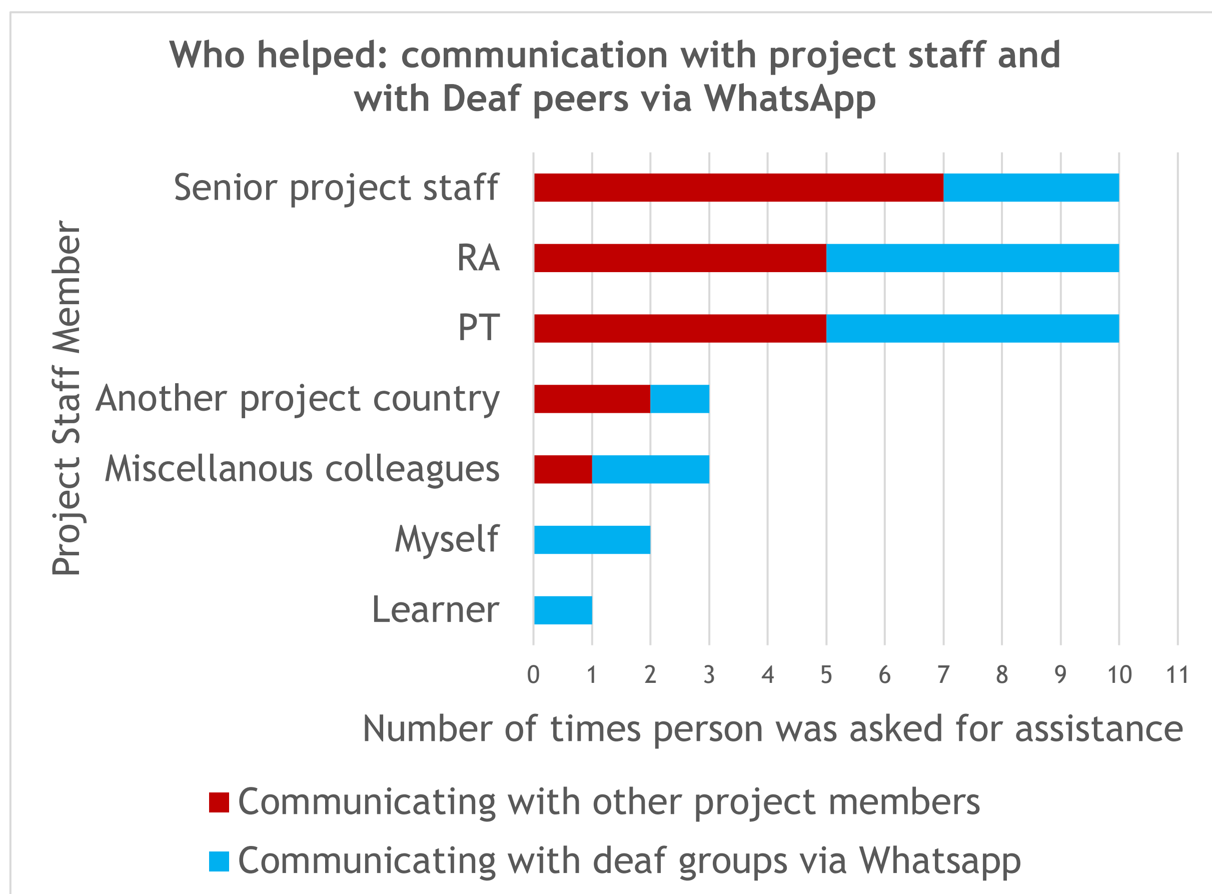

Figure 5.2 Staff support: Communication strategies

To establish if the deaf participants noted a difference in their networks or social affiliation after joining the project, a question was asked about their competence with the skill 'communicating with other project members to increase and share skills'. Although most participants were capable of communicating with other deaf people before joining the project, for two staff members, the project facilitated access to deaf space and to deaf sociality, thus achieving functioning in the capabilities of affiliation, of play to engage deaf learners of English in curriculum topics and of making the processes of learning exciting. The staff used their imagination and thinking skills in order to communicate information about the curriculum topics and, additionally, news about project goals with other colleagues.

The limiting conversion factors included the perceived 'barriers to communicating with and understanding other project members' (P4) and the acquisition of new social knowledge. One staff member, Karthik, said that he 'sometimes answered wrongly to some of my members' questions, but I learnt what to answer' (P4). Although the written English translation is not completely clear, with some knowledge of the P2PDM environment from the fieldwork, it appears that the conversion factors/challenges with communication for Karthik were linked to not having held

another similar post before and a lack of professional experience as a PT rather than his sign language skills directly, which are in fact fluent. It appears that these factors have created further barriers of misunderstanding, which link to a lack of previous knowledge to build on.

Ganesh, a PT, stated that they did not find written English on WhatsApp difficult to use with other Indian Deaf people before the project, but some challenges for them included 'learning different new material' from the participants in the other project countries (P2). The statement shows that the project staff in India were acquiring new information and cultural knowledge from their peers in the other project countries, which demonstrates capabilities realisation in using their thinking skills and their imagination to engage with their deaf peers in other sites in Africa in order to effectively teach deaf children.

The PT stated that in this case, the challenges for him included general awareness, and he mentioned uploading materials from the project itself to Box.[2] For the participants who did not find communicating with other deaf project members difficult, the conversion factors they mentioned were linked to technology, for example, internet challenges with using skype (P9), 'slow connectivity' and the costs of internet data (P8). The other conversion factors stated were the result of low multiliteracies as the participants discussed challenges such as 'typing skills, especially with using WhatsApp group chat' (P9).

In the project itself, many deaf staff members reported that communicating through WhatsApp was not difficult to learn before the project: of the nine respondents, eight stated that it was not difficult, while one participant stated that it was difficult. In India, Karthik stated that through utilising communication strategies, which included ISL and written English in WhatsApp, he was able to build 'contents awareness, communicate with deaf groups, improve my better understanding, while communicating with deaf staff and making new deaf friends from other Indian states, like Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Gujarat' (P4). Ganesh stated that they utilised WhatsApp for 'communicating basic sentences' and to check English grammar, the visual meaning of words and explanations of tutoring methods with deaf project members (P2).

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[2] Box is an online storage system that was used throughout the project to store files, reports, meeting minutes and other documentation.

For the Ghanaian staff, the RA, Ebo, stated that this skill posed no challenges as 'WhatsApp is commonly used by almost all the Deaf' (P8). He referenced the creation of the Adult P2P Ghana group as well as having 'discussions about lessons and grammar taught' (P8). In these cases, capabilities realisation was accomplished for achieving social affiliation with peers via online mediums, functioning in the improvement of written English skills and functioning in improving skills for teaching English.

Table 5.3 lists further details related to the staff's employment of communication skills. Communication with other employees and team working are vital skills to have in development organisations. For the deaf staff in the P2PDM project, they were relatively confident communicating face-to-face with the deaf teams. However, concerning the skill of communicating with team members via WhatsApp, some participants appeared to be less confident using written communication in English or other languages. Two participants stated that they still needed support with the skill, while two were still learning and five felt fully independent.

Table 5.3 Communication skills: Frequency and Confidence

	Communicating with other project members	Communicating with deaf groups via WhatsApp
Fully Independent	5	7
Still Learning	4	2
Need Support	0	0
Often	5	6
Sometimes	4	3
Only once	0	0

The confidence of the project staff with communication through written mediums on WhatsApp suggests that written literacies can contribute to deaf skills with communication strategies and the achievement of capabilities realisation in these areas.

Connections between capabilities realisation and participant knowledge of English literacies or of ISL for teaching can also be observed.

Some conversion factors included the participants' language ability, especially with reading and writing skills in English on the platform. Language ability was a conversion factor, which determined whether the capability input of learning English could be achieved, and participation in the project allowed some participants to improve their capabilities with English over time as the project facilitated access to an English-language learning environment. One PT, Hara, commented that during the project they improved their use of WhatsApp, and it helped them communicate, but he admitted that 'expressing myself on WhatsApp by writing English is difficult', although reading English is easy (P3). In Uganda, PT Miremba, similarly, found that a challenge was 'understanding and interpreting some complex deaf English for some friends' (P6). These statements show how communication through written text was a popular means by which deaf staff members reached out to their peers, not that it was preferred as a communication strategy over sign language. A Ugandan PT, Adroa, suggested that some of his challenges were related to multiliteracies as 'some learners can't do both writing and signing, making this work hard' and, in resources/local cultural contexts, 'most learners don't have a phone' and, finally, phones 'are rarely/not accepted in school' (P7). It must be noted that the PT in question was working at the Technical School for the Deaf in Ntinda, in north-eastern Kampala, so many of the learners would have grown up in an urban environment and had more familiarity with recent technology.

As signers, the comparisons between a range of communication repertoires, which the participants opted to use, especially in relation to teaching students and to sharing knowledge, was informative. During this process, the capabilities realisation of the participants' social affiliation was encouraged. For instance, deaf signers being able to 'engage in social interaction' freely is greatly helped by having access to their natural language and the presence of signing peers (Nussbaum, 2007, p. 23). It could also be argued that access to their natural language is vital for deaf signers to be able to access a 'basis of self-respect and non-humiliation' within educational and employment environments (Nussbaum, 2007, p. 23). Finally, access to sign language can ensure that deaf signers are treated 'on an equal basis with others' by the surrounding society as awareness of the causes of educational inequities are made clear (Nussbaum, 2007, p. 23).

For the skill of utilising professional sign language when teaching, it can be observed that the participants relied least on outside support, and they made statements that suggested that they were already confident with using sign language (Figure 5.3). The staff requested support from senior project staff to develop sign language literacies on only one occasion. The number of requests for assistance from other project staff were much lower than those who claimed that they were able to rely on 'myself' (six times). These figures reflect independence and greater competence in using these skills. Such independence is the result of a positive didactic experience on the part of the PTs who can competently share and impart their knowledge when they are able to refer to their 'comfortable' language to support second language learning in English (Nuccetelli & DeMonte, 2010). The capability of utilising ISL (or any other national sign language) in the classroom is a fundamental one for deaf people. It is clear to see that where majority languages are often completely inaccessible, being able to use ISL in the workplace is a capability that pre-empts the subsequent realisation of the other capabilities in these contexts. Being able to rely on one's own natural language and use it with confidence and frequency is important for deaf individuals to realise their well-being and attain a basic minimum quality of life.

Across the skills of utilising professional sign language and utilising English in teaching, the participants made particular reference to relying on a wide range of people, such as three senior staff and six RAs and three people from other project countries, and learning online through Facebook groups (P8, P9) or studying. For example, one RA, Mukisa, acquired English skills through studying during an undergraduate course at university (P5). For the skill of using professional English at an advanced level, many deaf project staff especially struggled and therefore relied on additional assistance and support from a wide variety of people involved in the P2PDM project.

For the skill 'improving English skills through social media/SLEND/reading', half of the participants relied on senior project staff with four of them stating that they asked senior UK team members and senior in-country staff for assistance with their English on SLEND and on social media, and PTs and RAs cited help from six RAs and five PTs.

In terms of meeting human rights standards, it appears that for deaf individuals, especially in developing contexts, access to signed languages is very much a language

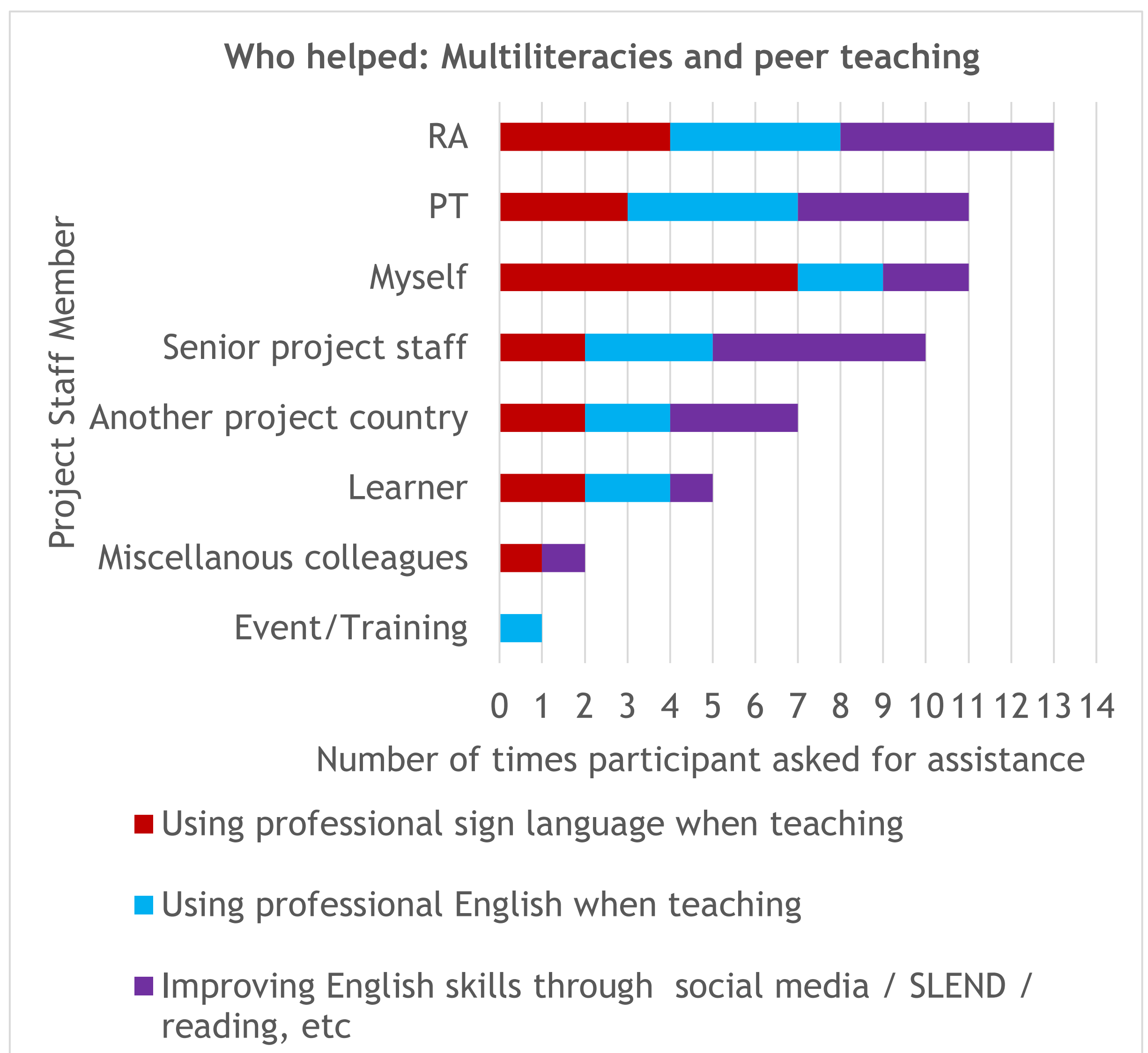

Figure 5.3 Staff support: Multiliteracies and peer-to-peer teaching skills

right. The provision of access to a national sign language ensures the meeting of core needs linked with living a dignified life. For deaf people, access to a sign language ensures that it is easier to access the mother tongue of a country, albeit in written modalities. Access to sign language can also enhance access to formal primary education as more content is accessible in more language mediums. In turn, within the P2PDM project, it appears that the staff felt more confident in their skills in their mother tongue of ISL, GhSL and UgSL while teaching their deaf peers. Eight staff members believed that they were fully independent, while one staff member stated that they were still learning. Supporting these viewpoints, eight members of staff stated that they used their sign language often, while one only used sign language sometimes. These figures highlight the perceived comfort of relying on their sign language over English, while more staff believed that they were still learning how to use written English on WhatsApp/SLEND and learning how to use professional English compared to a few staff members who believed that they were independently able to use English.

Migrant groups for whom English is a second langauge in many countries, partially as a consequence of institutional constraints, are unable to fully participate in societies' social and political institutions (Tollefson, 1991). The resulting inequalities are a direct consequence of the dominance of majority languages used by social and political institutions (Paulston 1997). Paulston claims that 'language rights are often considered as individual rights' in most countries, with a background official or nonofficial language policy use in pratice been used (1997, p.74). Paulston (1997) stated that in contrast, the field of linguistic human rights is primarily concerned with 'social change or future developments in which language is the clearly the independent or causal variable,' (p.74). Linguistic human rights are often based on group or collective identities who use this language. Through an individual or a groups' right to have access to their minority language across many areas of everyday life, the individual or group is also, frequently, enabled to access collective solidarity rights such as self-determination, economic and social development, and common public heritages, for example shared public spaces (known in the U.K as the commons).

Considerations about how langagues are used fall under the field of language planning, where solutions to language problems are made, often at the national level (Paulston, 1997, p. 78). Under this framework, status planning considers how the language is used, acquisition planning examines users of the language, while corpus planning studies the langauge itself (Paulston, 1997, p. 78).

Distinctions can be made between necessary language rights, which are basic access to a first language, and linguistic human rights, which are concerned with collective identity, emancipation and social change.

For many deaf people, sign language is a necessary language right and vital for avoiding linguistic deprivation. A deaf person's right to the English language (as opposed to sign language) can be considered a linguistic right and as more enrichment-oriented than a basic and necessary language right, especially in some of the project contexts where other languages, aside from English, are often the official lingua franca. As a collective, in this global South context, deaf communities can benefit tremendously from learning English as an L2 language as this enables them to access high-skill education and high-skill employment. In some regions in India; for example, in both Indore and Odisha, Hindi and Odia are often languages of instruction in educational contexts as opposed to English. However, in Delhi, and for the project participants in both Uganda and Ghana, access to education in the medium of English

language instruction could definitely be considered a linguistic right for deaf learners. The usefulness of English for deaf people is discussed further in Chapter 6 (Section 6.2.1).

Another communication skill used by the deaf project staff was their national sign language. The term professional sign language refers to sign language fluency and being able to utilise it to a high standard. In deaf-world environments, especially when teaching deaf learners, it is essential to use fully fluent and adequate sign language in order to impart knowledge. Within formal environments, such as teaching adult learners, attending meetings with local deaf associations or presenting at conferences, the employment of what deaf people term 'professional' sign language is often required. Professional sign language can also apply to staff teaching children as they have to adapt their signs to a different and simpler style in order to be understood. Of the nine respondents to the question whether it was difficult to learn how to 'use professional sign language' before the project started, the majority of respondents (6) stated that it was not, while the others (3) said that it was challenging for them to learn the professional vernacular. The focus on sign language literacies highlighted a particular area of strength for the project staff. The positive responses to using professional sign language highlight the importance of being able to utilise sign language in employment settings as being a central capability for deaf flourishing.

The comment of a participant who is fluent in ISL highlighted the perceived differences between everyday sign language and that used in professional contexts for teaching ISL formally. One participant from India had less experience and stated that, 'I had no knowledge of professional sign language when teaching at Ishara Foundation', which is a foundation for deaf education based in the Gujarat state with a branch in Vadodara. The PT stated that they 'could not use sign language like deaf children before' (P4).

Some respondents, such as Arun, stated that he had been teaching using ISL since 2015 (P1). Hara stated that he believed that he was now 'a skill[ed] professional' and had built 'experience myself developing' (P2). Ganesh stated, 'I used professional sign language. I can teach to students because they understood … I used fluent ISL' (P3). In turn, Adroa from Uganda stated that the use of UgSL was not a challenge to learn; that they could 'do both professional sign and low sign' and that in their class, 'I use low sign because some learners are of very low level' (P7). Zuhrah, a PT in Ghana, stated

that they believed in sign language; they had 'the ability to express my ideas very clearly' (P9).

Table 5.4 details the number of project staff members who responded in each category regarding each skill. Staff experiences of using written English skills on social media or SLEND or reading mostly showed as still learning. The staff's responses indicate that access to a digital platform is fairly significant for deaf accessibility to language, whether that is L1 or L2 that can be used freely with other deaf and hearing peers. However, the staff's confidence with written English was less marked, although in terms of access to language rights, full access to either ISL or to English was the key issue. However, for the realisation of central skills within the P2PDM project, being able to use written English with confidence was a central aspect of their job roles as RAs and PTs. Consequently, being able to use written English on digital platforms and in a professional teaching environment was a vital aspect of being able to realise the capability of accessing employment as an English tutor. It can be observed that the staff's confidence and their capabilities were positively affected by having the opportunity to teach their national sign language and teach using English and being trained and allowed to develop these skills over time through the project intervention.

For the P2PDM staff, the conversion factors with the use of professional sign language included a lack of training, lack of materials and some learners having 'slow learning' (P7), all of which could mean that deaf individuals were unable to realise their capability of using professional sign language, either because they a) were unable to access the necessary training for full fluency, b) could not study due to lack of materials or c) needed more months of practice to attain the capability at some future time.

Table 5.4 Multiliteracies skills: Frequency and Confidence

	Using professional English when teaching	Using professional sign language when teaching	Improving English language skills through social media / SLEND / reading
Fully Independent	3	8	2
Still Learning	6	1	6
Need Support	0	0	1
Often	6	8	7
Sometimes	3	1	2
Only once	0	0	0

In India, one PT stated that the barriers to using professional sign language were 'duty different' and 'experience' (P2). The RA, and one PT (P3), did not mention any limiting conversion factors, which suggests that the project itself enabled them to realise their capability. The other Indian PT stated that, 'I learn that my project staffs sometimes catch me when I use other international sign language while teaching' (P4) and that he had 'no knowledge of professional sign language when teaching at Ishara Foundation' and 'could not use sign language like deaf children before' (P4).

However, in contrast, one PT stated that before the project, utilising professional sign language was a challenge. They stated that 'some words have no sign language, which makes it hard to clearly explain' (P6). They also stated that they first used professional sign language during June 2016 in their internship post. These statements demonstrate that a key conversion factor that enables or hinders capability realisation in the use of professional sign language, for many deaf individuals, up to 90% of whom are born to hearing parents (Wolff et al., 2019), can be the access to peers with whom they can sign or access to education or training where sign language is available.

By contrast, regarding the use of sign language, many participants found 'professional English when teaching' difficult to acquire before becoming involved in the project. Of the nine respondents, four participants responded that they found it challenging, while five participants stated that it was not a difficult skill for them to acquire in everyday contexts. However, in terms of affecting didactic relations in the

classroom, access to sign language is one of the most fundamental capabilities for the deaf.

Karthik started teaching English in September 2015 and stated that his skills had increased through using professional English on the whiteboard, typing in SLEND, writing emails and writing reports and micro-case studies. However, before joining the project, it had been difficult to learn intermediate-level or advanced-level English (P4). Karthik stated that though he 'knew English already from the Ishara Foundation', he 'used professional English less' (P4).

In Uganda, where English is the first language, Miremba suggested that they had no challenges with 'teaching private English lessons to some deaf students' and had 'no known difficulty so far' (P6). In Ghana, Ebo suggested that he had no problems with using professional English for teaching. He had the 'ability to translate SL syntax to English' and could 'find the correct grammar topic for the Real-Life English topics' on the SLEND platform (P8). Zuhrah also felt competent with English, understood how to change SL syntax to English and had good knowledge of English grammar. Zuhrah had been teaching since 2018 too and argued that they had no difficulties with translation. The ease with which the African P2PDM project staff were able to acquire professional English in comparison to the Indian staff points to one of the cornerstones of the Capabilities Approach, that is environmental diversities as conversion factors where access to the official language of English differs between India and Uganda and Ghana (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009, p.15).

Finally, for the skill 'improving English skills through social media/SLEND/reading', there was an overlap between the utilisation of deaf networks and multiliteracies skills. For the majority of the project participants, improving their English through reading and the SLEND platform was difficult before the project took place. Although the question about competence with using English on these platforms was designed to elicit responses related to English literacy skills specifically. For most of the deaf participants, it was interpreted as a skill referring primarily to their technical use of computer and online software, such as Box or SLEND.

Some participants, however, responded by reflecting on their English skills. For the Indian RA, Arun, he claimed that English was challenging to learn before the project as he wanted to 'read academic journals' but found them difficult to understand. He claimed that social media, reading sports news and reading on the internet all

assisted him with improving this skill, thus demonstrating capabilities realisation in practical reasoning and forward planning to enhance their English level. At the same time, Arun cited the barriers to improving this skill as a reason to further develop his English skills, his reading skills and his vocabulary knowledge (P1). Ganesh found improving his English difficult stating that he had challenges with teaching others and expressing himself in the language. Hara stated that he was unable to read or write English before the project and claimed that he never used Gmail because of poor written English. Throughout the project, the PTs learned English text through WhatsApp, email and SLEND and improved their skills through reading lessons, writing reports and micro-case studies (P4). The challenges included understanding and reading complex English texts and slow progress with reading skills. For the English writing skills, they stated that the time-consuming nature of writing up the requisite PT tutor reports and micro-case studies was difficult.

In turn, a PT based in Uganda described having significant challenges with improving their knowledge of English. They described utilising lexicon such as 'new words', their use of 'English level in social media chatting' and reading text from others. Like their peers, the participant also interpreted the questions about the barriers they faced utilising the skill of 'improving English skills through social media/SLEND/reading' as primarily referring to digital literacy skills.

In India, Ganesh claimed that improving his English skills was not difficult using SLEND as the PT could acquire the meaning through the content of previous lessons and through the sign for the English words that he did not understand (P2). However, some challenges for them included grammar rules and vocabulary (P2). Mukisa, a Ugandan RA, stated that his skills in using social media were good, and he learned new words and grammar from his peers (P5). Miremba, a PT, referred to 'improving English skills through social media/SLEND/reading' both in the sense of improving her English skills but also in enhancing her digital literacy. She suggested that she used English in her daily life on social media and described her challenges as accessing SLEND, uploading material to SLEND and editing videos (P6). The reference made to the conversion factors being linked to digital literacy skills is repeated here, as opposed to the statements made more specifically about challenges with the English language itself, which was the expected response.

In terms of accessing their human capabilities, it can be surmised that by participating in the project, the participants were able to enhance their access to their

capabilities of using English writing skills, socialising with peers in person and via online mediums, such as WhatsApp. Through involvement in the project, which provided work accessible to the participants across both English and their national sign language, whether ISL, GhSL or UgSL, they had a variety of opportunities to use their thinking skills and their imagination as part of their jobs and to engage in the use of practical reasoning. Foundational literacy skills in maths and English are basic components of many job roles across the project's countries, so the development of basic foundational skills in multiliteracies also fed into the other capabilities of being able to access a working environment and being able to use an enhanced range of communicative repertoires (**Section 4.2.1, 4.2.2**).

5.3.3. Peer teaching and lesson planning capacities

As pointed out in Chapter Three, in integrated educational settings, deaf children can encounter more challenges with learning from peers due to communication difficulties (Stinson & Antia, 1999, p.163). The employment of deaf PTs who could use both the national sign language and English enhanced the capabilities of the deaf learners and the PTs as it increased the ability of students to participate in the classroom, interact and increase their power regarding their choice of mode of communication. Few studies have directly examined the impact of the 'factors that affect interaction, such as the D/HH children's language ability, mode of communication and age' (Antia & Kreimeyer, 2005, p. 165). The PTs developed their ability to target their lessons according to the class's ability throughout the course of the project. The staff questionnaire elicited information about the PTs' lesson-planning abilities and their methods utilised to make materials for classroom lessons, as detailed in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4 Staff support: Lesson preparation

The staff roles at the PT level involved the peer-to-peer teaching of both groups of adults and children across two teaching cycles. In India, one RA took over the responsibility of peer tutoring in Delhi because there was a shortage as two PTs based there left the project. However, peer tutoring was not part of the RAs' official role, and it was carried out principally by the PTs. For the skill of 'lesson planning and preparation', six out of a total of nine respondents claimed that it was challenging to learn this skill before the project, while three claimed that it was not challenging. As a challenging skill to acquire, involvement in the project would have given project staff new skills, which could be used in future teaching roles, highlighting the importance of such interventions for staff development in the longer term.

The participants' responses about developing their skill of lesson preparation demonstrated their achieved functioning for capability inputs, such as creating PowerPoint presentations, preparing new teaching topics and selecting learner-appropriate content for lessons. The Indian RA claimed that they prepared for lessons by creating a PowerPoint presentation before teaching new topics, that they read topics on the internet and that they encountered some difficulties with choosing 'various information on topic' and finding relevant materials (P1). Through acquiring skillsets, such as making PowerPoint presentations, the participants were realising their

capabilities in digital literacy skills. These skills are transferable to future job roles in other development projects. For the capabilities inputs of preparing teacher topics and selecting content for learners, the participants were able to achieve functioning in skills central to being employed in mutual recognition with other workers as they were employed on par with their peers rather than in positions as unofficial volunteers or other roles (Nussbaum, 2000). Limiting the conversion factors for the realisation of capabilities linked to teaching English to peers included problems with making materials and sourcing plans for lessons.

Before the discussion of the conversion factors, the frequency and level of confidence will be referred to, as can be seen in *Table 5.5*. Just under half of the project participants felt independent in planning lessons having had the opportunity to lesson plan often or sometimes before, while few claimed that they were independent at making materials for lessons, suggesting that both these skills around curriculum design and lesson planning were complex for the participants compared to those discussed earlier. These gave staff valuable transferable tutoring skills in English as well as general teaching abilities.

Table 5.5: Lesson planning: Frequency and Confidence

	Lesson planning	Making materials for lessons
Fully Independent	4	2
Still Learning	2	3
Need Support	3	3
Often	4	4
Sometimes	5	3
Only once	0	2

Staff referred to problems they had accessing video editing software, though it is unclear whether the barrier was financial or technical as the participants frequently stated that the internet and download speeds are often slower in Uganda. A PT also stated that ‘making drawings and ‘searching the internet’ was challenging as they ‘still need to learn more about designing and making artistic posters’ (P6). Although the

second Ugandan PT was familiar with teaching and used the learners' daily activities to generate real-life English lessons, making materials for teaching was challenging as it involved using videos of sign language, more image illustration, roleplay and direct visual observation. In order to demonstrate sign language literacies, new deaf-centred materials are necessary.

In Ghana, the RA claimed that they 'surfed the internet for information' and were able to use 'apps to design a poster' but faced challenges, including 'no training on poster making' (P8). They suggested that with more training they would be able to utilise the skill effectively. These statements imply that further training in using the relevant computer software would provide the project staff with a lot of valuable skills.

5.3.4. Project research skills: data collection and dissemination

As part of an international project that sought to research the educational outcomes of the deaf being involved in multiliteracies peer-to-peer work, the project staff had the opportunity to learn research skills, as listed in Figure 5.5. For deaf people in the Global South, these abilities would be classed as high-skill capabilities. It was envisaged that knowledge of data collection, documenting and presenting constituted important transferable skills that could provide routes into further employment when the project finished. The data documenting involved the RAs and PTs reporting on the progress of the project and of their students in the class via a report in English with photos, video files and other documentation. Although these research skills do not correlate specifically with UN human rights, which development organisations seek to address, such as language rights and linguistic rights, they do form core parts of job roles, which are typically among the few paid highly skilled roles available to the deaf in resource-poor contexts. These roles include RA roles and language documentation roles, which are often vital sources of information for deaf communities in developing country contexts.

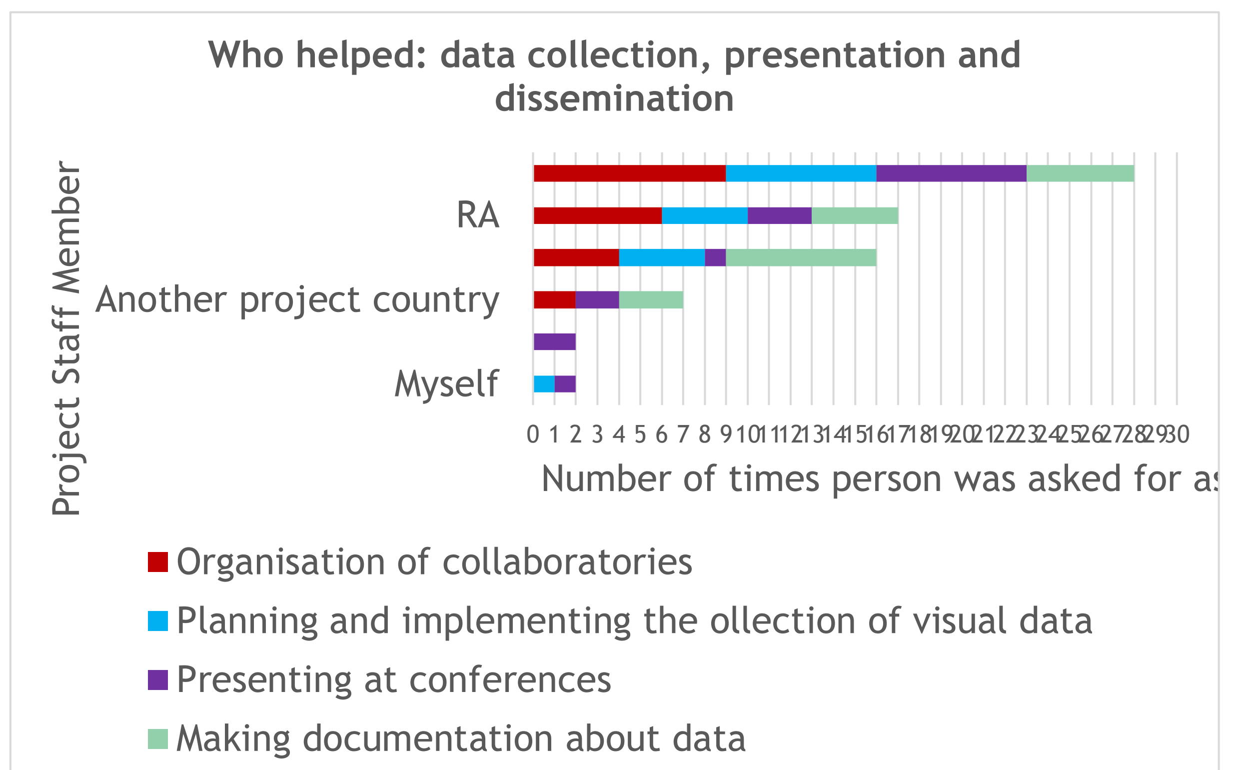

Figure 5.5 Data collection, presentation and dissemination

It has been argued that work-related training fosters social inclusion (Nilson, 2010). For the skills ‘planning and implementing the collection of visual data’ and for the ‘organisation of collaboratories in-country and in neighbouring countries’, which are overseas conferences, it is clear that the participants’ reliance on senior staff was high: they asked senior staff in ten instances for assistance with the implementation of these skills. Working across transnational contexts and acquiring the organisational skills attendant with these events can be a challenging feat for deaf people.

The participants received assistance from PTs in eight instances in ‘making documentation about data’ and from PTs in five instances for the ‘collection of visual data’, all of which suggested that although the project participants relied heavily on senior staff and RAs for knowledge and skills transfer, this was also happening to a significant extent on a peer-to-peer level in the three project countries, especially concerning organisational skills. These skills are quite specialised, and reliance on me, other learners and miscellaneous people in the project country are minimal as the support of senior project staff and RAs are needed here.

By encouraging deaf participants from these Global South contexts to acquire advanced research skills, the P2PDM project was operating as a site of vocational education and training, where deaf staff members were trained to also conduct research

with sign language groups, thus creating the potential to contribute to enhanced social justice.

For the deaf participants in these countries, the extent of their marginalisation means that being trained to conduct research, film sign language and collect footage are all prestigious skills to acquire that greatly enhance their employability. Being trained in collecting visual data did not only allow for the realisation of core capabilities that are obvious, like social affiliation, self-confidence, digital literacy skills and the skill of enhanced future planning but were considered new skills to take to future vocational training and employment. For the skills related to the 'collection of visual data', four participants explained that it was difficult to find opportunities to achieve this prior to starting the project, while five of the participants stated that the challenge was difficult to achieve before being recruited into the P2PDM project.

A PT suggested that his role in the project was the first opportunity he had to 'implement data files, make video recordings of SLEND, design mapping charts and edit videos' (P3). Another PT in Uganda used games and pictures in order to assist with data collection, suggesting that data collection skills were multifaceted and required a range of capabilities.

One of the PTs in Ghana stated that they learned how to collect data in June 2009 when they were involved with a Ghanaian Education Partnerships in Africa project in the UK. They claimed that they were able to do this independently. The PT stated that organisation for her involved working with the RA to collect data firstly from the students' classes and secondly from the collaboratory workshops, which demonstrates strong capabilities, such as self-confidence, being able to direct research at the participants, leading teaching in classes and organising the filming of sign language.

The project offered a rare opportunity for the staff to become involved in data collection processes. It can be observed in *Table 5.6* that although six members of staff planned for and implemented the data collection often, and most felt fully independent with the skill, for making documentation about the data, more of them felt that they were still learning, and this skill was used most frequently as all the staff were regularly involved in creating micro-case studies and multimedia documentation. For other skills, such as collaboratory organisation, most of the staff only had the opportunity to use these skills occasionally and claimed to still be learning. However, the majority of the staff had created information about data occasionally. In turn, the organisation of collaboratories

appeared to be where most staff members claimed that they were still learning, although they claimed that they had used the skill occasionally. In comparison to the other skills, presenting at conferences appeared to be quite straightforward for the project staff.

Table 5.6: Research skills: Frequency and Confidence

	Collection of visual data	Making documentation about data	Presenting at conferences	Organisation of collaboratories in neighbouring countries
Fully Independent	5	3	5	3
Still Learning	3	4	2	5
Need Support	1	2	2	1
Often	6	1	2	1
Sometimes	3	7	5	8
Only once	0	1	2	0

The staff listed the conversion factors for the collection of visual data as poor editing skills and being slow at managing data files on the laptop, while for one PT, connecting the visual data collection with writing up reports was hard (P3). Other limiting conversion factors were 'no editing software in the laptop', 'no editing knowledge' and not being skilled enough to 'create many creative games for children' (P6).

Two female staff from Uganda and Ghana had limited experience of presenting at conferences, and conference presenting was an unusual occurrence among all the project staff in all three countries. The opportunity to share information about their research inputs into the project fostered capabilities realisation in voice, where the deaf project staff could share information with the locals (Samman & Santos, 2009) and more broadly with deaf people at the national and international levels. Four members of staff, primarily RAs, stated that they had experience in presenting before the project started, while five stated that they only gained the opportunity after becoming staff members in the project. One RA stated that they went to conferences in Delhi in September 2018 and that they also had experience presenting at a workshop organised

by DFID and ESRC. Indian PTs discussed their experiences of presenting at several workshops and conferences in India since 2011, including a conference hosted by V-Shesh, a job training organisation for the deaf and also international conferences, such as SIGN9 in Warsaw, Poland regarding the Peer-to-Peer project and SIGNSPACE.[3] The participants presented at a committee meeting in New Delhi in January 2016, at the Regional Dissemination Event on Deaf Literacy in Vadodara in February 2016, at the International Conference of Sign Language (SIGN9) in Poland August 2018 and at the Nepal collaboratory in May 2019 (P3, P4). Presenting at conferences fostered capabilities, including individual self-confidence and increased staff experiences of conducting research while in a supportive and deaf-centric environment. As well as the core capabilities as delineated by Nussbaum and Sen, by presenting at conferences, the staff also arguably facilitated the collective capabilities realisation (Samman & Santos, 2009) in their respective deaf communities as the presentations allowed them to express their experiences as employees in the organisation to other deaf people (voice) and act as representatives for sign language recognition and greater access for deaf communities to information, education and services (representation).

Some conversion factors regarding presenting were related to difficulties with the English language. An RA stated that in this case, they found ‘academic words’ and ‘putting research related facts on PowerPoint’ to be the principal challenge in being able to realise their capability of presenting at conferences. As the participant did not have confidence with academic English or expertise in searching for relevant background information and supporting literature, it was difficult for the participant to create academic PowerPoints that were of a high enough standard for conference presentations without external assistance. This points to academic knowledge and technical skills in searching for academic literature as the two conversion factors that inhibited the participant’s ability to fully realise their capability of presenting at conferences in an independent way. These difficulties have important implications for future training suggestions for deaf participants and suggest that the barriers they face in accessing the job market are complex as a direct result of such embedded linguistic inequalities stated in this example. Over time, the challenges of accessing information in English or other majority languages of literacy will contribute to multiple indexes of deprivation in other

[3] SIGNSPACE is an online learning platform where words and phrases from a variety of international sign languages are listed. The platform allows Deaf individuals from each project country to contribute words.

areas, where skills in the dominant language are typically seen as foundational and essential knowledge for entry to job roles.

The participants' knowledge of 'making documentation about data', which included micro-case studies and multimedia files, varied. Six participants stated that it was challenging to acquire the skill before the project, while three stated that it was not, which implies that they knew how to record data and compile the findings. One participant from Uganda stated that they had acquired the skill before the project, and making documentation allowed them to develop it further, which thus enhanced their capabilities in digital literacies and research skills. They stated that making multimedia documentation allowed them to 'answer questions and give observations about some issues, making captions and recording and arranging videos for multimedia documentation' (P5).

Regarding making multimedia documentation about the data findings, for the Indian staff, constraining the conversion factors, in particular, were related to having difficulties with the English language rather than making the materials about the data. Hara suggested that 'P2P and UK team need[ed to] support me because I must develop my English language' (P3). However, conversely, working in English allowed the deaf staff to practice and enhance their employability as English is highly valued in the job market there. Other limiting conversion factors were editing videos and the time-consuming nature of doing the tasks that made it challenging for the participants to achieve.

The RAs, alongside the senior project staff, were responsible for the organisation of the deaf-led conferences, termed collaboratories, which were hosted by each project country. An initial collaboratory was set up in Bhubaneswar, India in December 2017, followed by a second in Odisha in 2018. The project also aimed to encourage South-South outreach among different deaf communities. One RA from Uganda and one from Ghana were in India for training prior to the first collaboratory and had the opportunity to network and meet local Indian deaf staff during their training. Thus, a form of South-South collaboration throughout the project was initiated through the training and creation of collaboratories. In the case of India and Uganda, the teams in each country set up outreach workshops once in Nepal and once in Burundi, respectively. The organisation of collaboratories involved competence in negotiation, time management, event planning and logistics, making travel arrangements, contacting local deaf associations and communities and planning the topics that would be

discussed at each event. For the deaf staff from the Global South, the opportunity to attend and work with deaf people in other countries was also rare, which is evident in the participants' comments. All of them stated that they had no opportunity to organise collaboratories or similar events before the project started.

Some challenges that cropped up with the organisation of the collaboratories were shared, such as it being difficult to 'plan an idea title' (P1), suggesting that content creation was hard for the RAs and PTs. Another comment was that sometimes 'I struggled working discussion with deaf participants in workshop and [had] weak contact with deaf social networking', which implies that people management and communication with deaf networks in a professional context were particularly taxing aspects.

Although one participant reported a positive experience of the organisation of collaboratories, it could be inferred that teamwork was sometimes difficult as they stated that normally 'I like work fully independently', while collaboratory organisation and attendance involved significant amounts of teamwork and networking with unknown deaf people at events (P3).

Another RA assisted with the organisation of the Indian collaboratory in Bhubaneswar in December 2017 and subsequent collaboratories in Uganda and Burundi. He suggested that it was more difficult 'developing questions to guide the discussions and deciding on the outcomes' (P5). A Ugandan PT contributed to the collaboratory organisation by 'brainstorming on presentation ideas' and 'preparing PowerPoint slides' in May 2018 as well as 'coming up with a theme' for the collaboratories.

In turn, for Ghana, the RA wrote invitations to guests, found research questions for the collaboratory and prepared presentations and logistics/budgets in April 2018. However, the participant also stated key challenges, which included 'limited experience organising workshops', stating that although they can present at collaboratories, 'I do not have the requisite skills to organise workshops' (P8). Other challenging aspects included designing a budget and deciding who to invite. Finally, they suggested that because 'organising collaboratories' is a 'collective responsibility', they 'found it difficult to organise alone' and needed both support from the P2PDM team and additional training. A PT in the same country stated that their role in organising the collaboratories involved assisting the RA and the co-investigator with their preparations

and collecting data in the form of pictures and videos (P9). However, the PT stated that they were ‘still learning’ from the more experienced co-investigator and RA regarding collaboratory organisation.

5.4. Project networks utilised by research assistants and peer tutors

Finally, the capabilities of the staff were affected not only by the geographical and sociocultural surroundings in which they worked but also by their access to deaf communities, to intra-communal knowledge and to community hierarchies. The Capabilitity Approach discusses the importance of external sociocultural structures and the conversion factors of providing framing limitations to the participants’ ability to achieve functioning. Social ties have been analysed from a theory of network perspectives, where the antecedents to the formation of such networks are studied, while network theory examines social capital, which consequently results after the networks have formed (Borgatti & Lopez-Kidwell, 2014, p.2). Social network analysis draws on the social relations between individuals and argues that ‘everyday interactions (parental, spousal, business, familial or clientelist) form the foundation of relational structure[s]’ (Singh, 2019, p.2).

Such primary interactions are also typically influenced through underlying hierarchical relations, which are often ‘created by the differential distribution of symbolically charged cultural, economic and social capitals’ (Singh, 2019, p.2). The premise of social capital comprises the same social ties among actors that underpin social network analysis (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The example of people normally securing jobs through distant acquaintances rather than strong ties, such as family, has been pointed out, where people with more weak ties (more social capital) are more likely to benefit from such opportunities (Granovetter, 1973). Within the project, the deaf staff that were recruited were an educational elite and only formed a small contingent of the deaf communities in India, Uganda and Ghana as a whole. Consequently, it must be understood that their access to deaf networks must be considerably more substantial than for many other deaf individuals throughout the country.

By having access to networks that enhance emotions of ‘DEAF-SAME’ and the reception of information through linguistic access, it is clear that the aspects of life quality that are essential to human dignity for sign language users are being met

(Friedner & Kusters, 2015). For example, it has been observed that ‘the kind of sociability which is fully human includes symmetrical relations … but also relations of more or less extreme asymmetry … [although] non-symmetrical relations can still contain reciprocity and truly human functioning’ (Nussbaum, 2007a, p.160). These comments highlight that some deaf individuals who have experienced extreme linguistic deprivation can achieve limited functioning in their access to sociability and community, gaining reciprocity and mutual respect in their relations within their families and communities, but access to the capability is much more likely with language access.

However, for many deaf people, as a consequence of linguistic asymmetries, attendant social asymmetries can often, and do, result in decreased capability access and achievement. For the deaf staff participating in the project, their experience was one of being plugged in to deaf community networks and having greater access to information and ongoing experiences of mutually respectful reciprocity. As a consequence, it can be argued that access to deaf networks through working in the project further enhanced the space in which the participants were able to realise a range of core capabilities. As a consequence of being a linguistic minority who face many challenges in accessing the surrounding majority of spoken languages, known as phonological societies, the rise of deaf sociality (Friedner, 2015) and deaf space (Gulliver, 2009) has created strong community spaces. In India, these spaces are with deaf organisations or charitable foundations working with the deaf. In Uganda, and Ghana too, deaf sociality is formed in places where deaf communities coalesce, which have included charitable organisations, NGOs and churches hosting services for the deaf.

5.4.1. Team networks across all skill groups

The numbers of times the deaf staff were assisted with skills development is utilised as a proxy for skills transfer within project team networks. The senior research team in the UK and the in-country co-investigators were all hearing, with the exception of Rohit, an in-country Indian deaf consultant. The senior research team included eight members of academic staff with no signing skills and two UK iSLanDS assistants with BSL competence. It has been noted that a limitation of the research method is that deaf people network and contact each other for assistance in many other ways, yet it was not possible to track this; only an enquiry about the skills and instances where the staff counted skills transfer during the P2PDM project was possible. Across the full sample of nine respondents, reference was made to 279 data points of instances when the nine

participants were helped by another team member. This was across all 13 skills. The three RAs sampled from across all three project countries stated that they relied on senior project staff up to 27 times out of a count of 61 times they mentioned receiving assistance (Figure 5.6). Correspondingly, this indicated a reliance of around 42% for the RAs in their senior team for acquiring new skills. The senior research team consisted of UK academics, one of whom is fluent in ISL, and in-country consultants, some of whom are deaf signers.

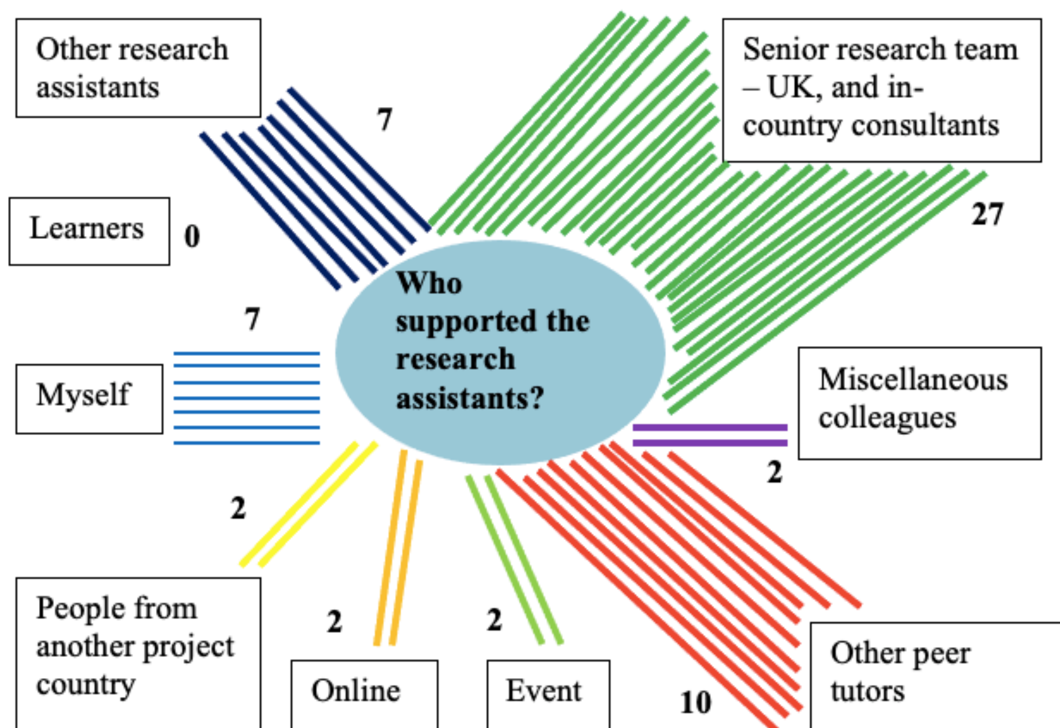

Figure 5.6 Research assistant networks

Each RA referred to receiving assistance from 'other research assistants in your team' on seven occasions. The RAs had interpreted the term 'research assistant in your team' as being applicable to cross-country collaboration, for example, the Indian-based RA asked the Ghanaian-based RA for support with this skill. All the RAs also discussed skills that they had achieved 'myself' on seven instances, without asking for other team members' assistance. Two of the RAs referred to self-learning either online or by attending events (Figure 5.6*)*. In contrast to the frequency with which each country's RA cited that they relied upon other RAs in their team for support with skills development, only one made references to asking for support from people from another project country on two occasions.

The RAs asked for support from their team PTs on ten occasions, suggesting that there were some skills transfer towards the RAs from the PTs or that the difference

in the roles between the RAs and the PTs was not as strong as it initially appeared. It appears that the RAs requested the most support from the senior project staff.

This is supported by the findings from the PTs’ statements on who they asked in their teams for help. There were three PTs based in India, two in Uganda and two in Ghana. However, in the end, five PTs were included in total as one of them had to withdraw from the project. As can be seen in Figure 5.7, the density of the PTs requesting support from more senior staff and horizontally from other PTs was much more frequent than the number of times RAs requested support from senior staff or horizontally from other PTs. The RAs had more experience, and this perhaps allowed them to act with more independence in their role.

Figure 5.7 lists the individual participants in the two columns along with their project role and their project country. In the white boxes, the P2PDM team member who assisted is listed. The colour key can be seen, where each colour is matched to a P2PDM team member; for instance, yellow is for ‘another project country’, and it can be seen that Participant 2 asked for assistance on two occasions from these team members.

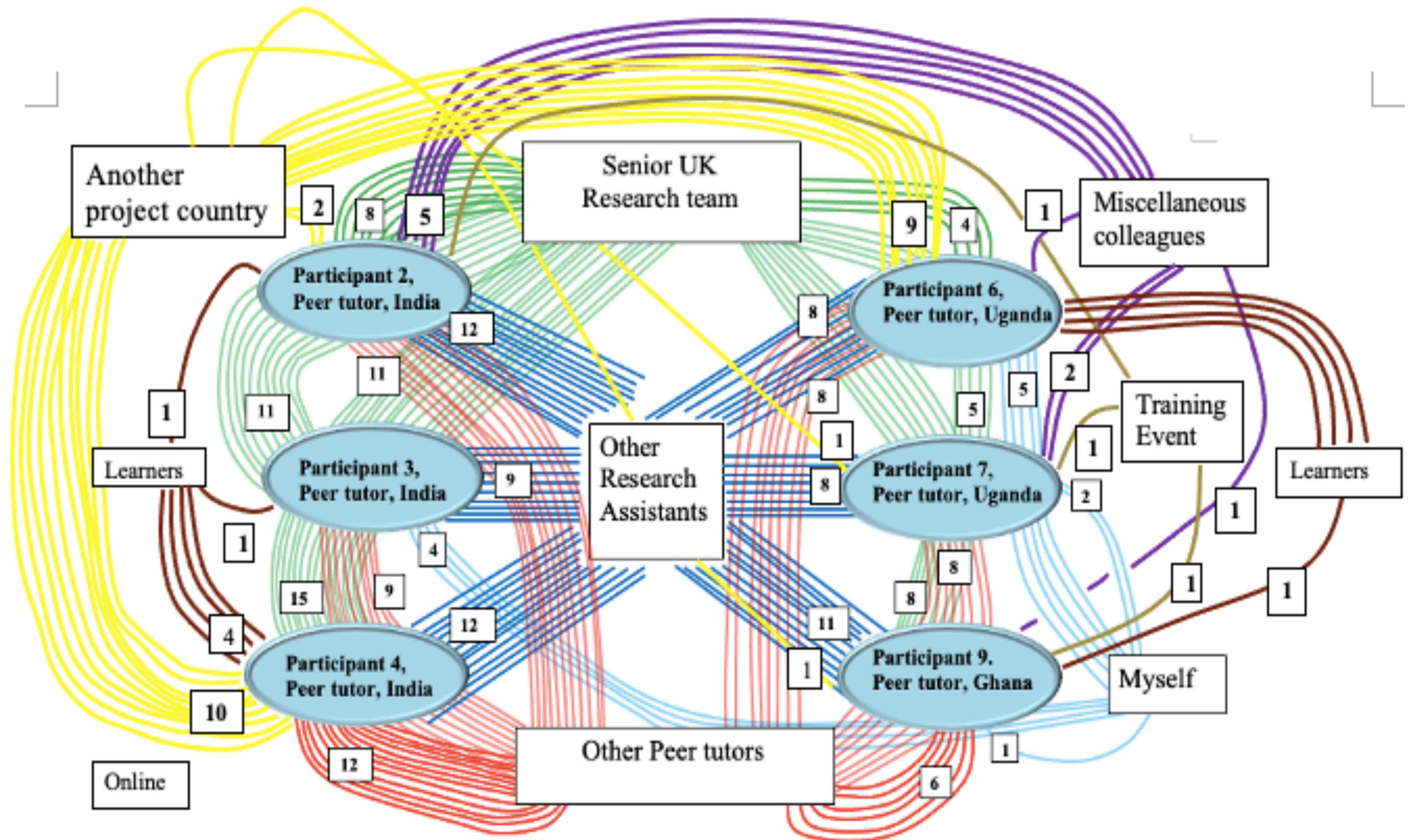

Figure 5.7 Peer tutor network: who helped across all skill groups

Throughout the project, the staff demonstrated differing levels of autonomy in their decision-making processes while completing the project work. For instance, the RAs and the PTs often requested assistance from senior project staff for certain skills groups. The PTs mentioned that they received assistance from senior project staff 51 times (out of a total sample of 218 times that assistance was received by the six PTs). This demonstrates a reliance of around 23% by PTs on the senior project staff, which is much lower than the RAs (42%).

There is not much difference between the referral to senior project staff and the reliance of PTs on the RAs in-country as 61 references to being supported by the RAs out of a total of 218 times help was asked for with a specific skill were cited (including some references to being supported by RAs by some of the P2PDM RAs themselves). The PTs asked 28% of the RAs for assistance with skills development.

The green lines show on how many occasions the P2PDM project staff contacted senior project staff, such as Rohit, the Indian consultant (P11), and the UK academic staff. The three Indian staff requested assistance from the UK team on eight, eleven and fifteen different skills, compared to the African staff, who requested assistance with four, five and eight skills. The reasons why the Indians were more active in contacting the senior project staff might have been because many of them were working in close proximity to Rohit, the Indian consultant, who corresponded and planned frequently with the senior UK team, and the Indians had worked often with the senior UK team in a previous Deaf Literacy project in 2015, whereas the African teams had only joined the P2PDM project, meaning that their network was relatively recent.

Two of the PTs asked people from another project country on nine and ten occasions. Karthik and Miremba also had the highest number of overseas connections among the Indian and African teams, suggesting that these two individuals were delegated the responsibility of acting as mediators between the two project countries. Their roles as super connectors emphasise the capabilities of individual staff members to enhance their transnational connections and make an impact on their capabilities of representation and voice on an international and national platform. Although the project only assessed transnational connections on a limited scale, for the Indian participants, being able to meet deaf people from other project countries was a rare occurrence, and many mentioned the impact that transnational awareness had on their capabilities as advocates for deaf education and signed

languages. In terms of horizontal skills transfer, the PTs stated that they asked for support with skills development from other PTs 47 times – 22% of the total persons asked. References to relying on people from another project country were made by five of the PTs, proportionally accounting for 11% of skills transfer, though the majority (9%) of overseas assistance was received by two PTs, one based in India and one based in Uganda.

The PTs also referred to taking on board new skills from their adult and child learner groups on 11 instances, therefore attributing 5% of skills transfer from learners vertically in the network. Three of the PTs also referred to relying on 'myself' in 11 instances, and the particular skills these refer to are broken down below. Two PTs also referred to learning from events, two PTs to learning online, and nine referred to learning from various colleagues.

The next section will continue to discuss the impact of networks and skills transfer but will examine these occurrences across the four skills groups of general work-related skills, communication, peer tutoring and research.

5.4.2. Team networks and assistance by project role: research assistant and peer tutors

Regarding general work-related skills, applying to jobs and organisation, the PTs relied more heavily on other project staff than the RAs. Of the 44 responses, the RAs referred to relying on myself on two occasions, senior project staff on four occasions, other RAs on two occasions, other PTs on two occasions. For the PTs, they cited relying on myself on two occasions, senior project staff were relied on 11 times, other RAs seven times, other PTs five times, learners three times, people from another project country five times, miscellaneous staff on one occasion. As detailed in Table 5.7, the table delineates how often the RAs asked other RAs for assistance and likewise for the PTs.

Figure 5.6 demonstrates that the senior project staff, the RAs and the PTs were asked quite frequently by the PTs for assistance. The project staff also relied on miscellaneous colleagues and people from another project country often. The RAs asked senior project staff, as well as other RAs and PTs, for assistance with organisational skills, while the PTs asked senior project staff, RAs and other PTs on more occasions as well as learners and people from other project countries.

Table 5.7: Horizontal relationships in team networks: all skill groups

	Research assistants requesting assistance from other research assistants	Peer tutors requesting support from other peer tutors
Applying to jobs	0	1
Organisational skills	2	4
Communicating with other project members	1	5
Communicating via WhatsApp	1	5
Improving English skills via SLEND	0	4
Using professional sign language when teaching	0	3
Using professional English when teaching	0	3
Lesson planning and preparation	0	3
Making materials for teaching	0	3
Organisation of collaboratories	1	4
Planning and implementing the collection of visual data	0	4
Presenting at conferences	0	1
Making documentation about data	0	5

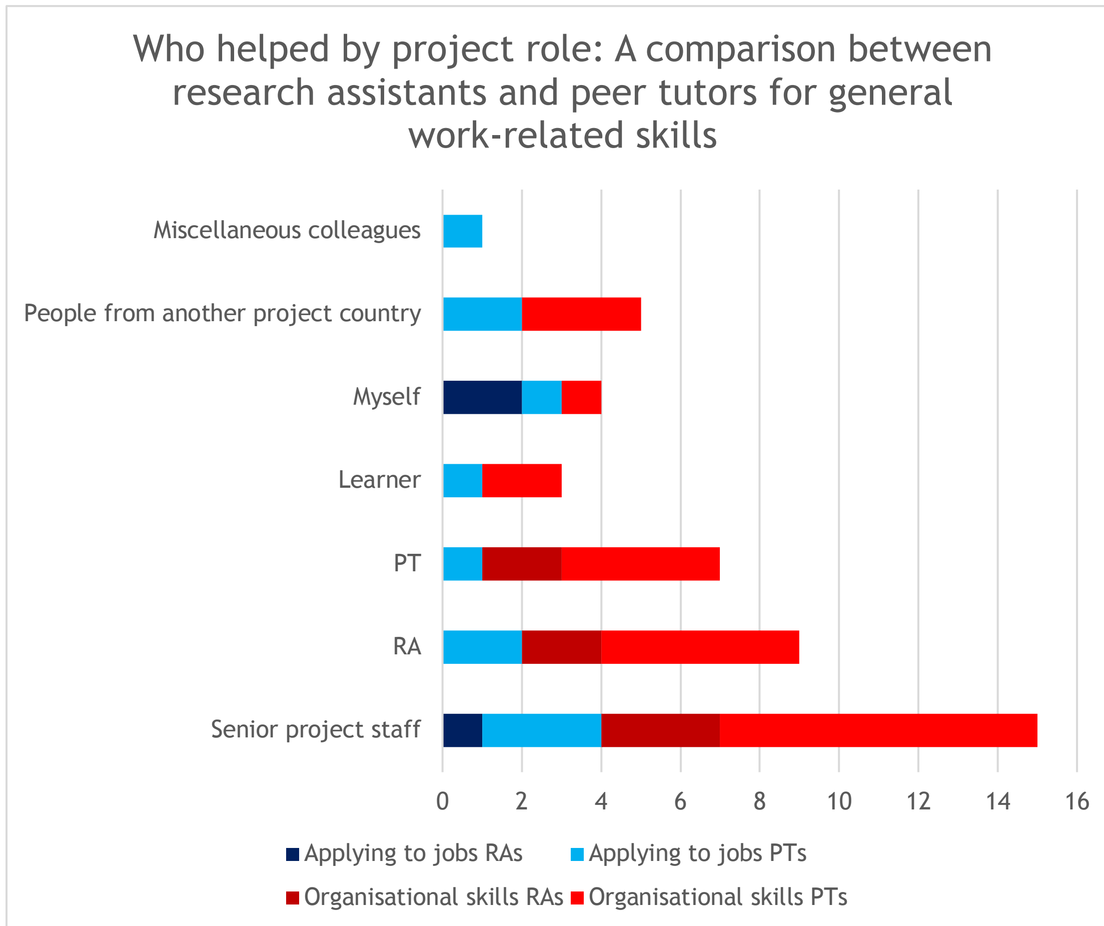

Figure 5.8 Who helped by project role: general work-related skills

In turn, regarding communication skills, the data points to a lower reliance by the RAs on other PTs, learners and people from another project country. As demonstrated in Figure 5.9, the RAs and PTs both utilised face-to-face communication and written English communication on WhatsApp. The RAs preferred to draw upon the assistance of senior project staff across the three skills by communicating with other project members, communicating via WhatsApp and improving their English skills via SLEND.

Compared to the assistance sought by the more junior PTs, it can be seen that the RAs required less assistance than the PTs, and they were more competent in using communication skills with confidence. For example, four PTs asked the senior project staff for assistance across the three skills more often than the RAs had, thus vertical relationships were utilised on more occasions by the PTs than the RAs.

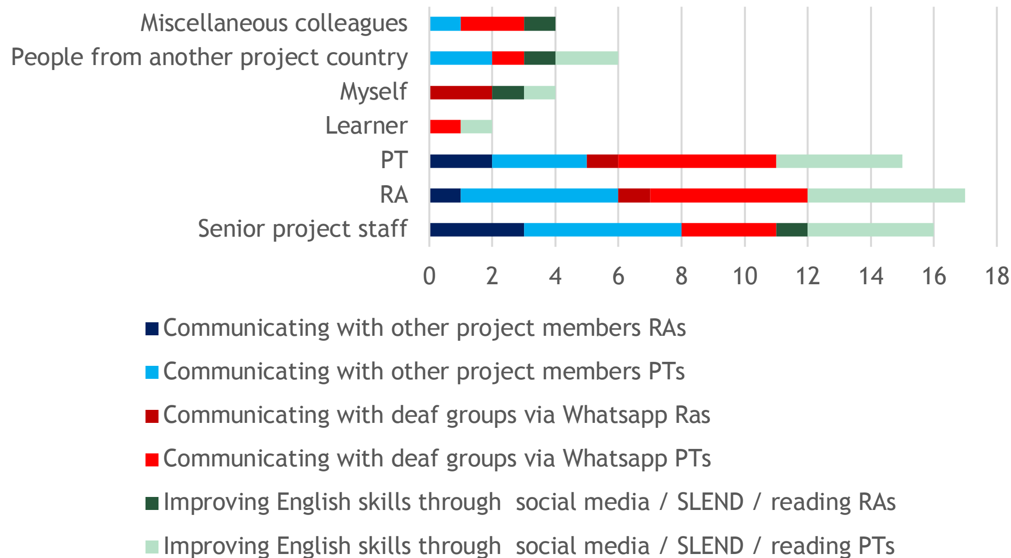

Figure 5.9 Who helped by role: communication skills

However, in the case of the RAs asking other RAs or PTs asking other PTs for assistance horizontally in their network, there are some distinctions between the groups regarding these skills. Across the communication skills group, the three RAs relied on the assistance of other RAs and communicated with other project members five times, via WhatsApp one time, and they improved their English skills via SLEND zero times. In turn, the five PTs relied on the assistance of other PTs as detailed, communicating with other project members three times and via WhatsApp five times, and they improved their English skills via SLEND four times. Broken down by skill group, the times another team member assisted with a skill are shown.

For teaching skills, it appears that the RAs felt quite independent using sign language at a professional standard in the classroom as all three stated that they relied on 'myself' and did not ask anyone else for assistance, although Mukisa claimed he learned 'during my undergraduate studies' (P5), while Ebo stated he had 'proficiency already and teaching experience' (P8). Similarly, the RAs appeared to need assistance using professional English to a lesser degree as the senior staff were asked for support on one instance, while one RA also asked another PT for support.

In turn, for the PTs who had the bulk of the responsibility for teaching classes, regarding the two skills of using professional sign language when teaching and using professional English when teaching, the senior staff and RAs were asked for assistance, which shows that the PTs relied on vertical flows of support from more senior staff in the project in order to complete their tasks. However, overall, less assistance was required with using professional sign language, perhaps as it was the L1 language of P2PDM staff.

As detailed below in Figure 5.10, the requests for support from colleagues was pronouncedly more horizontal for the PTs than for the RAs in regard to teaching skills. For example, the PTs asked for support with using professional English when teaching from learners on two occasions, from other project country staff on two occasions and also from miscellaneous staff, while for using professional sign language when teaching, they requested assistance from learners on two occasions and also from another project country on two occasions.

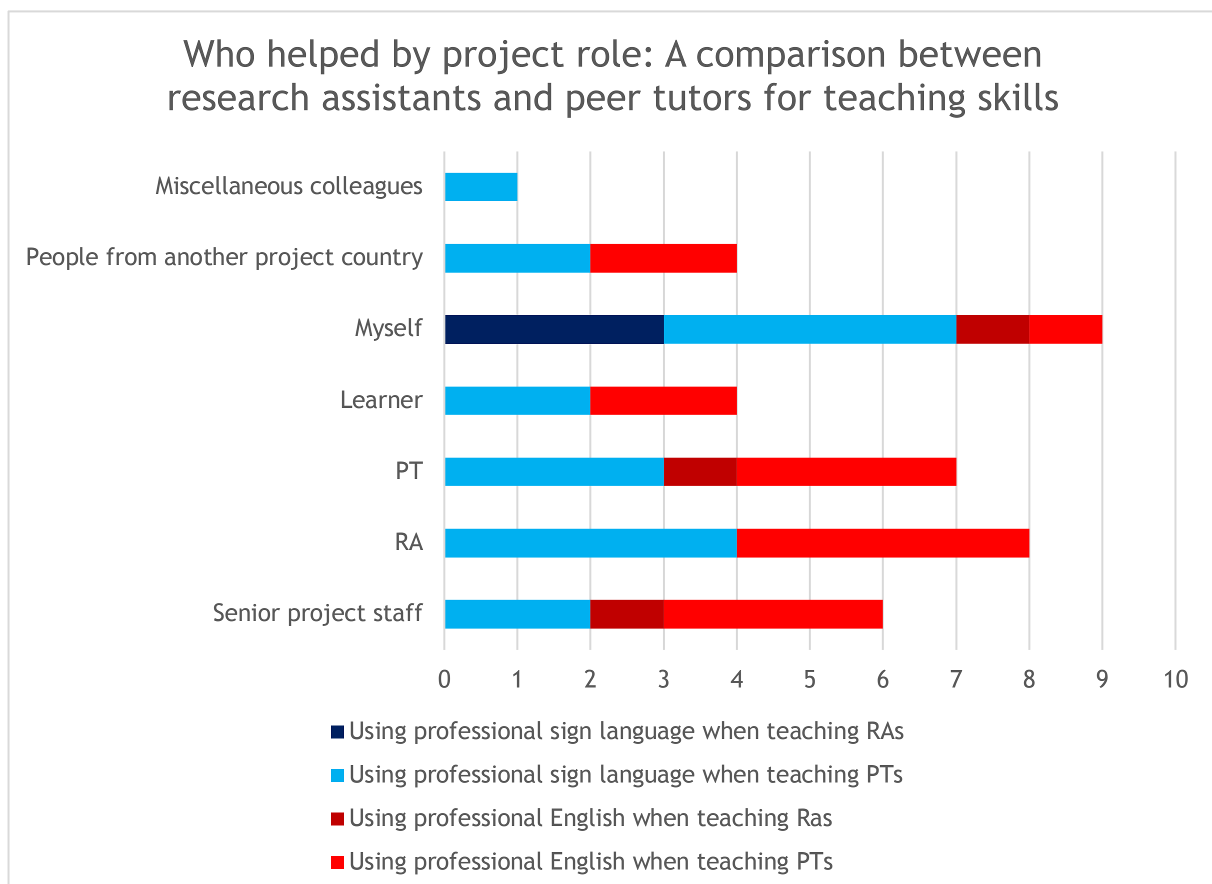

Figure 5.10 Who helped by role: teaching skills

In turn, for the lesson planning and creating materials, there was some overlap between the skills required for teaching English and the skills required for utilising digital literacies,

which in many of the project sites were more challenging for the deaf project staff as computers were in short supply.

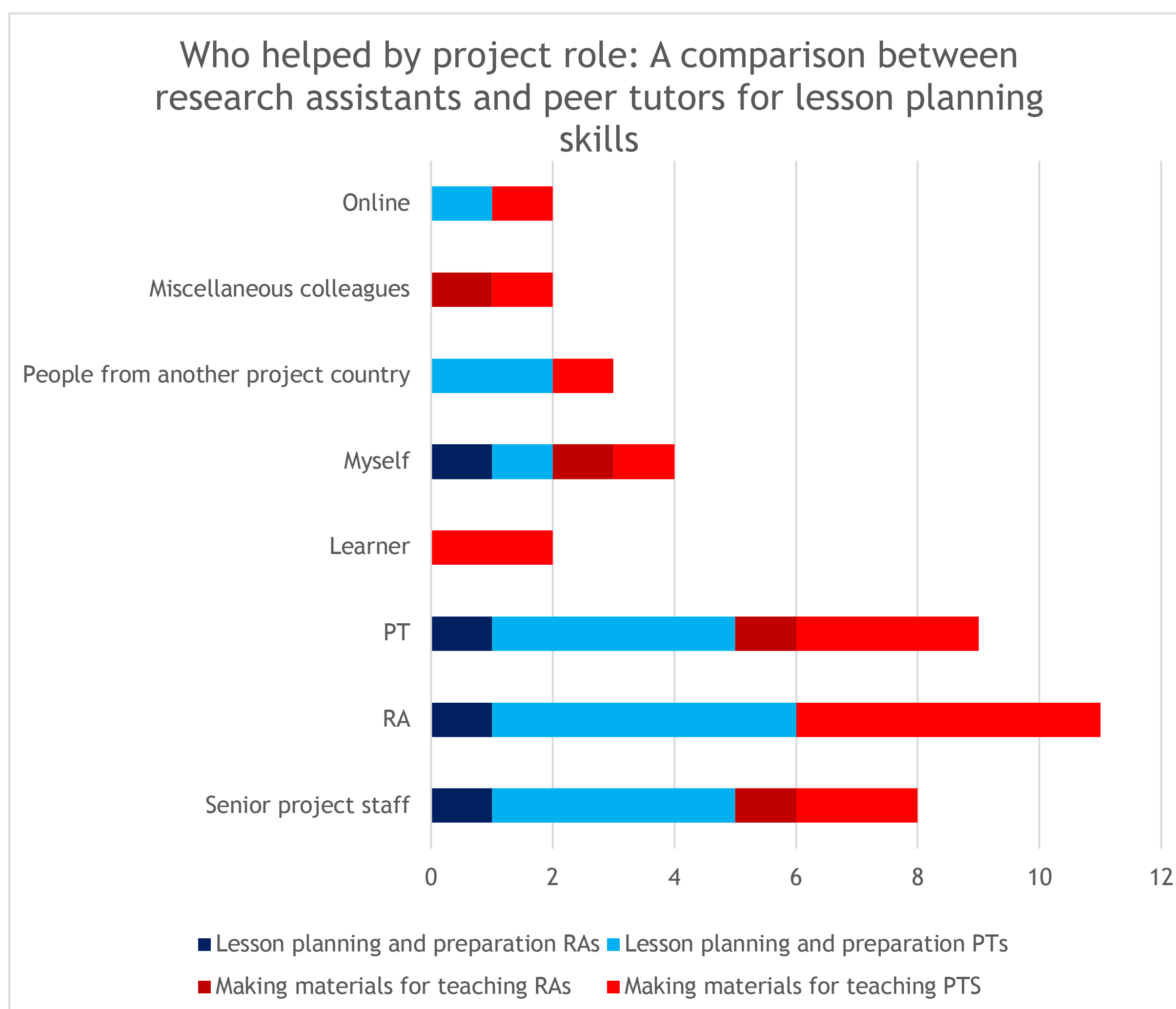

Figure 5.11 Who helped by project role: lesson planning

The PTs asked the senior project staff and RAs for support with planning classes more than the RAs did. For lesson planning, the RAs only asked for assistance on one occasion, and the same for making materials for teaching. However, this might be because the RAs main duties were linked with data collection and PT supervision, unlike the PTs, whose main responsibilities were linked to peer tutoring.

Finally, for the research skills, the RAs required more support from senior project staff and drew on vertical network nodes as many of the skills were highly complex to achieve for deaf people whose first language is a sign language. As detailed in Figure 5.12, the PTs requested the majority of support from senior project staff, RAs and other PTs across all four skills.

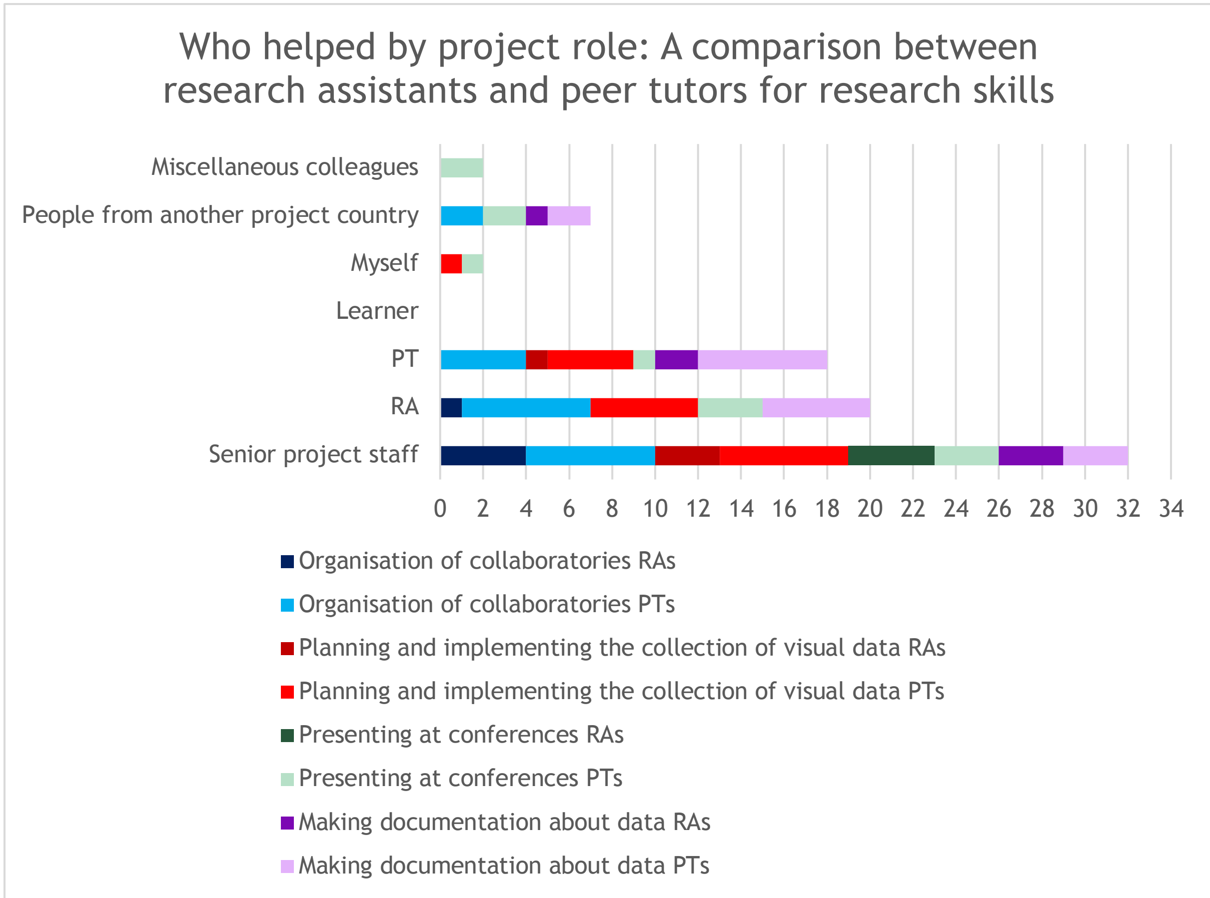

Figure 5.12 Who helped by project role: research skills

For the organisation of collaboratories, the RAs requested support from the senior staff on four instances and from another RA on one instance, showing stronger vertical ties than for the previous skills, such as using sign language or English while teaching. The RAs also requested support on three instances from senior project staff for the collection of visual data, on four instances for presenting at conferences and on three occasions for making documentation about the data, all of which indicate the complexity of these skills in comparison to the other skills utilised.

5.5. Chapter summary

Across India, Uganda and Ghana, deaf people are often under- or unemployed and face numerous barriers to accessing education or training. The opportunity to work as employees within the project brought benefits across sociocultural axes, which includes environmental variation, social variation and personal heterogeneities. Finally, statements across the full sample, alongside a network analysis, demonstrate a marked difference in the levels of responsibility for completing tasks and the attendant impacts that this possibly had on capability realisation and participant agency. Other comments highlighted the fundamental

importance of access to sign language for deaf individuals. The conversion factors that were unique to deaf populations often included linguistic barriers that are both social and structural. Such linguistic factors constrained the participants' abilities to acquire skills. For example, the participants' baseline of understanding hearing-community concepts due to a lack of language or knowledge inputs or, in this study, their understanding of English, was sometimes cited as a constraining factor that prevented their acquisition of skills within the P2PDM project.

Through examining staff skills and their interrelation with capabilities achievement in core areas, it can be noted that by considering how often skills were utilised, and how confident the staff perceived themselves to be with various skills in the project, it was possible to gain a broader understanding of what capabilities deaf individuals had achieved and why it was valuable to them. For instance, it was clear that the staff felt more confident in their abilities with applying for jobs, organising project tasks and teaching deaf learners using English or sign language. However, the comments on frequency and confidence with lesson planning skills, making classroom materials and data collection demonstrate the wealth of transferable skills the project fostered.

By being involved in the project, the staff increased their knowledge of the workplace and gained access to senior members of local deaf communities, which allowed them to recognise the expertise they have on their culture and language. Statements indicated that the process of applying for jobs in mainstream contexts are often inaccessible for native deaf signers, and this was borne out in all three countries. In addition, the participants indicated a preference for completing applications through signing.

The differentiation between the job tasks conducted by the RAs and by the PTs clarified the role of social networks. Throughout the project, a social network analysis indicated that the RAs in India were most often in contact with the senior UK team due to prior established relationships. In addition, the PTs did not contact the senior research team for support with skills development. This mostly tended to be conducted by the RAs and sometimes the country co-investigator in the country. The RAs tended to be more central in the network, acting as a connection between the overseas senior staff and the PTs, and they were consequently responsible for much of the staff skills development. The project provided a new institutional space for 'information networks' to be created, which 'enhances knowledge diffusion … or social aims' (Oliviera & Gama, 2012, p. 12).

A network analysis indicated that the extent of project staff reliance on other team members was extensive in relation to some skills, such as the organisation of collaboratories and presenting at conferences, but it was extremely limited in relation to skills such as using professional sign language when teaching. The responses demonstrate the positive impact that a peer network can have on deaf individuals. Consequently, deaf sociality played a central role in enhancing access for individuals to the wider pools of knowledge available both through sign languages and the wider Deaf culture. The participants referred to the support received through wider deaf networks during the project, which enhanced their access to capability inputs related to social affiliation, including access to deaf networks, access to local sign language and access to new life skills taught by other local deaf people.

The project staff members were well connected in their respective deaf communities, a factor that assisted many with access to education, training and further learning. The project staff tended to have qualifications, fluency in or significant skill with their sign language, knowledge of English and other attributes of highly skilled individuals. Finding highly skilled deaf individuals in Global South contexts who had adequate bases of, first, professional experience; second, knowledge of deaf communities, language and cultures, and third, multiliteracies awareness and peer-to-peer teaching skills means that the skillset these staff hold is not reflective of the wider deaf communities in these contexts; it is indicative of the positive impact development organisations can bring in terms of skills transfer and access to deaf networks.

To conclude, by being involved in the Deaf Multiliteracies project as staff members, nine participants were able to fully achieve their core capability of material control over one's environment by engaging in meaningful work and holding relationships of mutual recognition with their co-workers. The opportunity to work in a deaf environment fostered greater elements of knowledge sharing and of skills transfer. Other elements of their job roles, such as lesson planning and using multiliteracies skills, clearly encouraged the participants to realise the capability of senses, imagination and thought. They stretched their potential, used thought and reason, and thereby enhanced their own multiliteracies knowledge.

6. Capabilities within the Indian context

6.1. Introduction

This chapter explores how participation in the P2PDM project enhanced Indian participants' access to English language, developed their skills in using their national sign language and provided access to employment for project staff. These opportunities enabled individuals to access capability inputs related to multiliteracies acquisition in English language learning, peer teaching and learning, and accessing community participation. The findings give some insight into regional variances and feed into recommendations for conducting development project work with deaf communities. A future study could examine the capabilities of deaf Indians outside of development projects, or outside of formal accessible education.

As detailed in Chapter One, societal prejudices and barriers for the deaf in Indian society remain significant (**Section 1.5)**. In India, 'common perception views disability as a retribution for past karmas (actions)' (Ghai, 2002, p.91). Aside from a select number of specialist deaf schools in the country, there is no accessible education in sign language for the majority of deaf Indians. Lack of access to the 'capability-enhancing effects of education', alongside a 'lack of access to basic services' can be far-reaching in the effects upon what individuals are able to do (Graham et al., 2013, p.325).

In a report titled 'Women with Disabilities Network India', disability activists and others argued that limited progress had been made towards meeting development goals listed throughout the UN CRPD. Five of these, particularly Article 5 and Article 6, which aim to ensure equality for disabled persons in society and prevent discrimination; Article 8, on raising awareness of disability generally; Article 24, which aims to provide equitable, accessible education; and Article 27, which promotes the right of disabled people to hold employment, are of particular relevance for deaf individuals in India, but they still do not guarantee the provision of accessibility, such as sign language interpreters in healthcare or employment settings or accessible education (Women with Disabilities India Network, 2019). Although participants already had the right in theory to access education, to be free from discrimination and to hold jobs, in practice, this was not the case for many deaf persons in India. As a consequence, the value of the Capabilities Approach to determine peoples' lived freedoms in practice is apparent.

This chapter discusses participants' experiences in relation to their capabilities and multiliteracies skills (**Section 6.2**); their capability sets in peer-to-peer teaching by the PTs, followed by the capability sets in peer-to-peer learning (**Section 6.3**); and finally, in relation to deaf networks (**Section 6.4**). In the next section, the impact of achieved capabilities/functioning is discussed, alongside conversion factors that particularly affected Indian participants (**Section 6.5**). Finally, the chapter emphasises how a capabilities framework can extend and deepen the understanding of the multiple ways in which people's everyday freedoms are realised in practice, building on references of UN Articles being met (**Section 6.6**).

6.2. Accessing multiliteracies

Nussbaum (2007) cited multiliteracies within the broader capability of senses, imagination and thought, stating the importance of individuals 'being able to imagine, think and reason … in a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training' (p. 23). The majority of deaf people across India are below this minimum threshold; however, project participants did have some level of literacy knowledge before joining the project.

Perspectives from scholars in the field of deaf studies reject what is termed an 'autonomous' form of literacy, in which deaf individuals who have poor skills in written English or another phonological language are deemed illiterate and, instead, align more closely with the perspective of the New Literacy Group, which draws on the multiliteracies approach (Snoddon, 2010). The multiliteracies framing of capabilities realisation, in which sign language and visual literacies are included alongside English literacies, is particularly relevant for an analysis of functioning among the Indian participants.

Participants developed new literacy-related skills at more advanced levels, from filming themselves signing to designing lesson materials and writing formal reports. There was also a notable distinction between the related experiences of the PTs, who had the responsibility of teaching, lesson planning, and those of the learners, who commented on the dual benefits of access to English tutoring and access to peer networks in which other deaf people assisted them with their learning.

In the mapping activity, the key words 'learn English' prompted responses around multiliteracies, specifically English and ISL (**Section 3.8.1**). In turn, key words that included

‘use mobile phone’, ‘using YouTube to share sign language videos’ and ‘improving skills using sign language while being filmed’ garnered responses related to digital literacy skills and the use of ISL literacies. Some skills that required deaf participants to know and use multiliteracies in their daily lives included ‘travel alone’, accessing an ‘ATM + bank’, and ‘interacting with visitors’ to their school or local deaf association. Finally, cards asked if participants felt able to ‘learn other sign languages’ and to ‘socialise with new deaf people’, which often required some use of written multiliteracies skills in addition to communication. Questions from the focus groups that elicited responses about multiliteracies were related to educational history and to family and friends’ responses to their new English skills.

6.2.1. Learning and using English literacy

Many Indian languages are phonologically complex and for deaf signers, language acquisition of a spoken language is extremely challenging, but in its written forms it can be very useful in daily life. Acquiring the written language of the country is one adaptation that deaf people make. Many deaf individuals have adapted to circumstances such as being illiterate, with no access to written or spoken language, and can still act with agency and self-direction, with a majority drawing on sign language literacies. Regardless, by acquiring a deeper knowledge of English and ISL, deaf participants accessed new routes into learning and subsequent achievement of social integration and community participation.

Learning English was defined on multiple levels: as knowledge of the alphabet, using the alphabet, vocabulary recognition, writing sentences in English and being able to read and understand English sentences or passages of text. In terms of learning English, across the 23 Indian participants, responses to the mapping activity keyword of ‘learn English’ showed that three PTs had learned English, while seven learners across Delhi and Indore and four members of household staff at HHSD believed that they had the knowledge and skills to learn English but had not had the opportunity to do so.

Interestingly, three PTs from the mapping activity at the IDBA stated they were ‘thinking’ about learning English, and their responses suggested they believed they did not have the knowledge or skills to learn English. However, it can be assumed that participants interpreted the question to mean learning a higher level of or more advanced English as all of the PTs who stated they had not had the opportunity to learn English already had knowledge of foundational and intermediate English from participation in a previous project, including knowledge of the alphabet, vocabulary recognition and writing English sentences. The

opportunity to participate in the current project enhanced their English knowledge further and is an example of a virtuous cycle; exposure to English learning in a degree course and a previous Deaf Literacy development project equipped them with the multiliteracies skills and capabilities to be PTs and RAs.

A project PT, Karthik (P4), suggested that deaf persons 'have grown up by just copying without their own idea', without developing the skills for critical, independent thought about what they are taught (Karthik, FG1). Deaf learners must be able to use their senses and access imagination and thinking skills through language learning. People with low literacy in written English have a constrained social and environmental context in which to pursue valued goals compared to deaf people with greater access to reading and writing, and they often achieve lower outcomes in terms of educational attainment.

One capability input that was particularly relevant for project participants from India was learning written English – the language is particularly valued in today's job market and acts as an indispensable 'link language' within India with its plurilingual contexts (Vijayalakshmi, 2014, p. 646). Participants such as learners Arjun (P18) and Maneet (P20), whose first language was Hindi, did not learn English in school until they moved to Indore (P27, P29, MG1; P18, P20, MG3). In the case of the HHSD household staff in Odisha state, Ajay, Disha and Pallavi had knowledge of Odia (MG1,MG3,MG4). In contrast, one learner from the same group, Sarita (P19), had 'learned English since my childhood, and also our teacher taught us English grammar' (P19, MG3). The learners also discussed the different L1 languages they relied on for writing. Two of the PTs' first languages were Hindi, while one PT had a good baseline knowledge of English, as demonstrated to the researcher during the fieldwork in the country (P2, P3, P4, MG2, MG5). The varied knowledge bases of the learners and Indian project staff, in addition to the environmental and social diversities, must be considered, particularly to account for differentials in the functioning capability of learning English.

The P2PDM project focused on teaching real-life English (RLE) – everyday words and phrases directly relevant to participants' life experiences. Learner Rani commented that the English classes taught her 'about the medicines and its expiry dates, banking transactions and filling account details, etc. These were new learnings for me. It can be harmful for us if we use expired medicines without looking into the dates' (P16, FG3). Learners, utilised a range of strategies to enhance their knowledge of Real-Life English, even after having

achieved functioning in their capabilities with basic English. These strategies to acquire advanced, 'difficult' English included reading more and having more peer discussions. Learners claimed that although they did not 'read newspapers everyday', they were used to reading books and would 'share and discuss in WhatsApp group[s]' the information they found (P19, MG3). Many learners cited the utilisation of the platform as one technique that improved their English skills.

Evidently, the degrees to which each participant realised their capability of learning English varied, with some learners based in Indore feeling much more confident than learners based in Delhi. The level of English knowledge also varied, indicative of subtle distinctions in what was meant by capabilities realisation. For instance, learning English as a wholly new L2 language or improving from a beginner foundation of English to more advanced level. Regardless, as deaf students in India, knowledge of English increased a persons' chances of finding a job in the IT industry, catering or coffee shops, especially in Indore and Delhi. Generally, across the project, three PTs stated they were capable of searching for jobs, while three learners in Indore stated the same (MG3,MG4,MG5).

6.2.2. Using Indian Sign Language

In the project, a variety of indigenous skills and knowledge of Deaf users of ISL were taken into account. The employment of a multiliteracies approach actively supported the process of affiliation by fostering a greater sense of inclusion and social belonging, the process of play by encouraging interactive and fun methods of learning for learners and the process of leadership by PTs. A multiliteracies approach that drew on multimodal repertoires, including the use of sign language as the medium of interaction inside and outside the classroom, allowed deaf people to communicate more organically and effectively. In this context, participants' socio-emotional developments in a classroom context were not negatively affected by fear or anxiety (Nussbaum, 2007, p.23-24).

Household staff communicated primarily in ISL. By developing sign language skills, one member of the household staff and other staff accessed the education and knowledge related to sign language literacies. In Binka, at HHSD, deaf household staff described various levels of confidence when signing. When discussing how they began to express themselves in sign language, one household staff member, Disha, stated, 'I was signing so bad. I thought everyone will mock when they will look at my signing' (P27, MG1). Disha stated her

personal opinion of her skills, so her self-reflection on her sign language competency might not be strictly accurate (P27, MG1).

Learners also pointed out their acquisition of new sign language literacies skills and their subsequent improvement in confidence. Deaf people's senses are optimised for visual learning because they rely on lip-reading or watching sign language. One study suggested that the availability of sign language recordings online was an important substitute for the fact that signed languages lack written records, claiming that an 'availability of video materials can potentially have a significant impact on deaf communities' as there is a lack of written materials available for sign language communities to use (Crasborn, 2010, p.276). Crasborn (2010) commented that with the advent of digital sign language corpora, 'there is now a medium that allows for a sign language parallel to the written culture' (p.276). Research teams have 'conducted studies on sociolinguistic variation, language change and lexical frequency in BSL while simultaneously documenting BSL via creation of a corpus' that is searchable online using terms (Schembri et al., 2013, p.136). In turn, the ability to access documentation online has had a positive impact on access to language learning for L2 learners and on the ability of L1 learners to have their language and culture more fully accepted and recognised.

As college students enrolled at IDBA, some of the adult learners surveyed had experience with studying the ISL diploma course. This course involves three levels of ISL teacher training: A, B and C, which teach a range of core literacies (Rehabilitation Council of India, 2016). The learner Arjun in the P2PDM project (who also has experience teaching ISL) at IDBA pointed out, 'when I joined ISL A level, I signed for the first time in camera. As I was not ready to sign in front of camera, I failed in exam' (P18, MG3). The learner suggested that on his first attempt, his failure to pass the ISL A-level exam in school was the result of a lack of preparation.

Maneet, a learner in Indore, discussed being nervous in front of the camera but then claimed, 'gradually, I improved myself, but still, my sign is not so clear in front of camera. I am practising' (P20, MG3). Some learners, such as Maneet and Rani, also explained how access to sign language literacies encouraged deaf people, including close friends and other peers, to enhance their skills and subsequent confidence (P16, P20, MG3). Initially, the two learners were unable to sign in front of the camera with fluency and were unable to achieve

the capability, but later, this was followed by cases when they signed well when filming and realised the capability input of 'using sign language in front of the camera'.

Throughout the P2PDM course, in order to facilitate language acquisition in English, PTs encouraged learners to sign stories and sentences from written English to enhance comprehension. Deevesh commented, 'I learned new vocabularies and improving my English' (P17, FG3), while Arjun commented that in the project, 'we also learned about the structure of grammar, its use in English, about past, present and future terms, etc.' (P18, FG3).
Videos could be seen for each topic and were uploaded onto the SLEND platform. As a consequence, many learners grew in confidence with their communicative abilities and were able to use online resources to enhance their literacy knowledge of ISL and written English.

Many learners participating in the project had not used ISL to learn English before, so the employment of sign language with deaf tutors had positive consequences for the comprehension of English language concepts. The availability of online resources, such as videos on the SLEND platform, on sites such as News in Levels and from deaf vloggers on YouTube allowed learners in the P2PDM project to network with other deaf Indians and enhance their ISL and English literacy skills in tandem.

At this stage, the learner accessed her human capabilities in terms of access to senses, imagination and thought and affiliation as she was able to network with deaf Indians through online channels, as well as in person in the project context by using ISL in video calls or face-to-face, rather than written English only. However, Maneet (P20) was unable to realise them fully, so she did not have an extensive range of functioning in these areas, which would include signing educational content clearly and confidently to a camera. However, with time, she stated, 'I improved myself', showing that the learner achieved this capability of signing in front of the camera (P20, MG3). Maneet's experience points to an example of a unique way of being and doing that participants valued in their daily lives. In these cases, conversion factors for deaf participants were personal experience levels with utilising the language alongside access to ISL courses and access to online sign language documentation for practice. Through acquiring skills in both digital and sign language literacies, the learner realised her human capabilities and achieved functioning.

A lens using traditional approaches focused on the idiom of speech and print writing would claim that the household staff suffered from low literacy knowledge. However, a

multiliteracies approach demonstrated a range of strong competencies that staff were able to develop in other types of literacies, including ISL. By being involved in the project, the household staff further enhanced their sign language skills. This reflects the opinion of Baker (2010), who regarded literacy as a social practice rather than as something that people do internally. The references made by household staff to their positive experiences of utilising sign language showed they were achieving valued 'beings and doings'. A PT asked the household staff member if they felt competent in signing. The household staff member replied, 'after having much experience, I learned and understood' (P4, P27 MG1). The household staff had used ISL frequently at HHSD over the previous year.

Immersion with more experienced PTs who moved there for project work with P2PDM and Disha's statement, '[learning ISL] became easy for me' (P27, MG1) show improvements in Disha's competence with ISL as a direct consequence of development work that took place in the remote, rural area. Although the participants might not have full access to their rights under the UN CRPD of Article 24, for example, access to formal mainstream education, or full access to Article 21, information and communication services, they have acquired new abilities in utilising ISL and have been able to participate more fully in school life as deaf staff members as a result of the P2PDM development project work.

The skills of the project's PTs in utilising sign language literacies were significantly advanced in comparison to the learners and the HHSD household staff. Data in Chapter Four from the three project countries pointed to RAs and PTs within the P2PDM project having greater competence in ISL than learners. Through regular contact between the various sub-groups in the project, deaf sociality was a significant factor, the presence of which significantly raised the likelihood of deaf individuals realising the capability input of using Indian Sign Language.

PTs discussed their experiences of preparing sign language videos for BA university-level courses. One tutor, Hara, discussed his repeated attempts to improve the presentation of his ISL on film and claimed that during his course:

> I had to sign again and again. The four-years course was very advanced in which quality signing was needed … we could not prepare a low-level signed video for such a high-level course (P3, MG5).

Through the preparation of ISL content for film, one PT developed sign language literacies and digital literacies. In turn, the Indian RA Arun discussed incremental improvements in his sign language literacies skills. He stated:

> I admit that my signing has improved by recording videos. In Peer2Peer, there is more use of signing on camera explaining various things; signing is changed and improved (P1, MG5).

Participant 1, therefore, achieved functioning in their capabilities using ISL literacy as a consequence of being involved in the P2PDM project.

Another participant, Nadeem, a qualified teacher for sign language interpreters in Indore, pointed to the importance of differences between phonologically-based languages and visual modality-based languages and their impact on his language learning. He stated that as ISL is a visual and gestural language, the structure of an idea or of a story must be expressed in the right sequence (P14, MG5). Project volunteer Nadeem attempted to express the importance of visual planning and forethought in his use of sign language literacies:

> Someone told me that if my concept would be clear, then automatically, I could express signing well and clear. Then, I understood. After that, before signing, I would first think of all the signs, then I would sign' (P14, MG5).

The comments of project learners and PTs reveal how the employment of ISL throughout the development project enhanced their abilities in English literacies and other multiliteracies skills, such as digital literacy. Consequently, the participants' usage of senses, imagination and thought were enhanced, and their access to education was improved.

In the following section, project participants' statements indicate how working from a new literacies approach in which the L1 language of many participants was incorporated into the project design facilitated a more habilitating socio-cultural environment. Project participants referred to the sharing of videos on social media, YouTube and Facebook as important tools they utilised to acquire sign language literacies. PTs affirmed that access to sign language literacies was important for granting deaf participants access to a wider range of information, facilitating self-confidence as their own language became accessible. These comments demonstrate the links between capabilities realisations the 'use of Indian Sign Language' and the 'improvement of sign language skills when being filmed' with the capabilities realisation in emotions, particularly self-confidence, and with capabilities realisation in senses, imagination and thought. Achieved functioning in these two capabilities

enhanced participants' abilities to learn, understand information told to them and acquire further multiliteracies skills.

Of 14 participants asked about the skill 'improve skills in sign while being filmed' during a mapping activity, three stated that they already had experience with improving their signing, while nine participants, including four learners from Delhi and four learners from Indore, plus a PT, stated that although they had not had the opportunity (or received feedback), they believed they were capable. Two learners from Indore stated they had not yet improved their sign language (MG3, MG4, MG5, MG6).

Nadeem, who had experience teaching ISL to trainee hearing interpreters and held a voluntary role in the P2PDM project, suggested:

> After signing, when I used to watch my practice videos, it would be wrong and had so many mistakes. I repeated the same mistakes again and again. … I would first think of all the signs, then I would sign and the same, I would show to my friends. They would add some suggestions to my videos, which I missed to sign, after which I would sign again. This way, I learned and brought changes on my signing (P14, MG5).

The project volunteer suggested that in terms of support and motivating the deaf community, he shared his 'videos on YouTube' to teach sign language interpreters and motivate others to learn some ISL (P14, MG5). He stated that he has 24 videos on his YouTube channel (P14, MG5). In turn, the videos allowed him to disseminate knowledge, especially because afterwards, people 'meet and discuss with me about the videos. Then, I explain them' (P14, MG5). The sign language videos serve as a marker of his knowledge and emphasise the role that teaching their L1 language, ISL, to hearing learners plays in terms of enabling deaf people to realise agency and gain status in the Indian Deaf community.

Hara, one of the PTs based at IDBA, stated, 'when I was in Delhi, I used to upload many of my videos on YouTube; that's why people started knowing me, and I made contacts very fast' (P3, MG5). The utilisation of sign language literacies allowed the PT Hara to build up his reputation in the deaf community, while the videos increased the visibility of sign language literacies in online spaces. The participants then benefitted from enhanced access for capabilities realisation, including affiliation through online information sharing, access to education and the transfer of general skills, such as data collection and sign language filming. Affiliation through online information sharing took place as deaf individuals dispersed widely in a physical space could still interact with and meet other deaf people without

needing to attend a deaf club in person. Consequently, the number of contacts a deaf individual was able to make increased considerably.

6.2.3. Digital literacies

With the rise of the internet, individuals' abilities to access deaf networks is changing. In India, access to technology and learning online has increased exponentially in recent years, even in rural areas, with 97% of people surveyed stating they used a mobile phone to access the internet (The Economic Times, 2019). Consequently, deaf peoples' access to the internet has improved, Odisha, access to internet data was more expensive and less frequently available compared with participants from IDBA and participants in Delhi, DFDW (Indian consultant, fieldwork, 15 January 2019). However, increased access to technology does not automatically 'guarantee access to the information society' (Warschauer, 2003). Just as for any community of people, the digital divide means that there are many 'non-connectivity' barriers to the internet for Indian Deaf communities, which can include cultural background, language, literacy and level of technological experience (Barnard et al., 2003, Warschauer & Matuchniak, 2010).

Inferences can be drawn about digital literacy from viewing figures. In the Indian context, many of the deaf participants, especially learners, did not have access to computers at home. However, participants in the project did use computers and were able to access the internet on their mobile phones. That deaf people in India are generally capable of making frequent use of the internet can be observed in Facebook groups such as Indian Deaf News or National Association of the Deaf India, where many videos are shared weekly and commonly reach thousands of viewers. As these videos predominantly use ISL, often without captioning, it can safely be assumed that the viewers are Deaf (or hearing) signers.

Hara stated, 'I have uploaded so many videos on YouTube', through which 'I wanted to change the way of my signing and make it a better quality' (P3, MG5). They stated that they 'upload videos for news, for inviting in workshop, etc.' and that project participants 'sign to make videos everyday would enhance our skills and make it strong' (P3, MG5). This statement emphasises Deaf participants' abilities to express themselves when utilising ISL as their L1 language in a learning environment. Additionally, the comment demonstrates how access to digital literacies positively impacts participants' abilities to practise their ISL skills and provides a medium through which to share these skills with other members of the Deaf

community. Participants are able to realise capabilities in affiliation by being able to connect with peers and discuss ISL language online.

Most participants could access the internet through their phones. Data from the mapping activity asked the 21 Indian participants whether they were able to use a mobile phone. The question returned an overwhelmingly positive response, with 14 stating they had competence using their mobile phone. WhatsApp, Facebook and other internet-based platforms had a significant role in many participants' daily lives. However, interestingly, five learners, four of whom were women from Delhi, stated that they did not know how to operate a phone. One might speculate that the lack of confidence among the female learners from Delhi was the result of gender attitudes or the cost of owning a mobile. Through participants being able to use digital literacy skills to access the internet and download applications such as WhatsApp, Facebook and News in Levels to their mobiles, they were able to access important information, increase their knowledge and raise their employability skills. The provision of mobile phones and social media technologies to Deaf youth allowed them to connect, broaden their networks and realise their capabilities of affiliation (Bakken, 2005). This has many implications for future development work, who could ensure that the acquisition of digital literacy skills is a wholly inclusive process (**Section 7.1.4**).

One learner, Rani, referenced the development of her English skills 'by messaging' in text messages and WhatsApp on her mobile phone (P16, FG2). The same learner stated that she learned 'many things regarding health and other activities on phone', ranging from new vocabularies and other basic knowledge to reading advanced-level sentences in English. Through access to written text on the phone, which she stated, 'helps in development' (P16, FG2), the participant explained how she could share knowledge with her deaf peers and engage in planning related to health. The reference to 'development' is also presumed to refer to new skills and knowledge that enhance her life. Another, Sarita, achieved functioning in aspects of the capability practical reason, as she is capable of engaging in future planning regarding her health and other issues. Finally, she is also living with and towards her deaf peers (affiliation), and access to digital and sign language literacies have enabled her to do so. Consequently, access to such online platforms can widen participants' spheres of opportunity.

Other comments concerning the impact of digital literacy on capabilities realisation were made in relation to the use of online applications. Within the project, the WhatsApp platform was utilised to set up groups in each project country, with groups including 'Deaf

Multiliteracies India', 'Deaf Multiliteracies Ghana' and 'Deaf Multiliteracies Uganda', as well as an international 'Peer-to-Peer Deaf Multiliteracies Group', 'P2P Team (int'l)' and 'Intl. Group–Multilit', with only RAs and PTs from all three project countries. Within these groups, there was a particular increase in discussion in the 'P2P Team (int'l)' and the 'Intl. Group–Multilit' groups as the discussion evolved over time. RAs and PTs, in particular, shared ideas about teaching, as well as some resources with peers from different project countries.

For instance, these WhatsApp groups facilitated transnational communication and discussion via written English and shared videos by project participants in both the national sign language and in International Sign. Again, social affiliation at the international level was facilitated via communication on WhatsApp chat; as discussed earlier in Chapter Five, staff from India and Uganda often collaborated on the creation of teaching materials (**Section 5.5.2**). Transnational affiliation in the deaf community was encouraged through the cross-country nature of the project, with Indian RAs and PTs having the opportunity to attend an international conference in Poland in August 2018 and an RA and a PT from Uganda flying to India to conduct international research.

Participants from some regions, for example, Indore city, were able to realise capabilities of social affiliation thanks to the WhatsApp platform. Sarita, an Indore-based learner, claimed they used the WhatsApp platform to 'share and discuss' items with peers, as well as using the application 'News in Levels' to watch and keep up-to-date with the news (P19, MG3). Other PTs who had a significant level of education discussed options if they were unable to contact each other via WhatsApp. For instance, Karthik commented, 'if WhatsApp video calling is not working, there are other options also, like Facebook, in which video calling is so clear. One of my friends told me' (P4, FG1). Information from peers was critical for the realisation of capabilities related to digital literacies skills, as the participant learned the information from a friend.

Digital literacies added value to participants' daily lives by aiding communication, assisting with learning and allowing discussion on how to complete project activities and tasks. Another example of information sharing via ISL was given by a learner at IDBA, Sarita, who often utilised a free messaging application on her phone, WhatsApp. Sarita stated, 'Earlier, I used to sign myself any story picked up from WhatsApp, and then, I send to my close friends to check whether my sign is correct or not' (P19, MG3). The use of the platform to facilitate conversations around correct sign usage allowed the participant to achieve several capabilities.

She stated that she used WhatsApp to clarify questions she was unsure of with peers in her class and to express ideas and receive feedback. In this instance, Sarita demonstrated social affiliation as she engaged with other deaf learners in the project, as well as the use of senses, imagination and thought and practical reason to enhance her literacy knowledge.

Sarita's statement indicates her perceived positive influence of peer networks both on enhancing her signing and her access to multiliteracies. Feedback by peers on the learners' stories in ISL and methods through which to improve storytelling improved multiliteracy skills and enabled subsequent access to many of Nussbaum's capabilities (P19, MG3). In this instance, the learner was able to access the components of her educational functioning and her social belonging functioning. Through accessing a peer network, Sarita commented that she was enabled to successfully communicate with her peers, accessed educational and social resources and was enabled to draw on a combination of digital, multimodal and standard written literacies skills. Assuming the deaf participant already had a mobile phone (in India, this was the case), the platforms' accessibility, usability and affordability, alongside the ability for deaf individuals to utilise video calling, all reinforced the usefulness of the technology as an accessible learning tool.

To summarise, the WhatsApp platform enabled participants to learn digital literacy skills such as setting up a user account, sharing and discussing news important to the project with their peers and uploading videos and grammar exercises from class to discuss with classmates. Participants also referred to using the platform as a tool as a means to develop their English skills, alongside texting on SMS, video calling and watching videos on YouTube of conversations in ISL.

6.3. Social roles, professional roles and capabilities

Deaf adults in India were recruited as RAs, where they learned about data collection and documentation, and as PTs, where they were employed as deaf educators. The project intervention allowed project staff to develop their skills related to research, with tasks in development projects with deaf communities and with peer-to-peer teaching across different contexts. At the same time, PTs struggled with finding suitable materials for teaching and creating posters and lesson materials drawn from real English literacies contexts. As project staff, they were able to realise their capabilities of control over their environment by being trained to work as PTs and English teachers, thus realising the experiences of 'entering meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers' and 'being able to work

as a human being, exercising practical reason' (Nussbaum, 2007, p. 24). As discussed in Chapter Four, the opportunity to be recruited as formal employees in the project conferred many benefits for the staff in facilitating access to the job market later; three deaf Indians who were previously recruited to the project quickly received job offers elsewhere.

Initially, the pathways for deaf people in India to qualify as PTs were discussed, alongside the impact of peer tutoring during the project on their skills development (**Section 6.3.1, 6.3.2**). Subsequently, the effects of peer-to-peer tutoring in the classroom on learners in the project were discussed (**Section 6.3.3**). Finally, social affiliation in a learning environment in which sign language is employed and its impact on all project participants in terms of capabilities realisation were explored (**Section 6.3.4**), as well as the experience of school management and financial administration experience developed (**Section 6.3.5, 6.3.6**).

6.3.1. Qualifying as a peer tutor

The P2PDM project was original in that it provided tutor training for teaching the English language. In India, deaf people have been tutoring ISL for 15 years, but there are few routes to achieving qualifications to teach written Hindi or written English. Across the project sites, deaf people being recruited in deaf schools as educators and decisions to utilise peer-to-peer processes for multiliteracies learning, particularly the English language, were still a rare occurrence. However, several studies have commented on the 'psychological, emotional and linguistic' benefits of hiring deaf teachers for deaf learners, as they can 'teach young deaf children about deaf culture along with coping mechanisms in dealing with a, largely, non-signing hearing society' (Andrews & Franklin, 1997, pp.11–12). Additionally, 'deaf teachers can understand the signing of children, especially those with limited signing skill', and it is 'the teacher's ability to understand the language of the child which is the critical factor' (Andrews & Franklin, 1997, p.13). Deaf teachers who are fluent in sign language are especially adept at explaining simple English to children by translating these concepts into sign language; even though many 'prelingually deaf teachers do not have competency in English, often they make good English teachers' (Andrews & Franklin, 1997, p.13).

In spite of 'affirmative action such as reserved government employment, incentives and subsidies for employers, tax exemptions, skill development training etc.', employment opportunities for persons with disabilities in India continue to be characterised by lower participation in the workforce, lower wages, limited career advancement and discrimination (Kumar et al., 2012, p. 1). The Indian RA, Arun, discussed his experience of tutor training in

the P2PDM project and how it developed his knowledge of new teaching methods and skills (P1, FG2). Arun stated that he had to consider the learners; ‘I see what interests them and what they like and match it with their level. If I continue at a high level and throw my teaching on them, they won’t develop’ (P1, FG2). Arun achieved functioning in the capability of ‘teaching English’ to deaf learners, which bestowed benefits such as increased self-confidence in his own tutoring abilities, increased knowledge of English and the ability to adopt different teaching methods according to his students’ needs and learning levels.

Through Arun’s realisation of his capability to teach English, the expansion of his daily freedom and wellbeing was actually quite significant. By teaching English – his L2 language – to other deaf peers, Arun experienced empowerment as a result of the reduction of linguistic imbalances and power differentials that would be present as a deaf tutor in a hearing classroom. Within the P2PDM project and with access to tutor training in the English language, which is difficult as a deaf person in India, Arun also accessed deaf learners and worked with peers who had an understanding of ISL, which allowed his tutoring skills to develop in a more organic way and allowed the English skills of the learners to develop, too. In terms of representation and voice, as a deaf tutor within the P2PDM project, Arun could act as a representative of learners and speak out (voice) on issues that learners commented on about deaf education in India.

A second PT, Hara, commented ‘visuals help the students relate to actual situations that are from society. So, we pick the actual society related situations and bring it to the students, showing them relevant materials’ (P3, FG2). Hara commented that as a result of the training provided by the development project, he had to ‘find different methods [for teaching English and numeracy], find a particular way to enhance a students’ learning … in the future, if I have to teach, it will be easier for me’ (P3, FG2). He suggested that as a consequence of training in the P2PDM project, he had acquired new valuable skills for teaching, especially material preparation, curriculum design and anticipatory skills in meeting the needs of deaf learners.

Two participants in the project agreed that it should be compulsory to hire ISL teachers in every deaf school and stated that ‘in all mainstream schools, students are getting knowledge from their teachers and other means, but how will deaf students learn? They will see and learn from deaf teachers’ (P14, FG2). The RA, Arun, agreed: ‘I have seen in Indore, the signing of teachers is better, which is missing in many schools … there is no ISL teachers in those schools’ (P1, FG2). These statements indicate that in a sign language-centred

teaching environment, the communicative capabilities of both deaf tutors and deaf learners are positively affected.

Another participant, Manu, was associated with the project as an external volunteer. Manu eventually achieved capabilities realisation in teaching English, albeit informally. First, he attempted to teach at the NISH institute and used skilled negotiation in this instance, as he stated, 'I negotiated with them [NISH] to teach English as I am empowered and have knowledge of teaching' (P13, FG1). He was not able to teach English but continued to negotiate and, as a consequence, could teach ISL. The tutor demonstrated negotiation and teaching skills as he was able to teach ISL to groups of deaf and hearing students, although he had no knowledge of their first language.

As the PTs' skills in teaching developed, simultaneously, they believed themselves to be more accepted by peers. This participant's attainment of new skills, including professional-level ISL for use in a teaching environment, teaching experience and enhanced confidence and self-esteem, contributed to the positive expression of his capabilities and his eventual attainment of capabilities realisation/functioning in various capability inputs, including access to literacy, specifically sign language literacies; access to social belonging; and access to employment.

Prior to starting the project, one Indore participant, Nadeem, suggested that he lacked certainty in his own abilities. A Deaf leader asked Nadeem what skills he had in an effort to encourage him. Nadeem's response was that he 'wondered, do I have skills for something' implied a lack of self-esteem in his abilities to secure employment or complete education. At this point, Nadeem held a low belief in his capabilities. However, after being encouraged by the deaf leader and others in the community, the tutor realised he had 'teaching skills' and made the decision to pursue further training. After 'completing ISL A B and C levels', he started to teach ISL and now believes, 'I am doing perfect in teaching' (P14, FG1). Nadeem's self-awareness and his capabilities functioning markedly improved after achieving his qualification and securing a role as an ISL tutor. This directly challenged his idea that he was unable to hold a teaching post for ISL and is an example of how access to the tutoring experience in his L1 language allowed him to develop capabilities and enhanced his daily quality of life. The enhanced confidence and self-esteem displayed by the Indore-based PT grew evident, first, after being informed of his skills by more senior members of the deaf community and by deaf leaders and, second, after his decision to pursue further training and

attaining several job roles as an ISL teacher. Consequently, the positive influence of peers in India had a markedly significant effect on the participant's psychological self-esteem and on opportunities for employment in the teaching profession.

6.3.2. Peer tutor capabilities: Conflict management and teaching experience

While working as a staff member at the IDBA, PTs developed their skills of conflict management and negotiation, as demonstrated by the statements of some tutors. For instance, one participant, Arun, stated, 'if there are any arguments between deaf friends so, I can't solve it quickly … I can solve simple issues and if the matter is not so big. But if someone has problems with their life or any serious issues, I really cannot do it' (P1, MG5). The PT stated that other project participants and members of the deaf community are able to do this: 'I see some deaf people are very skilled enough to sort these kinds of problems' (P1, MG5). Arun believed that time and experience could confer these skills as 'they have so much experience to deal with the problems and the politics' (P1, MG5).

One of the PTs, Hara, discussed strategies they utilised as a teacher to solve disagreements; for example, 'I have seen the teachers since my childhood; they argue with each other regarding teaching issues; sometime, they got upset … I try to solve the issue keeping in mind the background of the person' (P3, MG5). He realised his capabilities in managing emotions and in control over one's environment, particularly through engaging in relations of mutual respect with other colleagues. Another tutor from the school discussed their experience of conflict management, stating, 'earlier, I used to fight in very silly matters, and I was so rigid … now, when I see someone arguing, I feel this is so cheap and silly. I totally understand after many experiences and learnings that arguments are useless … it is better to leave the topic or solve it' (P14, MG5). The participant demonstrated an evolution of their emotional management. These are skills that take time and experience to develop, and they emphasise the emotional intelligence presented by the participant, which he honed further through his involvement in the project, thus realising capabilities in emotion by being able to solve disagreements calmly. He achieved control over one's environment, by working successfully in a team with other deaf and hearing staff.

In terms of teaching experience, of the 21 participants surveyed for the skill, an interesting mixture of responses emerged. Seven participants stated they had already taught, though it is interesting to note that five of these participants were actually learners in the

P2PDM project and cited previous teaching experiences, while three PTs recruited for the project stated that they believed they were capable of teaching (MG2, MG3, MG4, MG5). The inconsistencies in these responses were partially accounted for by the fact that the learners in Indore interpreted teaching to include their experiences of supervising younger students in the school and assisting them with their homework. Notably, these tutoring experiences are distinct from the formal employee roles held by P2PDM project staff who were paid, given ongoing responsibilities and asked to act as representatives of the community at the national level at deaf conferences across India or at the international level, with conferences in Poland, for example.

Some PTs made reference to how being recruited for the P2PDM project enhanced their teaching skills and allowed them to share their experiences of how to improve tutoring with deaf learners. Arun, a PT, stated that after completing the P2PDM training, he went to Kerala, where he used his own methods from the training to teach deaf students. Arun stated:

> It was for the deaf to be taught following deaf methods. I found many deaf leaders there who didn't present themselves while giving lectures in front of deaf learners in that way … I shared with them my experiences to bring a little change in the deaf environment. … I had a talk with few deaf teachers there, clarified their doubts in the subject of teaching methods … all what I could do became possible after joining in in the Peer2Peer project (P1, FG2).

The statement of another PT, Hara, supports the idea that involvement in the P2PDM project allowed project staff to transfer their knowledge and skills to other deaf teachers and had positive implications for methods used in deaf education. Hara stated:

> Peer2Peer was very good [as the training] included knowledge about sign language, knowledge of English, sentence translation, vocabularies and suggestions to the teachers how to teach deaf students (P3, FG2).

Hara stated that his suggestions for teaching deaf students to other teachers were accepted and implemented after he was trained in the P2PDM project. Hara stated:

> I showed them [the teachers] the current way of teaching … what deaf students want … changes have been made in this school. Now, the enthusiasm has increased among the students regarding studies, which itself is a big change (P3, FG2).

Other statements reinforced the role of deaf project staff as representatives for enhancing deaf education to large charities at the national level and to government officials at the Rehabilitation Council of India (RCI). RA Arun stated, 'as I am working in this project since two years, I think that the project must be known to every educational institute or organisation; it has been presented on in high-level conferences like NCED, to RCI, who are

involved in deaf education' (P1, FG2). Arun's voice capabilities were realised as he acted as a campaigner to transform the deaf education system, stating, 'we are working to bring positive changes for deaf people' through the P2PDM project work and stating the projects' main goals in India:

> to change the Deaf Education system and the implementation of the correct methods to educate students in deaf schools. I have shared our thoughts regarding this project to many NGOs, deaf associations, youth associations, and they are understanding our concepts (P1, FG2).

Both Arun and Hara, project staff, have been able to represent the Deaf community at meetings in Indore, where people are aware of the project, and 'few members of our team have attended RCI meetings. Me and Hara were present there' (P1, FG2). These statements show where project staff are acting as representatives of the deaf community, advocating for sign language in deaf education and for deaf-friendly teaching methods in deaf schools. These actions meant the project staff were not only realising their capabilities as PTs but also acting as advocates for deaf education, thus realising their capabilities of representation and of voice as they spoke out on behalf of other deaf people in various areas of India at these meetings.

6.3.3. The impact of peer tutoring on learners in the project

Some of the learners from Indore attended IDBA as they wanted to learn English at the college level. Two of the learners, Sarita and Maneet, had ambitions to teach ISL after they finished the course, stating, 'I could teach after having experience' (P20,MG3) and, 'earlier, I have taught the students of nursery to class 5th. In future, after completing Indian Sign Language course, I could be a teacher. I will try for this' (P19, MG5). Another Indore learner, Arjun, had experience teaching, too; 'I continued teaching the last six years' (P18, MG5). The learners suggested that it is the responsibility of PTs to 'teach them in a right way so that they could understand' (P18,MG5). Sarita stated that inaccessible education is why 'some are good in studies, some are not … the age differences among them is only because after searching and going to many schools they come here' (P19,MG5).

Another learner, Rajasthan, compared his involvement in the P2PDM project with his previous school in Sikar. The learner Deevesh stated, 'I was surprised when I heard about peer to peer … [P2PDM] after coming in Indore. I learned a lot through discussions and having interactions with deaf people' (P17,FG3). He stated that previously, his 'school in Jaipur was good. But in Sikar, there were very few deaf people. So that was the problem. In

here, there are many deaf people around', and as a consequence of being involved in the P2PDM project, he has become more confident (P17,FG3).

Rani stated, 'being involved in this project, I learned English grammar, and RLE – real-life English. I learned how English is used around for communication. We discussed and learned through signages, posters, book, etc., which was very beneficial' (P16,FG3). In turn, Arjun stated, 'RLE is very useful. We learned in detail about the meaning of different words and its uses. We also learned about the structure of English grammar, which really helped us in our improving our knowledge' (P18,FG3), and Deevesh stated he learned 'through discussion' in the project (P17,FG3).

Deevesh stated that involvement in the project assisted his communication capabilities and suggested that he was able to realise both capabilities in social affiliation and in sign language literacies. He stated, 'earlier in 2018, when I came here, I used to feel nervous while interacting with people, and my writing skills was not good, but gradually, I became very comfortable in communicating with people, discussions and for interacting with people. I like it. Now, I am learning well, and it is very useful for me' (P17, FG3). Many of the learners agreed that their understanding of the language improved as a result of using ISL in the P2PDM project for teaching English. For instance, Rani stated, 'ISL helped me in learning the structure of English grammar … ISL helps in improving our English skills. We could not learn English without it' (P16,FG3), while Arjun stated, 'first, it is important to learn signing, then it helps us in improving our English skills' (P18,FG3). Deevesh added, 'after learning signs, my English is improving' (P17,FG3). Another project participant commented that as a consequence of using ISL in IDBA, the 'signing of all the children is so strong, and [they] have many creative ideas what I noticed here' (P14,FG2).

In terms of teaching peers, the P2PDM learners evidently benefitted from involvement in the project as it improved their teaching skills in both ISL and RLE. Arjun stated, 'after learning in this project, I can give knowledge to the deaf students of basic class of what we have learnt here. They can learn practically. I can teach the students using blackboard, so they will learn and develop' (P18,FG3), while Rani stated, 'I can implement new teaching techniques which I have learnt in this project. Like activities, discussions, etc. I have been teaching English grammar by this way only … I found that deaf students love to learn through exercises, activities, quiz questions, etc. This helps in building this interest in

learning' (P16,FG3). Many of these teaching techniques were learned from the project PTs and RAs.

Finally, the project enhanced the capabilities of project learners to be advocates for deaf education. Many of the project learners' comments indicate that they are now aware of how to improve deaf education and advocate for these learning methods in other schools, both Deaf and mainstream. Rani commented, 'the most important thing I want is this multiliteracies project should be repeated in all the deaf schools and in their curriculum. This could happen from the advocacy of deaf leaders' (P16,FG3), while Arjun's statements back this perspective up; he asked, 'deaf schools do not run this kind of project in India … Do you think this model of multiliteracies project could be repeated in different schools, NGOs, etc.? … we should all try to start this all over the country?' (P18,FG3). Learners in the P2PDM have achieved functioning in planning for the future, as they plan to campaign for more accessible routes into tutoring for the deaf and for greater use of sign language in the Indian education system. They have also achieved functioning in their capabilities of voice and representation, as they are acting as positive advocates for change in the deaf community.

6.3.4. Social affiliation for PTs and learners in the classroom

The mapping activity cards 'managing conflict', 'communication with hearing people', 'organise events', 'get help for problems', 'make decisions' and 'interact with visitors' all elicited responses linked to social skills, participation, interacting with non-signers, sociometric status and acceptance within educational contexts as current project participants. In educational environments, interaction with peers allows people to learn skills including the ability to look at social situations with a variety of perspectives and skills such as negotiation, conflict management, tact and other social communication important for socialisation (Antia & Kreimeyer, 2005, p.164). However, Deaf signers in India implied that it is much more challenging to reach the same depth and complexity with hearing people as is present when communicating with other deaf peers in the same language. Some of the learners at IDBA moved from mainstream contexts in which teachers and classmates did not sign to a deaf, sign language-centred environment. One learner from Indore stated that although she can 'communicate with them [hearing people] … They use gestures, and basic signs like home, food, water, etc., I don't communicate fully with them' (P16,MG5).

One study suggested that issues of socialisation in mainstream schools were not limited to the different communication modalities of deaf and hearing students but included

issues of participation, turn-taking and socialisation within a classroom context (Kluwin et al., 2002). These authors split the process of peer-to-peer socialisation into the categories of social skills, interaction and participation, sociometric status and acceptance and affective functioning. Hara, a PT, stated, ‘I have seen the earlier methods of teaching, which is a one-way method … there is no interaction among the students. [However], this peer-to-peer way is good as they teach each other. … They check each other, correct each other … this is a change and results in better learning’ (P3, FG2).

Other methods utilised in the P2PDM project encouraged students to draw on RLE skills. For instance, ‘in the peer-to-peer setup, adults would show enlarged pictures and explain it to students. This would get us outcomes as students would go out and see it during their visits. This was a good learning and gradually opened up their minds’ (P3,FG2). Peer-to-peer learning gave them experience and skills as well as increased confidence in being able to use their L1 language and rely on their native expertise. Being taught by peers instilled confidence and many other positive psychological traits for deaf learners as they were able to interact with peers in the classroom. Their sociometric status was positively affected by being surrounded by other deaf learners who had the same access to incidental learning, and they were able to interact and participate on an equal basis in the learning environment. In terms of capabilities realisation for learners, in a peer-to-peer deaf sociocultural environment, it appears that a 'habilitating' effect, in which capabilities are more easily realised, is fostered for deaf participants (Zimmerman, 2006, p.471).

Deaf participants discussed their educational experiences in mainstream schools and, in a few cases, in deaf schools before joining the P2PDM project as either staff or learners. For instance, before moving to IDBA, Arjun stated, ‘in my school, teachers teach only Hindi, I never performed good in English … I didn’t used to understand the signs of the teachers. When any deaf came, then I learned from them’ (P18,MG3). Other learners who previously attended a deaf school where teachers did not sign, such as Rani, commented, ‘I was not very strong in terms of signing or literacy skills when I was in other deaf school. There, I would sit just quiet and no interactions with other people’ (P16,FG3). Another learner, Deevesh, attended a deaf school in Sikar Rajasthan until the 8th class, then moved to a deaf school in Jaipur Rajasthan until the 12th class. Deevesh commented that the ‘school of Jaipur was good. But in Sikar, there were very few deaf people. So, that was the problem. In here, there are many deaf people around’ (P17,FG3). For deaf people in the classroom, there can be barriers to social interaction with hearing peers. The statements from PTs and learners about their

previous education experiences in other schools prior to joining the P2PDM project demonstrated that their understanding of topics being taught and their participation suffered without sign language in educational settings.

The PT Hara stated the positive benefits for learners in being involved in this kind of learning environment. Hara had supervised a group of learners in their ISL course and had led them to win in a competition in Bangalore. The participant stated, ‘I used to teach them again and again, their timings, to be more expressive. I supervised them. And they won because of good teaching and experience. This way, I have got achievements once or twice, not much’ (P3,MG5). The tutor’s reference to working with a team who ‘won’ a competition shows the positive impact of social skills and interaction with other ISL users on a Deaf PT in the project, as well as the positive impact that teaching ISL and being successful with his course had on his sociometric status and affective functioning (Kluwin et al., 2002).
PTs at Indore Bilingual School also claimed that they were building experience in the following capacities of ‘teaching dance, drama and mime’ and ‘supervising students at a competition’, both skills they suggested themselves. For the first, two PTs believed they had used the skill, while one stated they were unable to teach dance, drama or mime. In turn, for supervising students, all three respondents stated they were thinking about how to do this but felt they needed further support to enhance the skill.

Peer-to-peer learning also took place in more informal settings outside the school learning environment. Some of these contexts were set up by deaf associations, others by charitable foundations. Karthik was at a meeting in Delhi for a deaf youth camp. At the camp, if PTs were not present, ‘our team provided information and knowledge to them (P4,MG5). Hara discussed being asked by deaf people from Kerala and other places for advice ‘about medical terms, Peer2Peer studies, etc.’ and stated, ‘I shared some knowledge which they learned and understand about it’, implying that deaf youth camps and similar association gatherings provide an important way to exchange knowledge (P3,MG5). It appears that deaf individuals were unable to access medical information, and one way to obtain the relevant information was from deaf peers who were visiting. Sociality is, therefore, important because it grants access to a network of people with whom they can communicate, and they have the possibility of making judgements about who might have this knowledge.

It has also been argued that through the cultural identification of many Deaf people as ‘deaf deaf same’, Deaf selves and sociality are also produced (Kusters & Friedner, 2015, p.4).

PTs suggested that the deaf spaces created by interaction with peers in ISL were spaces for deaf orientation to occur. Deaf people learned more about 'medical terms, Peer2Peer studies' and new 'information and knowledge' from deaf visitors, which allowed them to access their capabilities of senses, imagination and thought, most specifically through the employment of reading comprehension of complex information (Friedner, 2015, p.4). The PTs' references to 'shared some knowledge' indicated that they had some status and knowledge within the deaf community.

In the interplay between structural and institutional spaces (environmental factors) and the presence of a classroom of deaf peers (social factors), there were increased opportunities for knowledge gain and exchange for project participants. Such forms of affiliation, particularly social belonging, and forms of material control over one's environment demonstrate that participants in the project were able to enter into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with deaf peers in a deaf space and in the ISL context.

6.3.5. School management

The project also had a significant impact in terms of communication skills for the household staff at HHSD in rural Odisha. The household staff were responsible for cooking, cleaning, some financial administration and caretaking of the children related to the school. One member of the household staff in the school, Gita, commented that before the P2PDM project started, 'I used to be very quiet and had no communication with people'. Disha stated, 'when people visit here, I had never initiated to talk with them. I never felt to call or talk with them' (P27, P28,MG1). Disha commented, 'they never taught me all these. No news was told to me. I never meet with people. Only do my work. I understand something from those who can do few signs and talk', while Ajay agreed that 'we all have the same experience' (P28, P29,MG1).

For the following skills, they were only asked of seven participants in Odisha at HHSD as they related to household and school tasks. In terms of skills including cooking for groups, all responded they were able to do this, while regarding managing kitchen and food shopping, two members of staff were responsible for this and had already done it, while one member stated they were not able to do food shopping (MG2). For the skill of managing children in the school and other household staff, the four respondents suggested they felt less capable in this area; they responded they could not manage the children (MG2). By being

involved in the P2PDM project, the deaf household staff at HHSD gained further knowledge from project staff and volunteers who shared new skills and information with them.

The Indian project staff had wider life experiences from living in different parts of India and holding academic experience compared to the household staff who had stayed in Odisha for most of their lives. The project roles held also had an interesting relationship with other capabilities. For instance, regarding skills in note keeping, deaf household staff in Binka expressed an inability to do this and did not regard it as an essential skill, while the PTs in Binka (who had moved from other parts of India to teach there) regarded it as an acquired skill. Four members of the HHSD household staff stated they were unable to use note keeping skills, while six PTs or external volunteers had experience with managing notes (MG1, MG2, MG5).

Household staff also discussed their growing autonomy. Karthik, one of the PTs, suggested that when they were all new at the school, 'you used to ask what to cook, what to buy, etc.' (P4,MG2). However, the staff commented that although they had more experience, they still 'don't take complete decisions by myself' (P27,MG2). Drawing on the example of being able to purchase gold or goods from the market, one member of the school staff stated, 'I ask my parents, or I go with them. I don't take decisions completely' (P27,MG2). This reflects a shift from significantly constrained capabilities in terms of decision-making as a result of their families and communities underestimating their capabilities. However, involvement in the P2PDM project allowed them to enhance their skills and range of capabilities. After some time as staff in the school, they took some limited decisions and were provided with opportunities to increase their literacy and language skills and enhance their communication skills.

6.3.6. Financial administration

One area in which project participants appeared to lack agency and autonomy from the wishes of their families was in relation to managing their finances. Financial management skills are fundamental for daily life in India. Financial literacy and the ability to manage cash and use a bank ATM are vital for allowing individuals to achieve independence, spend their income and pursue goals. Financial literacy skills have been defined as 'the ability to make informed judgements and decisions regarding the use and management of money' (Oseifuah, 2010, p.167). The majority of learners and household staff in the project were not deemed capable of managing their own finances or withdrawing cash from an ATM. However,

participants were deemed literate and capable of handling physical cash. For instance, 15 participants stated that they felt capable of managing physical cash, while only three female participants stated they could not. One participant from IDBA said they were unable to manage cash.

In turn, for withdrawing cash from a bank ATM, although four participants had already done this, ten participants stated they believed they would be able to do the skill with further support. However, six participants stated they were not able to withdraw cash from the bank (MG1,MG2,MG3,MG4,MG5,MG6). One household staff member from Odisha, Gita, knew how to maintain financial accounts (P28,MG2).
Finally, household staff and PTs were asked about their perceptions of being able to control their finances. Learners were not asked as the mapping exercises were shortened for them. Regardless, very few deaf participants involved in the P2PDM project in India in the role of a learner had held other jobs prior to the P2PDM project, either as a result of having just finished college or due to gender. However, four PTs said they had already managed their finances from a salary, while four household staff and two PTs said they believed they were capable of this with some support from their families as finance tends to be a family matter in India (MG1,MG2,MG5).

Regarding the issue of finances, project participants were less likely to seek support from deaf networks. For Pallavi, one of the HHSD staff in Indore, as she was a woman, she usually asked her husband for support with financial matters, stating, ‘I have a passbook and everything, but I am waiting to get an ATM card. He was in doubt I might spend money I had have ATM before marriage, so I would use passbook only (P27,MG6). Another household staff member, Gita, stated that she has gone to the bank ‘with my mother. I have filled and completed process, but it was not sent to the bank’ before suggesting her attempts to conduct banking were misinterpreted before, and she lost money. In turn, Disha relied on one of the Indian consultants, Mohindra (P12), for support with banking, as he dealt with the formalities while she ‘just did a signature’ (P27,MG6). For deaf people, due to the lack of accessibility in many banks, it is easy to be exploited or make errors while conducting banking and ATM withdrawals. As a consequence, participants appeared to rely on their families and colleagues regarding financial matters.

These issues of finance, the autonomy of deaf individuals to manage their finances and parental attitudes to the capabiltiies of their deaf children in this important area of life are all new findings which might be of interest for future study (Section 7.4.

6.4. The impact of deaf sociality and deaf space on capability realisation in India

As a linguistic-minority community that often struggles to access surrounding spoken language communities on various levels, achieving language input is critical on a fundamental level for human capabilities realisation and for the development of thinking and learning skills. In tandem with linguistic access, which can often enhance an individual's autonomy and agency, deaf space and deaf sociality can have an enabling effect, which broadens the space in which deaf communities can realise their capabilities and practise agency.

Many scholars in the field of deaf studies have discussed the importance of deaf space. The concept has been discussed variously as an alternative space to surrounding majority hearing communities (Gulliver, 2009); as a 'white space' that disrupts the frame of 'normalcy', which, in turn, allows the construction of a new paradigm (Bauman & Murray, 2009, p.2); and finally, as a transnational 'community of communicators, marked by an identification founded on sharing one another's languages, common histories and through strong similarities in terms of culture and feeling oppressed by the hearing society' (Solvang & Haualand, 2014, p.2). Many correlations can be drawn between the existence of deaf space and deaf sociality with surrounding opportunity structures in sociological theory and with conversion factors in Nussbaum's taxonomy, as deaf networks can enable or constrain the capabilities achievements of an individual in certain cases.

Within the following sub-sections, mapping activity key words first sought to explore participants' responses across all participants for their abilities to attend events where there were opportunities to meet other deaf people, organise events, communicate with hearing people, access network and support, get help for problems and interact with visitors. Finally, the later section examines deaf networks within a range of states in India and internationally. Key words, such as 'travel alone' and 'learn another sign language', were used to prompt responses from all participants. Meanwhile, PTs and learners in Indore suggested that skills such as socialising with new deaf people were important for students at Indore Bilingual School. Finally, three participants – Indore PTs and one volunteer – accentuated that being able to provide a network and support for other deaf people and the ability to organise meetings with local deaf association were of relevance in their daily lives, so these keywords were added to the mapping activity. The section initially explores the ways in which project participants in various areas of India made deaf turns, learned sign language and found deaf culture.

6.4.1. Opportunities for Indian participants to make 'deaf turns' and access deaf networks

Many deaf people from a range of economic, caste, religious and geographic backgrounds will often gather in deaf spaces and meet to discuss relevant issues in their daily lives. It has also been suggested that deaf people often make 'deaf orientations' and 'deaf turns' towards each other, as well as towards deaf- and sign language-centred structures and institutions in order to attain the necessary development of 'language, educational, economic, social and moral skills for living in the world, both as a member of deaf sociality and part of a larger normal world' (Friedner, 2015, p.2). Although deaf Indians often circulate through structures and institutions, including schools, workplaces, churches and other fellowship spaces, the development of a deaf individual tends not to occur here but instead assists in the production of 'deaf selves and socialities (or deaf social practices and processes)' (Friedner, 2015, p.4). It is suggested that through attaining development of their skills and abilities, Deaf people will become equal to hearing people, though it will not 'result in their becoming the same' (Friedner, 2015, p.2). This research points out the necessity of 'deaf turns' and orientation to others in the Deaf community in order to attain deaf development and treats 'deaf development as an analytical category and the desire for it as ethnographic fact' (Friedner, 2015, p.2).

Likewise, in the P2PDM project, many participants referred to the importance of accessing 'development'. The idea of deaf development differs here from that defined by the researcher in Section 3 in an international development context. Instead, references to 'deaf development' by the project participants and Deaf Indians generally related to 'the emergence of deaf-centred institutions' (Friedner, 2015) that have required people to take 'deaf turns' towards each other. These institutions have, in turn, fostered the emergence of robust sign language-using communities in which they can support each other and improve skills transfer. Friedner (2015) stated that her 'deaf friends strongly believed that they had to actively seek deaf development on their own' as the 'needs and desires of sign language-using deaf people have largely been invisible to both the state and the public at large' (p.2). These statements reflect the views of the importance of 'recognition theory', which discusses the importance of identity recognition among minority groups and the significance of acceptance in terms of personal capability and freedoms realisation, though this theory is primary one of social relations (Stoecklin & Bonvin, 2014, Thomas & Stoecklin, 2018).

The current P2PDM project fostered similar experiences among RAs, PTs and learners to varying extents, with RAs and PTs receiving significant levels of mentoring and support. In terms of both capabilities realisation and collective agency, it appears that a combination of two factors is linked with the realisation of collective capabilities in the P2PDM project: first, provision of full linguistic access and second, access to other deaf peers. Consequently, the role of deaf sociality and deaf actions in a collective can enhance access to language. This plays a significant role in a range of capabilities from realising access to community and social belonging, followed by adequate emotional development that accompanies language access, as discussed in the previous examples.

In terms of collective agency, it is reasonable to assume that deaf communities can more effectively advocate for and create novel spaces in which they can campaign on a range of issues, the use of sign language in schools being one that was mentioned often by PTs (P1, P3, P14, FG2). On the other hand, a lack of access to deaf sociality inhibits the socio-cultural space in more subtle ways, for instance, by losing out on the benefits that status and intra-community hierarchies can confer on deaf individuals over time as people assist one another. The importance of deaf spaces was mentioned by one learner in the Indore sample and by learners at DFDW. Although deaf sociality and deaf space brought many advantages for participants in terms of reducing inequalities across caste, socioeconomic class, geography and deafness, a hierarchical structure was still present in deaf social worlds.
For instance, senior members of the deaf community have substantial experience teaching ISL and leading events at Deaf Youth Associations. Manu discussed his experience: 'working for the Youth Association for the deaf, I have seen and sorted many arguments, issues of the deaf people in different places' (P13, FG1). Manu discussed his interventions made on behalf of female students in a deaf school, stating, 'Deaf students, girls, were not able to speak directly for themselves in schools. Then, I gathered some of the leading people and discussed with them to solve the matters. This would be helpful for them', which suggests an instance in which senior members of the deaf community could constrain the freedoms and autonomy of female Deaf students (P13, FG1). In this case, it seems that the capabilities of deaf learners had been limited. They were discouraged from self-advocacy, and decisions were made for them by people higher up in the deaf network. Consequently, a balance must be struck between individual agency and the collective power wielded by deaf networks and leaders, as a collective agency can sometimes override that of individuals.

Participants discussed the challenges that they encountered when they tried to communicate with hearing peers in their families and communities and to what extent their agency and capabilities were affected by deaf sociality. Their indications of the importance of deaf networks reinforces the empowering impact that fostering a sense of social belonging and peer networks can have on deaf people as a linguistic minority often subject to multiple deprivations across ableist, linguistic, geographic and socioeconomic axes in Global South countries. It can also be observed among project participants how these networks impacted participants' reflections on themselves and their capabilities.

In Indore city, in response to questions regarding experience with event organisation, one learner, Faizan, discussed taking responsibility for assisting his family with Eid preparations (P15,MG4). Other learners suggested that they assisted with preparations for local celebrations such as Diwali. This suggested that many deaf participants felt a sense of agency as they acted out their responsibilities and utilised these skills in social contexts within their family and wider communities. Of the 20 mapping activity respondents from India, deaf participants with a lower intra-community standing perceived themselves to be competent in their skills in event organisation. For instance, four members of school household staff responded that they 'can' organise events, and similarly, three learners from Delhi and five learners from Indore Bilingual School all responded with 'can' or 'done' for their perceived ability to organise events, which suggested they felt confident in their abilities to utilise the skill. However, two learners believed they needed further support to accomplish event organisation, and two stated they were not able to do it.

What is interesting in the case of the skill is that there was no marked contrast between the responses of the learners and the PTs. Four PTs stated they had either done event organisation or believed they were able to do it when the opportunity arose. However, in discussions, the type of event organisation referred to was significantly different in scope. Learners referred to organising family events and religious celebrations, while PTs made reference to organising students at school in their attendance of sports or dance competitions or to the organisation of collaboratories in Delhi, Bhubaneswar and Nepal. These responses mirror the subjective nature of the data and emphasise differences in interpretation by different deaf individuals across India to the same statement; it is clear that project staff are much more advanced in their English language skills and in other areas, such as research and presenting at conferences (MG1,MG2,MG3,MG4,MG5,MG6).

There were marked differences in the abilities and desires to achieve certain capacities by location. For the skill of getting help for problems, in the city of Indore, one learner did not understand the question, and one PT felt unable to do this. However, a majority of six out of the nine Indore participants stated that they knew where to turn to solve their problems, often referencing senior persons in the deaf community or external organisations such as Deaf Enabled (MG3,MG4,MG5). The contrast with household staff in the more rural state of Odisha and with female learners in Delhi was notable. In Binka, at HHSD, all four household staff members stated that they were thinking about how to get help for their problems and did not express a belief in their competence to achieve it. In Delhi, two learners stated that they could not get help for problems they encounter, while one suggested they felt they did not have the knowledge or skills to get help but were thinking about it for the future. However, one learner in Delhi stated they did know how to solve their problems. The contrast in perceptions of independence and being capable of getting help regarding a variety of different situations was partially be explained by lower educational attainment among household staff at HHSD and lower hierarchical status in the deaf community by comparison to PTs and learners based in Indore city. In the case of female learners in Delhi, evidently, some of the participants' lower levels of self-belief were attributable to lower educational attainment and to gender, as discussed in more depth in the following sections.

6.4.2. Capability realisation according to family autonomy and gender

The inequalities of the patriarchal aspects of Indian culture had an impact on the capabilities realisation of deaf women. A PT discussed his position as a deaf leader and how 'girls were not able to speak directly for themselves in schools' (P13, FG1). By electing to resolve the complaints made by girls to the school with other senior members of the deaf community, 'some of the leading people' (P13, FG1) severely constrained the social space granted to deaf female students to speak out on issues that affected them, though participants did not name what these issues were specifically. As the PT 'discussed with them [Deaf leaders] to solve the matters', it can be inferred that the space in which capabilities were realised might be much greater for deaf leaders, PTs and RAs, as opposed to a smaller space in which to realise capabilities for the female deaf students (P13, FG1). However, it appears that female and male learners in IDBA had a much more even spread of responsibilities, for example, in communication with visitors and organising events, as discussed in the previous section.

The role deaf networks played in allowing skills transfer and the sharing of new knowledge was evident among participants in the Indore branch of the project. For women in the Deaf community, these issues intersected with patriarchy and gender hierarchies. A learner at IDBA, Rani, suggested that meetings hosted by the local deaf associations' women's group allowed her and other deaf women to learn and exchange ideas (P16,MG4). She stated that there 'is association nearby my home … We have discussion, and I learn so much from there. Those girls who are not allowed to go out from their home gather there and get motivated after meeting each other, and the number of people gradually increases this way' (P16, MG4). She stated her belief that 'if this will not happen, then their thoughts will become limited; they will not get empower, and they will spend their life normally' (P16, MG4). Local deaf associations can create a space for Deaf women to gather and resolve any problems or issues they are facing. The participant stated, 'Those who are the leaders encourage them and those who have some knowledge gives advice and share with them' (P16, MG4). This emphasises the role that deaf associations can play in fostering a space where Deaf women can discuss local concerns and be motivated to act across many local issues.

Another learner, Sarita, stated, 'if any girl has some issues, and she is uncomfortable to share with anyone, so they share with me, and I help to solve their problems' (P19, MG3). Sarita provided a space for other deaf girls and young women to discuss issues that might have affected them. Alongside religion and caste, in India, gender can also create differences in relational positioning; women are subject to different social norms and conventions than men. These issues can intersect with deafness, and they created additional variations in the capability inputs available to female participants in the P2PDM project as opposed to male participants.

The role of parents of deaf children is particularly important in India for their capabilities realisation and agency. To reiterate the views covered in the introduction, 'the attitudes of others affect the lives of people with disabilities and may create significant, intangible barriers or facilitators that can have a greater impact on participation than the disability itself' (Crowe et al., 2015, p.25). Other learners made reference to only travelling with their parents as teenagers; for example, one stated in reference to travelling alone, 'they [her parents] always declined for my safety as I am a girl' (P19, MG3). In this example, the attitudes of the learner's parents and her status as a woman in Indore city restricted her ability to pursue choices such as moving about freely. In Nussbaum's CA, this is defined as freedom

to have bodily integrity, such as being able to 'move around freely' and 'being secure against violent assault'. It appears that Sarita's parents feared for her safety if she travelled alone.

Learner Maneet stated, 'I used to say lie to my parents, then sometimes I travelled alone without anybody' (P20, MG3). In Maneet's case, the learner achieved functioning in her capability to travel alone under the wider umbrella of capabilities in bodily integrity. One member of household staff in Odisha, Gita, in response to whether she was able to travel alone, stated, 'earlier, I used to go anywhere with my father. Now I go with my husband … I got stuck in finding routes … I have some fear to walk out alone. I don't have much confidence … I have fear of travelling alone … that's why I prefer to go out with someone. I cannot speak as well, so I don't go alone (P28, MG1). The differences between the choices Sarita, Maneet and Gita made are accounted for by personal factors, such as personality or self-confidence levels, or parental attitudes. The capabilities of Disha, another participant at HHSD, were positively affected by deaf sociality in the P2PDM project. She stated, 'in the beginning, I was afraid to come and go alone, so I took help from Jagdish … Sibaji told me to learn and try to go alone … then I became habitual of it. Now I have confidence in going alone' (P27, MG1). Her increased empowerment and freedom to walk to HHSD unaccompanied is an example of skills transfer from more knowledgeable deaf peers who moved to Odisha to participate in the project.

Similarly, parental attitudes affected the capabilities of deaf participants who were household staff in Odisha. One staff member, Pallavi, stated, 'I go with my father … I have never gone to withdraw money from ATM alone', implying that their agency to act in an independent manner is restricted (P26, MG1). Consequently, the level of responsibility given by parents to their deaf children was another conversion factor that enabled or inhibited participants' capabilities and self-determination.

Responses from the 23 Indian participants for questions about accessing a deaf network and support, which appears to have some overlap with obtaining help for problems, generally appeared similar across regional, role and gender splits. For instance, in Indore, two PTs and three learners stated they had received assistance for problems, while one learner and two PTs knew they were able to in future if necessary (MG5, MG4). Equally, five participants at HHSD stated they felt able to ask for support, and two PTs stated they had already received support from other deaf people (MG1, MG2). However, the responses from six learners at Indore were less confident, as they stated they did not receive support (MG3, MG4, MG6).

Sarita from Indore stated that their parents did not trust them to have a mobile phone. Sarita stated, 'I secretly saved money hiding from parents and bought a new phone' (P19, MG3). Some researchers' findings supported this idea as they stated that deaf people often face 'parental restrictions on activities outside the home due to worries about their child's inability to communicate, their whereabouts, and their general safety' (Akamatsu et al., 2005, p.120).

In many Global South contexts, there has been limited research on the issues of familial autonomy among deaf and disabled individuals. Friedner (2015) suggested that deaf people in India are becoming more independent through the provision of 'multi-level marketing enterprises [where] such businesses become a space for deaf Indians to create community, craft entrepreneurial selves and negotiate employment insecurity' (p.7). However, Friedner (2015) pointed out that due to the general coerciveness of sociality under neoliberalism and the absence of financial and legislative state support for such businesses, 'urban deaf Indians have turned to (and on) each other in attempts to turn social capital into financial capital; they have turned moral economies into financial economies. This is an example of how competition among those who are marginalised or excluded can ultimately create new forms of inclusion and wealth, while also perpetuating exclusion' (p. 8). Many Deaf Indians desire to access employment and bring in income for the family, whereas in resource-rich contexts, many Deaf and disabled persons can afford to stay home. However, opposing hypotheses imply that cultural prejudices about deafness cause families to underestimate the capabilities of deaf participants, and thus, their autonomy is restricted. Participants' statements throughout the P2PDM project about the responsibilities allocated to them are suggestive of families limiting the independence of P2PDM participants in relation to financial matters and to travelling alone due to safety concerns.

Many participants discussed their experiences of receiving visitors, as well, which suggested they had strong capabilities in terms of communicating with both hearing and deaf visitors to their homes and workplaces. Ten participants from across HHSD and IDBA stated that they were able to, and four stated that they had already interacted with visitors. However, for the female learners in Delhi, five stated that they were 'thinking' about the skill or did not interact with visitors, a marked difference in confidence with and access to visitors.

6.4.3. Deaf sociality and transnational deaf networks

Learners also discussed the importance of transnational deaf networks both in the P2PDM project and in their lives generally. Learners from Indore Bilingual School discussed opportunities they had to meet deaf experts from outside the country and how they gained experience in hosting them, showing them around the school and introducing them to the classes. Other references were made to the value of local guides when visiting new places, which saved deaf people time when travelling. Finally, Arjun, a learner, stated, 'if we have no contacts, then we have to communicate in writing with hearing people for places, which would take long time. If we have contact with deaf in new place, they could help in explaining the routes easily' (P18, MG3). These statements support earlier claims about the confidence that utilising sign language gives deaf individuals.

Among Indian participants, responses for the ability to travel alone referred to local travel or travel to other states. In addition, female deaf participants appeared to have fewer travel options than their peers, and in their responses, females mentioned travel in restricted areas in their cities with their families. As for the male participants, some mentioned travelling for work within India or visiting family in other states. Two of the Indian PTs had the opportunity to attend an international conference in Poland. However, few others had had an opportunity to travel internationally, outside of the staff recruited for the project. Of the 21 respondents to the mapping activity for 'travel alone', one respondent, a female participant from Delhi, claimed they were not able to travel alone, while six participants claimed they were 'thinking' about how to travel alone but believed they required support. In contrast, six participants stated they felt able to do the skill without support when the chance arose, while eight claimed they had already travelled alone and did not require assistance.

Of all the project participants, only two PTs claimed they had already had experience with 'learning another sign language' and had achieved functioning in this regard (MG1). They stated they believed they were able to learn the second sign language thanks to the opportunity to meet international deaf people. Meanwhile, three learners thought they were capable of learning a second sign language if they had the opportunity to do so (MG1, MG5, MG4). The four members of household staff in Odisha stated they felt they were capable of learning a different sign language, too, given a chance (MG2). However, three learners from Indore and six learners from Delhi stated they felt incapable of learning another sign language (MG6).

Learners discussed strengths and weaknesses in their communication strategies as they were able to communicate with deaf people from other countries to a varying extent. For

example, Saranya from Delhi discussed being able to communicate freely with people from other countries like China or the USA, while Indore-based learners Arjun, Sarita and Maneet suggested that they struggled with communicating with deaf people from the USA as the sign language is very different (P21, MG6, P18, P19, P20, MG3).

Some viewpoints suggest that communicating with other deaf people was a struggle; for instance, Kanchana stated, ‘I cannot communicate with the person who comes from the USA as their sign language is so different than ours’ (P23, MG6). One Delhi learner, Lata, commented, ‘I have communicated with this Chinese person with whom I interacted easily’, suggesting that although ISL and CHSL are very different, deaf participants are able to understand each other through the use of International Sign (P22, MG6). Comments by learners like Lata, such as, ‘I can communicate with the people who come from other countries like China, USA, etc. … [but] I have no experience of providing assistance to them if they need’ demonstrate the North–South direction of development work and influence, as discussed in Chapter One, which is present among Deaf communities, too (P22, MG6). Some participants from Indore discussed meeting and talking with international visitors ‘who come from outside India’ (P18, MG3). Participant Arjun’s comment indicated the influence that L1 and L2 language use can have on capabilities realisation and agency; they stated, ‘if I understand their signing so, I lead … but if I don’t understand … I don’t go for it’ (P18, MG3), while another stated, ‘I can lead those whose signing is understandable clearly, but if not, I leave it’ (P19, MG3). These comments imply that project participants were more comfortable being able to use their L1 ISL with overseas visitors where possible, whereas with deaf people from the USA, China or Europe who were native signers, there were still some communication barriers. This indicates that in terms of capabilities realisation, it was simpler for participants to communicate with overseas visitors when there was some level of communication available in the L1 language. Project participants’ achieved capabilities realisation in affiliation, being able to interact with visitors and meet with new deaf people. Many participants made more frequent reference to meeting on occasion with deaf Indians in other cities, but meeting international visitors was rarer.

PTs from HHSD and from Indore Bilingual School suggested that capabilities of relevance included ‘socialise with new deaf people’, ‘provide networking and support for other deaf people’ and ‘organise meetings with the local deaf association’, which gave some indication of their values and things that were important to them. Of the six respondents to ‘socialise with new deaf people’, two PTs stated they had already done this. Four participants

claimed they were able to socialise with new deaf people. For ‘provide network and support for other deaf people’, of a total of three participants stated they were able to do this when necessary. Two also felt confident with organising meetings with the local deaf association, while one participant stated they were less sure of doing this.

6.5. Capabilities realisation within the Indian context and conversion factors

The capability inputs for Indian participants were diverse, with notable distinctions in achieved functioning between project staff, learners and HHSD household staff. Capability inputs were considered across multiliteracies, such as using written English, and textual comprehension, using professional ISL and the employment of digital literacies skills. Subsequently, capability inputs as professional project staff and as project participants were considered, such as being able to qualify as a PT, staff capabilities for managing conflict and tutoring and learner capabilities as a consequence of processes of peer tutoring. Additional skills acquired throughout the project, such as administration and financial management, were considered for their impact on participants’ daily beings, doings and freedoms. Finally, the impact of deaf peer networks on project staff, learners and HHSD household staff were examined, as well as the impact of these deaf spaces and socialities on capabilities such as affiliation, representation, voice and participation on participants.

Drawing upon the Capabilities Approach, participants’ achievements of their capabilities were measured through their ‘capacity to modify initial structures (the sources of capability inputs and diverse potential conversion factors)’ (Hvinden & Halvorsen, 2018, p.866). Conversion factors can influence ‘people’s achievement of effective processes and actual well-being but also [directly impact] the extent of their actual agency, including the capacity to modify initial structures’ (Hvinden & Halvorsen, 2018, p.866). Nussbaum’s core list of ten capabilities, detailed in Chapter One, is indicative of capability sets that are integral for actions taken to improve access to social justice.

In India, in addition to participants having many variables in their linguistic, sociocultural and educational backgrounds and the influence of personal heterogeneities, such as individual characteristics, distinct physical and mental capacities on their actual agency, the roles of other variations upon capability inputs were evident. Such conversion factors included distributions within the family; differences in relational positioning (culture, social norms and conventions); varieties in social climate, such as the availability of public services and

community relations for deaf people; and environmental diversities, for example, urban areas versus rural areas (Sen, 2000, p.4). Due to the nature of the study, it was not possible to track differences in participants' individual or collective capabilities over time, so a static view of a persons' capability set and their social and personal context were used (Robeyns, 2005, p.98). For the Indian participants, their capability sets were grouped across each thematic area of access to multiliteracies, participants' social and professional roles and deaf sociality.

6.5.1. Realising capabilities within the Indian context

Indian participants who discussed their experiences of utilising 'English skills' or their use of 'Indian Sign Language' demonstrated achieved functioning, particularly across their capabilities of Senses, Imagination and Thought; Emotions; Affiliation; Play and Control over One's Environment (Nussbaum, 2007, p.23, Table 2.1). One learner, Maneet, was not confident in front of the camera at first (P20, MG3). However, she stated that with time, 'I improved myself' and that 'I am practising', both of which suggest that she achieved capability functioning over time for the capabilities of senses, imagination and thought through achieving the capability of 'signing ISL in front of the camera'. Other capability inputs were evident through the frequent use of written English text in the classroom environment; through PTs' skills in peer-to-peer teaching of deaf learners, using flexible linguistic repertoires between ISL and English; and through the use of ISL to express themselves in the classroom on a range of topics. The learners also grew in self-confidence, thus realising capabilities in emotions as they grew more confident in their ISL and English skills. The employment of feedback by peers on the learners' stories in ISL and the methods through which to improve them developed not only multiliteracy skills but also subsequent access to many of Nussbaum's capabilities (P19, MG3).

The participants also employed real English literacies and accessed a range of multiliteracies skills, thus realising their capabilities under senses, imagination and thought. For example, participants were able to use their visual skills alongside their knowledge of written English to understand RLE for banking, reading street signs, understanding written instructions at the medical centre and other tasks.

Topics listed on SLEND encouraged learners to discuss real-English literacies they were familiar with and encouraged them to develop capabilities in their English learning and digital literacies skills. Learners also often drew on resource materials according to a class topic on the platform. They filmed themselves signing their homework on their phones and asked

friends to check their statements, emphasising the overlap between sign language literacies and peer networks, and they demonstrated their realisation of the capabilities of sense, imagination and thought, practical reason and affiliation.

The use of the application WhatsApp facilitated access to social networks for project participants and, in turn, to a variety of multiliteracies from written English, written local languages, the sharing of videos with sign language, the use of captions and a range of other visual literacies. One participant stated that others in the deaf community 'add suggestions to improve my signing', which allowed deaf individuals who might be marginalised to employ affiliation. Indian learners used of digital platforms to share questions and language learning with peers, and they 'share[d] and discuss[ed] in WhatsApp group[s]' what information they found; thus, the WhatsApp platform enabled the improvement of English literacy. In this instance, the learner was able to access the components of her educational functioning and her social belonging functioning. Through accessing a peer network, the learner commented that she was enabled to successfully communicate with her peers, accessed educational and social resources and was enabled to draw on a combination of digital, multimodal and standard written literacies skills.

Sign language literacies and digital literacy skills appeared to be a critical component in the P2PDM project. These factors facilitated deaf peoples' abilities to realise aspects of their capabilities related to achieving an adequate education while being able to think, imagine and reason, which is encouraged by access to language. Other aspects of the capabilities of affiliation, especially being able to live with and towards others and being able to engage in various forms of social interaction, were facilitated for deaf participants in the project by pursuing valued educational goals together and by incorporating sign language literacies.

Some online platforms created a place where deaf users opted to utilise fluid language practices to assist in the explanation of language concepts such as written text in English or another language, video calling in ISL, images and YouTube videos. These fluid language practices also opened up a wider range of semiotic resources for RAs, PTs and learners to incorporate in literacy learning in the project.

There is also considerable overlap with the employment of WhatsApp both for multiliteracies learning and for peer tutoring, with capabilities realisation in two areas. The spheres in which capabilities realisation overlap as a consequence of using this tool are

participants' utilisation of language/reason and the importance of deaf networks and deaf sociality for sharing skills and information. The overlap appeared consistently throughout the Indian sample. Peer networks were vital throughout the project and in India in general for allowing skills transfer among project participants. Successful realisation of information exchange with peers via online platforms meant that participants realised affiliation as they accessed social belonging via online networks and exchanged information with peers about their English classes, English language learning and homework. In the case of IDBA, these practices continued with peers outside the school, where learners often shared information and news with friends and contacts in other cities.

Participants' perceptions of their own enhancements across these areas facilitated greater capabilities realisation in terms of affiliation as the PT demonstrated not only a sense of confidence and belonging but also appeared to demonstrate leadership skills. Other capabilities included practical reason, in terms of managing a group of learners and leading them in their course, as well as positive realisations of capabilities in the arena of emotions, with demonstrated competence and confidence, and in senses, imagination and thought, in terms of leading and tutoring learners.

Within India, deaf communities tended to access deaf sociality through meeting other deaf people at workshops, events hosted by deaf associations, sports and dance competitions and through school or educational initiatives led by charities and foundations. Throughout the P2PDM project, development work tended to follow collaborative and participatory working patterns. These working methods were most evident in the recruitment of deaf RAs and deaf PTs across all three countries, but closer examination of the deaf learners and household staff in India also demonstrated a range of benefits in terms of accessing deaf sociality through being involved in the project.

By highlighting the differences in communication strategies utilised by participants in the hearing and deaf social worlds and the experiences participants had in each case, it was demonstrated that being in a deaf- and sign language-centred environment was empowering for deaf participants. These gatherings of deaf sociality allowed individuals to realise their capabilities of social belonging and positive connections in their communities, raise self-awareness and the awareness of surrounding communities of the right to language and generating greater potential for deaf individuals to become politically active in these communities and advocate for both deaf and women's rights.

The experiences of deaf space and deaf socialities allowed deaf participants a more direct route to the realisation of capabilities, ranging from affiliation to emotions to senses, imagination and thought (Nussbaum, 2000). By utilising a deaf turn towards deaf worlds, deaf project participants discussed their experiences of being able to access resources such as social capital, positive reciprocity and enhanced self-belief and self-confidence as a result of being in an enabling, sociocultural ISL context. This also acted as an enabler for collective capabilities realisation, as discussed in Chapter Three, in the realms of voice, representation and organisation.

6.5.2. Conversion factors that inhibited and enabled capabilities realisation among Indian participants

Within the thematic group of multiliteracies, capability inputs included 'learning English', the use of 'writing and reading in English', participants' levels of 'literacy attainment in English', acquiring more 'use of advanced English', 'applying for jobs', the 'use of ISL', 'filming professional standard ISL on the camera', 'access to ISL literacies', 'sharing sign language videos online', the 'use of a mobile phone' and 'communication with project staff in other countries'. Enabling conversion factors that cropped up for multiliteracies learning in the P2PDM project included access to documentation online to revise topics and the availability of sign language recordings online to revise ISL literacies. Limiting factors included an inability to acquire new vocabulary or learn English grammar, low literacy, lack of access to external foundations that enhance English language access, social stigma, familial dependence and gender attitudes. Participants from all project roles and in all locations, including Uganda and Ghana, stated that an inaccessible learning environment dominated by either spoken language teaching or content delivered by teachers with poor sign language skills were among the causes of high rates of low literacy among the deaf and were a limiting conversion factor for capabilities realisation/functioning. Experiencing low levels of literacy was another common theme that frequently emerged among deaf participants during discussions.

Within the thematic group of social and professional roles within the project, capability inputs included 'access to PT qualifications', 'teaching English', 'teaching ISL', 'teaching classes of mixed ability', 'using ISL to teach English', 'resolving conflict among staff', 'advocating for deaf learning materials' and 'representing the deaf community at disability charities and at a national level'.

Enabling conversion factors included teaching style (personal heterogeneity) and previous ISL teaching experience. Constraining conversion factors mentioned by participants included obtaining the requisite teaching qualifications, knowledge of English, lack of access to spoken language in the early years and, hence, poor understanding of spoken languages; the application processes for job roles in deaf schools can be in English.

Within the thematic group of deaf sociality, capability inputs that were assessed included 'communication with deaf contacts in different regions of India', 'campaigning for ISL and deaf education in different regions of India', 'getting support from deaf networks', 'communication with peers', 'event organisation', 'development of leadership skills', 'attending events', 'advocate for, and themselves create, novel spaces in which they can campaign on a range of issues', 'communicate with hearing people', 'solve problems', 'attend discussions at local associations', 'travel alone', 'achieve autonomy from family', 'obtain assistance from deaf networks' and 'communicate with deaf people from other countries'.

Enabling conversion factors cited in deaf sociality included being more comfortable using their L1 ISL with overseas visitors, access to senior members of the deaf community for advice or support, access to social support through charitable organisations or deaf associations, opportunities to travel for visiting, attendance at competitions like dance or sports and attendance at workshops, the provision of full linguistic access, and access to other deaf peers. Some limiting conversion factors included a lack of deaf headteachers who would trust and communicate with deaf individuals to develop their event management or leadership skills. Other limiting conversion factors were paternalistic attitudes from families and educators towards deaf people's capabilities.

6.6. Chapter Summary

In India, the employment of the Deaf Multiliteracies approach, which focused not only on English literacy skills but also on digital literacies, ISL literacies and written RLE relevant to learners' everyday lives was particularly empowering for their learning. Making space for such approaches to language learning in deaf education would allow individuals to acquire second languages more easily and enhance their learning experiences. In India, where many participants in the P2PDM project joined from a variety of regions with educational backgrounds in different languages, the use of ISL to learn English was particularly apt. Participants commented that being able to utilise English, ISL, digital literacies and financial

literacies allowed them to develop new skills and be trusted with new responsibilities. These capabilities granted participants new freedoms to pursue valued goals in their everyday lives. Participants' capability inputs included processes of meaning-making, learning English in a multilingual context and understanding general concepts in English classes.

Participants' discussions of the impact of accessing ISL, teaching a class of deaf students or hosting a conference that informed many other civic actors about deafness in actuality demonstrated the importance of on-ground development projects working with deaf or similar vulnerable groups. Second, their involvement in the project and the effects of daily practices on their quality of life show the impact that a CA can have in terms of revealing a wider range of everyday lived experiences that are not only practised but actively valued by deaf individuals.

Another point that was pivotal for deaf people achieving their capabilities on the ground was the recruitment of deaf individuals as RAs and PTs within the development project allowed a precedent to be set with the recruitment of deaf PTs to teach ISL and English in schools. The recruitment of deaf staff had an impact on other deaf employees, for instance, the HHSD household staff in Binka. In terms of capabilities, being recruited as project staff in a professional role allowed participants to access income and develop their skillsets in teaching English, project management, event organisation, conference presentations and staff management, along with a host of others. Being employed granted participants more freedom in their daily activities than if they had been recipients of a development programme.

Many Indian participants have few opportunities to travel or connect with the international deaf community outside of the country, so meeting people from different countries through being involved in the project was a unique opportunity. The project staff had the chance to meet deaf people from Poland, while RAs and PTs frequently worked with colleagues in Uganda and Ghana. A RA and PT from Uganda attended training in Odisha state at HHSD for six months, granting project participants opportunities to network. The sharing of ideas among deaf people in different countries also contributed to a solidified consciousness of deafness as an international phenomenon. Analysis of deaf peoples' access to core capabilities across three Global South contexts and the impact of participation in a multiliteracies project also opens up further questions.

7. Conclusion

The situation of deaf people regarding linguistic deprivation, access to sign langauges and deaf education across many regions of the globe remains profoundly unequal. By focusing on a range of respondents working with deaf people across 23 countries, and on the experiences of participants within the P2PDM project sites, evidently similar patterns of linguistic marginalisation, the isolation of deaf people in rural areas, the prevalence of cultural stigma against deaf people are being addressed by development initiatives in targeted sites, but elsewhere remain pervasive.

By opting for an assessment of capabilities, I hoped to bring new understandings of how deaf people at an individual and a collective level achieve things they value doing and being. Through an assessment of these processes of the analysing what capability inputs participants mentioned as being valuable, and what freedoms and activities were achieved after participation in development projects, some greater detail can be added to the UN CRPD approaches. In addition, the Capabilties Approach offers a flexible framework, where a core capabilities list originating from various deaf communities could offer substantial contribution to the field of deaf studies.

Through the adoption of the capabilities approach, the influence of development organisations upon the methodological background of the Capabilities Approach is set out (**Section 7.1**), alongside how the framework can assist organisations who are working with deaf communities today (**Section 7.2**), after which the limitations of the study are set out (**Section 7.3**).

7.1. Development projects with deaf communities and the contribution to the Capabilities Approach framework

As a consequence of the findings of development organisations working with deaf people at both the individual and collective level in the Global South, several innovations to Nussbaum's Capabilities approach framework are suggested. Three challenges to methodological norms associated with the Capabilities Approach emerged during the research concerning firstly, the development of a keywords list from which to elicit capabilities and visual designs in the mapping activity through co-creation processes; secondly, concerns about the applicability of Nussbaum's ten core capabilities to deaf individuals in Global South settings, where her list would benefit from the addition of another capability concerning language deprivation as an internal or external capability; and thirdly,

notions of embodied subjectivities. Deaf signers' worldviews and ways of being contributes to the sociological frameworks used in the Capabilities Approach. Notions of deaf sociality suggest that creating meaning through ongoing interaction at the individual level is empowering for participants in these organisations. Therefore, this thesis finds that viewing the Capabilities Approach framework of capability inputs, sets, conversion factors and functionings within a broader interactionist framework is particularly applicable for deaf signers as a whole.

7.1.1. Co-creation processes for the Capabiltiies Approach methods

As detailed earlier in Chapter Three, some processes of co-creation were used to design the mapping activity, with one PT drawing a visual scale, while the keywords capability list also received some contributions from project staff in India (**Appendix 7**). Keywords such as 'Teaching dance, drama and mime,' 'Supervising students at a competition,' 'Network with other deaf in the state,' 'Organise meetings with the deaf association,' 'Improve skills in using sign while being filmed' and 'Able to search for job adverts and how to apply to jobs in HI,' offered insight into the priorities in the daily lives of local deaf participants and areas of their lives where they valued having the opportunity to participate.

These processes of co-creation allowed deaf participants to provide some participatory, grassroots input into the methods used. In turn, in terms of contributions to the Capabilities Approach, the employment of visual, deaf-rooted methods goes some way to preventing the researcher obscuring deaf voices through the employment of standard capabilities list within the framework (Jaggar, 2006).

7.1.2. Sign languages as a core human capability for deaf people

In addition, the Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum 2007), does not consider issues of linguistic deprivation from a deaf perspective. Nussbaum's list mentions the core capability of senses, imagination and thought, and affiliation, yet, there is an argument to be made for a core capability of access to language, and the provision of sign langauges specifically for deaf people. The ten core tenets mentioned by Nussbaum in her approach have been designed with the needs of disabled people in mind, and Sen has made reference to the fact that disabled people or women or other groups will have greater needs in some areas than others in order to attain the same level of functioning in a capability.

However, language is an innate aspect of being a human being, and many deaf people are in the unique position of being born to hearing parents where sign language transmission is not possible, so the problems of linguistic deprivation in the early-years can be substantial. Subsequently, in the Global South contexts, although provision of places at schools for the deaf have improved in recent years, there are still too few places for the number of deaf people in many project countries. There are shortages of teachers with appropriate signing skills to teach deaf students and a lack of specialist qualifications for teachers of the deaf posts.

Although language acquisition is considered an internal capability for the majority of human beings, for deaf people not born to deaf parents, where language transmission is not guaranteed, language acquisition is a combined capability that necessitates external support such as early-years intervention, deaf peers and other initiatives. Therefore, I would suggest that language acquisition would need to be added to Nussbaum's core list of human capabilities for working with deaf people, as a particularly critical one that enables deaf people to achieve wellbeing and freedom, as well as a vital prequisite capability to unlock others.

7.1.3. Participatory approaches and deaf embodied subjectivities

Furthermore, this thesis also found that participatory deaf approaches to research methods, and notions of embodied subjectivity from deaf studies had much to contribute to notions of pragmatist situated enquiry. Within a pragmatic enquiry, Zimmerman (2006) contends situated agency is understood as 'situated action in a pragmatist sense' (p.475) as opposed to Sen's original approach of 'positional agency,' whereby for the individual, the surrounding environmental contexts remain static and fixed (p.475). However, an interactionist understanding of the background context, whereby individuals are achieving their capability sets and functionings in a context of cycles of meaning-making through situated interaction is particularly pertinent to deaf signers.

Many deaf people in this thesis discussed the importance of deaf sociality and meeting deaf peers through participation in development organisation projects. For P2PDM project staff, many heard about the job vacancies in the project through informal peer networks. In educational settings, other processes such as peer-to-peer socialisation, participation in the classroom setting, turn-taking in conversations which improves with sign

language in this thesis all occurred as interactionist processes within which capabilities were or were not achieved.

Thus, the nature of deaf sociality, and of deaf communities as networks of individual deaf signers has much to contribute to the CA through the creation of interactionist frameworks, and through the study of meaning-making as ongoing cycles of interaction, as deaf signers can achieve capabilities different in contexts as an individual and in groups as a collective.

7.1.4. Examples of good practice

Some development initiatives failed or weren't as effective as they could have been due to a lack of local deaf people in positions of leadership. In Nicaragua (Project 7) deaf people were recruited to the Board of the development organisation and able to provide insight this way. In the Malawi project, (Project 8), the efforts of the development work failed because it wasn't deaf-led.

Another finding from the Guyana project (Project 3) was the importance of deaf people from local Global South communities being empowered to act in a self-directed way, where they were able to establish businesses and create their own income streams within these communities.

In the Mexico project, where the creation of a sign language dictionary resource also relied primarily on citizens and inhabitants of local municipalities, there were many evident benefits which could contribute to future good practice.

The impact of gender on digital literacy skills, particularly amongst female deaf learners in India also provide many pointers to good practice (Section 6.3.2). It is important that future development projects working with deaf participants in India strive to transfer digital literacy skills to both male and female deaf participants on parity.

These findings suggest that at an organisational level, organisations working in Global South settings should make a greater effort to place deaf people in leadership positions, ensure deaf people are recruited at all organisation levels, allow deaf people to drive decision-making within these projects. For language documentation, the findings suggested that good practice aims to include local citizens in such processes, rather than relying solely on academics or linguistics. Other examples of good practice included the

importance of being aware of intersectionality with deafness and how these issues – such as gender or region – could impact on organisational aims.

7.2. The contribution of the Capabilities Approach to deaf people

The Capabilities Approach firstly highlights for deaf people in the Global South, what human capabilities should comprise of for deaf individuals in these settings, a finding which is among the key contributions to knowledge of this thesis. The Capabilities Approach also demonstrated what collective responsibility can look like for deaf communities.

The Capabilities Approach has demonstrated tasks and activities within organisations that deaf participants actively valued doing. Many deaf staff stated that they valued being employed in the P2PDM project, with tasks such as peer tutoring and conducting research activities particularly valued new skills. Although many other studies have examined deaf empowerment in Global South settings (DeClerck 2011, Kusters 2017 et al., Gillen et al. 2019) there has been no application of the Capabilities Approach to deaf participants in development organisations to date. As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the Capabilities Approach employs a distinctive analytical approach towards processes of agency and choice, and categorically states where individuals have achieved valued wellbeings and freedoms.

7.2.1. What basic capabilities are relevant for deaf people?

This study found a wide range of capabilities of relevance, but being able to learn English in a bicultural, bilingual educational environment with peers, learning digital skills, and gaining experience as RAs and PTs in research skills and tutoring skills were all especially valued.

The Capabilities Approach demonstrated how and where participative approaches were enabling deaf people to realise individual capabilities of increased self-confidence, and obtaining leadership skills. Within educational pedagogy, the Capabilities Approach showed deaf learners could achieve a wider range of capabilities if there were more qualification routes for deaf people to achieve teaching degrees. In addition, studies of processes of empowerment in sign language classrooms in Global South could be deepened and enhanced through the inclusion of a comparative capabilities framework.

The list of capabilities mentioned as valuable by deaf participants throughout this thesis is itself a valuable contribution to knowledge, as little research has been done with deaf people in these Global South project sites before on achieving the 'things a person may value being or doing' (Sen, 2001, p. 71).

7.2.2. Collective responsibility for deaf communities

Although approaches in Deaf Studies mention how access to deaf peer networks, deaf associations and funding for advocacy can empower, by utilising the Capabilities Approach it is possible to compare in which domains, whether micro, macro or meso, to amend the Capabilities Approach for use on local as opposed to universalist understandings of capabilities.

In addition, responses by participants in P2PDM project, about how much they valued the opportunity to network with each other across the three project countries, demonstrates how Participants exchange teaching information, educational resources and ideas for lesson planning, particularly between peer tutors in India and Uganda, thus forging transnational deaf solidarity during the project. There has long been the concept of Deaf-World within Global North deaf communities, but opportunities for deaf people in different Global South countries to work together internationally are much rarer. As a consequence of participating in the project, participants were able to enhance their capabilities in affiliation with other deaf people, building their advocacy and organisational skills for bilingual, bicultural education on a macro level, while simultaneously achieving collective capabilities in voice to advocate; and in representation of the deaf community at an international level.

7.2.3. Principles of Justice for deaf communities

Although the CRDP and the MDGs have been powerful routes to transformative change for deaf people around the world, it can be argued that these are soft legal instruments that proscribe what should be done. By contrast, the Capabilities Approach, when developed in full in a way that is participatory for local deaf communities, can show processes of capability achievement, factors that individuals perceived limited these or enabled these and highlights empowerment within the tangible, everyday vernacular of activities that deaf people value being and doing. As a consequence, it can be seen that the Capabilities Approach could have many benefits in its application to deaf communities.

Importantly, many projects working with deaf individuals and communities have recognised that language acquisition, and the attainment of literacy are often fundamental pre-requisites for attaining skills or confidence in many other areas. Although the importance of sign language use in the community, and bilingual approaches in education are recognised as absolutely critical components of empowerment by such organisations working in the

development sector, efforts to implement lasting change through human rights legal instruments at the macro level are slow, and sometimes only partially effective. Therefore, many of the UN CRPD Articles that promote equality and justice for deaf people, while well-intentioned, could benefit from additional detail about processes of empowerment and capabilities realisation on the ground, particularly in many Global South contexts.

Projects working with deaf communities could accrue further benefits from understanding capabilities realisation as dynamic processes occurring on the ground that can influence policies at the micro, meso and macro levels. The interrelation between access to a national sign language and access to multiliteracies, and access to sociality is complex, so to understand if there are similarities on a quantitative basis in project sites could be useful for future approaches to educational pedagogy, research into language deprivation and understandings of the power of deaf networks. Achieving capabilities in the sign language is a pre-requisite for the other two capabilities, though not vice-versa.

7.3. Limitations

The Capabilities Approach has been applied qualitatively here, as a static framework. It is also possible to apply the Capabilities Approach as a dynamic framework, studying its applications at two or three points over time, thus being able to compare on an individual level how a persons' capabilities have expanded or reduced, which would make for interesting research in the future in relation to the UN CRPD Articles. Such findings, where empowerment and emancipation are viewed as integrated processes alongside the external social variation and environmental variation created by organisations' projects, could offer detailed feedback for policy applications in each project site, whether that is at a micro level within a deaf school, or at a meso level for national government sign language policies.

Another limitation the researcher would like to address in future is the impact of intersectionality, as due to language factors, deaf communities can have different attitudes towards minorities such as through caste, culture and religion, as was mentioned anecdotally by Indians during the fieldwork.

Finally, the Capabilities Approach could go further in embedding deaf perspectives, as discussed in Section 7.1, into the research design. By taking a sociological perspective of meaning-making as a process that takes place between individual persons, known as the 'situated social' (Gasper 2002, p.452), whereby social worlds are constructed in ongoing

processes of interaction amongst individuals, the duality of agency and structure is complemented by an interactionist element. The idea of social worlds being constituted through ongoing dialogical processes has particular resonance with deaf individuals and communities as a linguistic minority. This would add an additional layer to the findings in the Capabilities Approach of capabilities and functionings being achieved in a context influenced by individual agents and structure.

7.4. Recommendations for Futher Study

Further studies could focus on the capabiltiies approach in relation to many forms of intersectionality whether this is gender, caste in India, socioeconomic class, ethnicity, religion or other areas with deaf communities as a whole.

Some findings emerged about the financial autonomy of Deaf individuals in regards to financial management and planning of their own affairs. A sound understanding of financial literacy is important in order to achieve many capabilities.

Other areas of interest for future study include the examination of independent variables such as the interrelation between access to sign language and enhanced self-determination or capabilities; the relationship between access to professional development as sign langauge tutor and capabilities realisation; the relationship between access to professional development as a researcher in an international development project and capabilities realisation; the relationship between deaf individuals in leadership roles in development projects and capabilities realisation; the connection between increased multiliteracies skills and capabilities realisation.

7.5. Conclusion

Participants' discussions of the impact of accessing ISL in educational settings, or of teaching a class of deaf students, emphasise the empowering effects of a multiliteracies approach in human development work. The effect these practices had on their life quality demonstrate the importance of firstly, on-ground projects working with deaf or similar vulnerable groups, and secondly, the impact that a CA can have in terms of revealing a wider range of everyday lived experiences which are not only practiced but actively valued by deaf individuals.

To conclude, although the multiplier effects of linguistic deprivation, poverty and systemic disadvantage in resource-poor contexts on deaf participants should not be

underestimated, neither should their capabilities. With the right support, and given the opportunities to learn skills such as teaching English, filming linguistic data, presenting at conference and aspects of project management, the capabilities of deaf individuals can be improved gradually in the short-term, and with the potential for substantial advances in the long-term. Of course, as a low literacy and minority language group, the barriers to self-autonomy, and to obtaining multiliteracies skills are complex, yet quite possible with an application of some imagination.

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9. Appendices

Appendix 1 The Capabilities Approach List

APPENDIX A: THE CENTRAL HUMAN CAPABILITIES

1. *Life.* Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living.
2. *Bodily Health.* Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.
3. *Bodily Integrity.* Being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction.
4. *Senses, Imagination, and Thought.* Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and to reason—and to do these things in a "truly human" way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise. Being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid non-beneficial pain.
5. *Emotions.* Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety. (Supporting this capability means supporting forms of human association that can be shown to be crucial in their development.)
6. *Practical Reason.* Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience and religious observance.)
7. *Affiliation.*
   A. Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another. (Protecting this capability means protecting institutions that constitute and nourish such forms of affiliation, and also protecting the freedom of assembly and political speech.)
   B. Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails provisions of non-discrimination on

the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin.

8. *Other Species.* Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature.
9. *Play.* Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.
10. *Control over One's Environment.*
    - A. *Political.* Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation and protections of free speech and association.
    - B. *Material.* Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. In work, being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers.

(Nussbaum, 2007, p.23-24).

Appendix 2 Table of Development Projects Surveyed

Project	Year	Category
'Yes we can … operate a snackette' in Guyana	2018 – April to November	Socioeconomic intervention – Setting up own business
Capacity Development of deaf people in Timor-Leste (by CBM)	2017 - Present	Organisational capacity and Human Rights - Run training for deaf Timorese people to build up their capacity to advocate individually and for the community
Training and analysis of whether deaf and hard-of-hearing people in Vanautu were able to attend school or get jobs	2017	Socioeconomic – analysis of barriers to education and employment opportunities
Early Literacy Development / Early Reading in Uganda and Tanzania by Kentalis	2017 - 2020	Education - literacy
British Council UK-China Partnership project	Jan 2016 – Dec 2018	Research – academic exchange on English and Deaf Studies and developing multimedia language platform
Birds and Bees project by NDCS	2017 - 2018	Socioeonomic intervention – Training young deaf people in sexual health awareness and peer education
Dictionary of Mexican Sign Language of Mexico City (DLSM CDMX)	2015 - 2017	Research – sign language documentation
Iran Sign Language Linguistics	2015 (?? Confirm year) - Iran 2013 – Malawi	Education – sign language linguistics
Early Childhood Initiative for Deaf and Hard of Hearing in Zambia	2013 – 2017	Education
IDEO-VN – Intergenerational Deaf Education Outreach Project Vietnam	2011 - 2016	Socioeconomic intervention – Health Screening, family support and preschool services
Early Childhood Intervention Projects (3 locations) coordinated by Kentalis	Zambia 2012 – 2014 Uganda 2016 – 2017 Rwanda 2018	Education – Focused on increasing Parents Awareness of (mostly) hearing parents of deaf young children

Rural Sign Language Project Nicaragua	2013	Education – Sign Language Teaching
Organisational Development and Training Project of Malawi National Association of the Deaf (MANAD) by the Finnish Association of the Deaf	2008 - 2016	Organisational Capacity – delivering staff training to set up own Deaf association
Letras Libras Project	2006 - 2012	Education – Sign Language teaching
CRPD and Teaching Project Vietnam	2004 - 2007	Organisational capacity and human rights
Empowering deaf leaders of National Associations of the deaf in the Global South	2016 – Ethiopia and Jordan 2015 Colombia and Serbia 2014 Dominican Republic and Mongolia 2013 El Salvador and Azerbaijan	Organisational capacity and human rights -training workshops and concept of CRPD reporting introduced
Albanian Association of the Deaf (organised by Finnish Association of the Deaf)	2000	Organisational capacity and human rights – training deaf Albanians to run their own projects etc.

Appendix 3 Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet

Research Topic: Agency in deaf communities in capacity-building projects the global South

Invitation

We would like to invite you to take part in a short questionnaire that we are sending to various NGOs, deaf associations and other groups who currently carry out projects in developing regions with deaf communities.

What is the purpose of this study?

The study will focus on the empowerment of deaf sign language communities in different areas and different countries.

The first stage of the research (of which this questionnaire is part) looks at how different projects have been developed and implemented. There are seven questions in total.

Why have I been invited to participate in this research study?

You have been invited because you are now, or have previously been involved with a project that seeks to improve the capacity of deaf people in a developing country:

Name of Project: East Timor and Vanautau

You will be asked about the aim of this project, how deaf people are involved, and how you would characterise this project in terms of several criteria.

Do I have to take part?

No, taking part in this research study is entirely voluntary. If you decide to take part, you will receive a consent form to sign and return with the questionnaire.

If you would prefer to complete the questionnaire using sign language or International Sign, please contact the Researcher via email below to organise this.

Please tell me by email ermcewan@uclan.ac.uk or WhatsApp (+447598586547) if you would prefer to complete the consent form and/or answer the questionnaire via video.

What if I want to withdraw my data from this research?
You can withdraw the questionnaire responses at any time until two weeks after the questionnaire has been received. This is because it will not be possible to remove data once analysis has begun.
How will the data be used?
The findings of the research will be reported in my PhD thesis, presentations at academic conferences, and published in journal articles. The data will be stored in securely in an encoded file on UCLAN's password-protected server.
How will you refer to me and my organisation?
I would like to include your name in the acknowledgements of my research, if you agree to this. I would also like to include the name of your organisation in a list of organisations that have taken part in this research.
However, I will not use your name, or the name of your organisation, when referring to any of the responses in my analysis.
If you reply using International Sign, I will not share your video with anyone apart from my supervisory team, and any reference to your responses would use quotes in English.
In all publications that result from this research, I will try to minimise as far as possible the likelihood that the reader can identify which organisation is being discussed. However, it is important to remember that there are not many organisations working in your field, and it may be possible for some people to work out which organisations are being referred to.
Who has reviewed the study?
Ethical approval for the study has been granted by the Ethics Committee at the University of Central Lancaster, U.K.
Further Information:
If you have any queries or want further information regarding the study, please contact the Researcher or the Researchers' supervisors, Ulrike Zeshan – Uzeshan@uclan.ac.uk or Nick Palfreyman NBPalfreyman2@uclan.ac.uk
Researcher Contact Details:
Eilidh Rose McEwan
Harrington Building, HA212, University of Central Lancashire, Preston, United Kingdom
ermcewan@uclan.ac.uk

Appendix 4 Participant Consent Form

Participant Consent Form

Please return completed consent forms to ermcewan@uclan.ac.uk
Participants may give consent via sign language if they prefer, alongside emailing a completed a copy of the consent form. For further details on how to send responses in sign language, please see Participant Information Sheet.

Please delete as applicable and sign at the bottom.

yes/no	I have seen and understood the Participant Information Sheet.
yes/no	I understand that my data will be stored confidentially at UCLan and destroyed after the research period ends on 01 July 2020
yes/no	I understand that as far as possible my data will be anonymous
yes/no	I have had a chance to ask questions about this research, and I am happy with the answers.
yes/no	I understand that my help is voluntary, and that I can ask for my data to be withdrawn at any time until two weeks after it has been received, without giving a reason.
yes/no	I agree for my name to be included in the acknowledgements of publications linked to this research.
yes/no	I agree to having my data stored and analysed at UCLAN for the purpose of PhD research by Eilidh Rose McEwan. I understand that findings will be published in journals and a PhD thesis, and presented at conferences.
yes/no	I agree for my data to be stored after the research project.

Name **Place** **Date** **Signature**

Appendix 5 Development Project Questionnaire

Development Project Questionnaire

Note to Participants: If you wish to send your responses in sign language or International Sign, please see the Participant Information Sheet and contact the Researcher.

1) What changes does the project aim to bring to the lives of deaf people? Please list your project Title and the Year it took place.

2) How does the project aim to effect these changes?

3) Are deaf people involved in the planning of the project? If so, how?

4) How are deaf people involved in the implementation of the project? (e.g. as participants, facilitators, communication support, mediators)

5) Larkins (2018) identifies four areas in which a person's power might be increased:

   i. internal dialogue
   ii. voice
   iii. resources
   iv. impact

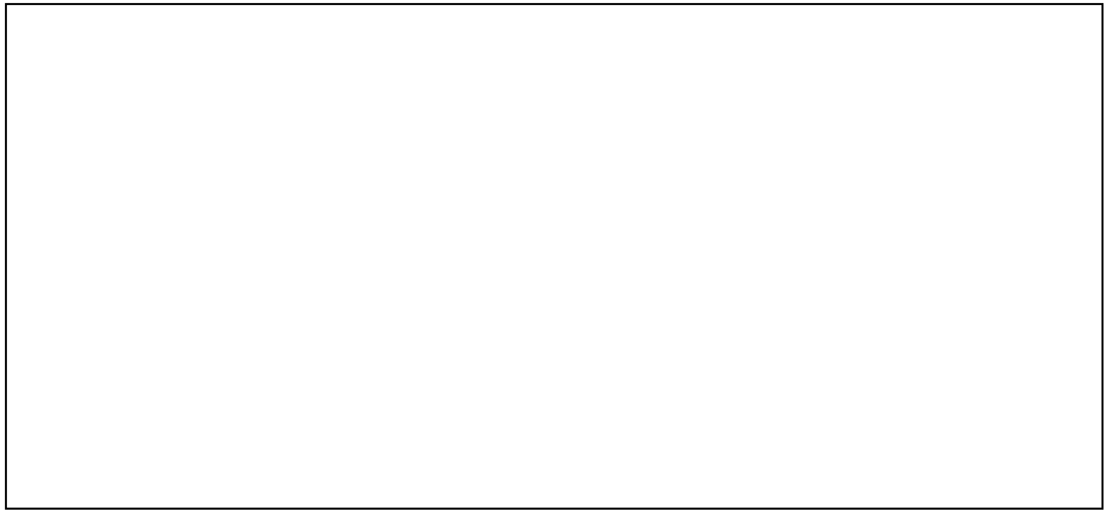
   Please tick which one is most applicable to your project and briefly say why.

6) Please rate the following assets and capabilities (Samman and Santos 2009) in terms of how far they are targeted by your project:

	not at all			very much	
material	1	2	3	4	5
Voice	1	2	3	4	5
representation	1	2	3	4	5
Social	1	2	3	4	5
Human	1	2	3	4	5
psychological	1	2	3	4	5
organisational	1	2	3	4	5

*See appendix at end for clearer definition of these terms for question 5 and question 6.

7) Would you say that your project is aimed more at **individual** deaf people, or at deaf people as a **community**? Why?



Appendix 6 Staff Capabilities Questionnaire

Staff capabilities questionnaire
Blank questionnaire used for staff all three project countries

Skill	Tell me more about this:	Who helped you with this skill?	Was it hard for you to learn this skill **before** the project?	What barrier did you face to learn this skill **during the project**?	Level of confidence now
Example: *Presenting at a conference*	**What did you do?** *1.Designing slides for a powerpoint.* *2. Presenting it in Goa.* **And when did you first do it?** (month and year): *August 2019* **How often?** I did this only once I do this regularly/often I do this sometimes √ I do this sometimes	√ RA in your team UK team member another Peer Tutor a learner people from another project country other (__________)	No. √ Yes. If yes, why was it hard? Because … I did not have the knowledge to design powerpoints or present. I had not travelled or been to a conference before.	(e.g. location, training access) (List min 2) 1. Access to training 2. Location – live far from conference venue in Goa 3.	need support √ fully independent still learning Now I feel about this skill, that … _______ I feel that I have developed new skills in designing powerpoint slides, finding materials on the internet, and confidence in discussing my knowledge in front of an audience.
Applying to jobs	**What did you do?**	RA in your team UK team member	No.	(e.g.)	need support fully independent

	And when did you first do it? (month and year): **How often?** I did this only once I do this regularly/often I do this sometimes	another Peer Tutor a learner people from another project country other (__________)	Yes. If yes, why was it hard? Because…________	(List min 2) 1. 2. 3.	still learning Now I feel about this skill, that … ____________
Lesson planning and preparation	**What did you do?** **And when did you first do it?** (month and year): **How often?** I did this only once I do this regularly/often I do this sometimes	RA in your team UK team member another Peer Tutor a learner people from another project country other (__________)	No. Yes. If yes, why was it hard? Because…________	(e.g.) (List min 2) 1. 2. 3.	need support fully independent still learning Now I feel about this skill, that … ____________
Finding information and making posters and materials for teaching	**What did you do?**	RA in your team UK team member another Peer Tutor a learner people from another project country other (__________)	No. Yes. If yes, why was it hard? Because…________	(e.g.) (List min 2) 1. 2. 3.	need support fully independent still learning Now I feel about this skill, that … ____________

	And when did you first do it? (month and year): **How often?** I did this only once I do this regularly/often I do this sometimes				
Improving skills and communicating with deaf groups with Whatsapp, etc	**What did you do?** **And when did you first do it?** (month and year): *A* **How often?** I did this only once I do this regularly/often I do this sometimes	RA in your team UK team member another Peer Tutor a learner people from another project country other (__________)	No. Yes. If yes, why was it hard? Because...________	(e.g.) (List min 2) 1. 2. 3.	need support fully independent still learning Now I feel about this skill, that ... ____________
Improving English skills through social media / SLEND / reading, etc	**What did you do?** **And when did you first do it?** (month and year): **How often?** I did this only once	RA in your team UK team member another Peer Tutor a learner people from another project country other (__________)	No. Yes. If yes, why was it hard? Because...________	(e.g.) (List min 2) 1. 2. 3.	need support fully independent still learning Now I feel about this skill, that ... ____________

	I do this regularly/often I do this sometimes				
Improving organisational skills	**What did you do?** **And when did you first do it?** (month and year): **How often?** I did this only once I do this regularly/often I do this sometimes	RA in your team UK team member another Peer Tutor a learner people from another project country other (__________)	No. Yes. If yes, why was it hard? Because…________	(e.g.) (List min 2) 1. 2. 3.	need support fully independent still learning Now I feel about this skill, that … ____________
Using professional sign language when teaching	**What did you do?** **And when did you first do it?** (month and year): **How often?** I did this only once I do this regularly/often I do this sometimes	RA in your team UK team member another Peer Tutor a learner people from another project country other (__________)	No. Yes. If yes, why was it hard? Because…________	(e.g.) (List min 2) 1. 2. 3.	need support fully independent still learning Now I feel about this skill, that … ____________
Using professional English when teaching	**What did you do?**	RA in your team UK team member another Peer Tutor a learner	No. Yes.	(e.g.) (List min 2) 1.	need support fully independent still learning

	And when did you first do it? (month and year): **How often?** I did this only once I do this regularly/often I do this sometimes	people from another project country other (__________)	If yes, why was it hard? Because…________	2. 3.	Now I feel about this skill, that … ____________
Planning and implementing collection of visual data (For example, video recordings, mapping game charts, etc)	**What did you do?** **And when did you first do it?** (month and year): **How often?** I did this only once I do this regularly/often I do this sometimes	RA in your team UK team member another Peer Tutor a learner people from another project country other (__________)	No. Yes. If yes, why was it hard? Because…________	(e.g.) (List min 2) 1. 2. 3.	need support fully independent still learning Now I feel about this skill, that … ____________
Making powerpoints / micro-case studies / multimedia documentation about the data	**What did you do?** **And when did you first do it?** (month and year): **How often?** I did this only once	RA in your team UK team member another Peer Tutor a learner people from another project country other (__________)	No. Yes. If yes, why was it hard? Because…________	(e.g.) (List min 2) 1. 2. 3.	need support fully independent still learning Now I feel about this skill, that … ____________

	I do this regularly/often I do this sometimes				
Presenting at conferences in your country or abroad	**What did you do?** **And when did you first do it?** (month and year): **How often?** I did this only once I do this regularly/often I do this sometimes	RA in your team UK team member another Peer Tutor a learner people from another project country other (__________)	No. Yes. If yes, why was it hard? Because…________	(e.g.) (List min 2) 1. 2. 3.	need support fully independent still learning Now I feel about this skill, that … ____________
Communicating with other project members to increase and share skills	**What did you do?** **And when did you first do it?** (month and year): **How often?** I did this only once I do this regularly/often I do this sometimes	RA in your team UK team member another Peer Tutor a learner people from another project country other (__________)	No. Yes. If yes, why was it hard? Because…________	(e.g.) (List min 2) 1. 2. 3.	need support fully independent still learning Now I feel about this skill, that … ____________
Organisation of collaboraties in-country and in	**What did you do?**	RA in your team UK team member another Peer Tutor a learner	No. Yes.	(e.g.) (List min 2) 1.	need support fully independent still learning

neighbouring countries	**And when did you first do it?** (month and year): **How often?** I did this only once I do this regularly/often I do this sometimes	people from another project country other (__________)	If yes, why was it hard? Because…________	2. 3.	Now I feel about this skill, that … ____________

Appendix 7 Mapping keywords to elicit capabilities

1) **Travel alone**
   Why can you do this? Why can't you do this? Where do you go, for example just close by to Binka or further away?
2) **ATM and bank**
   Can you withdraw cash from an ATM or go to the bank if you need to? What do you do at the bank?
3) **Mobile phone use**
   E.G can you use mobile phone to communicate with hearing people? Can you use it to communicate with deaf people? How do you do this? How has it helped you in your daily lives?
4) **Communicate with hearing people**

   Can you? When was it difficult and when was it easier? How has this changed over time? Give examples.
5) **Organise events**
   Can you help to organise a deaf club event, a school event, a celebration with your family, something for Diwali or other examples. What was your role in organising events?
6) **Attend events**
   Went to events for the deaf club, with the children, or went to other events? Give examples of this and how did it make you feel?
7) **Socialise with new deaf people**
   Can you meet new deaf people? How have you met new deaf people, is it through family or friends? How has this helped you with other areas of your life?
8) **Learning other sign languages**
   Can you learn other sign languages such as ASL or BSL? Have you learned any new signs, and how did you feel about it?
9) **Manage cash**
   Can you save money or can you put it in the bank? Give examples of when you have managed your cash before. Do you note down what cash you spend, and how?
10) **Got help for problems**
    Can you get help and where? What was the problem in your case? Give examples when you got help in a difficult situation.
11) **Make decisions**
    When have you had to make a decision, for example about what you will cook, how much money you will spend on food, if a doctor is needed for children, when children should go out to play or should sleep, etc. Give examples how you make decisions in the school. Are you more confident now in making decisions?
12) **Teaching**
    Can you teach lessons to a class? When did you do this? How did it make you feel?
13) **Learn English**
    Do you feel you can learn English in your everyday life? How and when could you learn? How did you feel about this?
14) **Control own finances / salary**
    Can you control your finances and income from your salary? How can you do this?
15) **Interact with visitors**

    Can you show visitors around your school? Can you introduce the pupils? How do you feel about meeting visitors?

16) **Manage personal health**

Can you manage your health? How do you do this? Can you access the hospital or doctors?

17) **Conflict management**

When there is a conflict, for example, with other staff in the school, what do you do? Have you learned new skills and knowledge to do conflict management? How do you solve fights between children?

18) **Note keeping**

Are you able to keep notes of some important things, for example money spent on food, or attendance register? Why is this useful? How does this skill help in other areas of your life?

19) **Network and support for other local deaf people**

Can you provide a network of support to other local deaf people? How do you do this? How does this work and how does it help other deaf people near you?

20) **Teaching dance, drama and mime**

Can you tell us about a time you taught these subjects and what skills did you need to use to do this? Did these develop or change with more practice?

21) **Supervising students at a competition**

Can you explain a time you had to organise for a competition and give examples of the tasks you did for this?

22) **Network with other deaf in the state**

23) **Organise meetings with the deaf association**

24) **Improve skills in using sign while being filmed**

25) **Able to search for job adverts and how to apply to jobs in HI**

Appendix 8 Focus Groups for Project Staff and Learners

Semi-Structured Focus Groups - Project Staff

1. Tell us a little about your background, your family, when you used sign language before?
2. What was your education background and why did you value this?
3. When did you start working in the Multiliteracies project and how did you feel about your job interview? How did the recruitment process go?
4. What role do you hold in the project? What new skills do you think you have gained?
5. What has changed since you have started teaching?
6. In your role as school staff, what new knowledge and skills do you believe you have gained? How has this made you feel?
7. What have family or friends commented on your participation as a deaf teacher? Have friends or family commented on any differences to English, attitudes or outlook?
8. In your role at the school when you started did you have specific goals? Do you feel you achieved them? What does this mean for your future plans?
9. After participating in the workshops do you think there are ways it can be improved?
10. Do you think this model of Multiliteracies learning could be repeated with different deaf communities? Give examples.
11. With the school staff role you are now a representative of the deaf community? How is this different to before the project?
12. Can you name any examples of when you made a decision to create new materials for the classroom, or plan classes?

Focus Groups - Indore Deaf School Learners

1. Tell us a little about yourself, your background, your family, your interests, your religion, deaf community, sign language in school?

2. What were your experiences of learning when you were growing up, at school, at home, or in NGOs or other training? What did you feel about the value of these experiences?

3. What have you learned through being involved in this Multiliteracies project?

4. Has ISL in the class helped you with your English skills too?

5. How did you start working in the School for the Multiliteracies project? Has this work and the project given you ideas for future?

6. Do you think this way of teaching can improve access to education for deaf Indians? How?

7. What new knowledge and skills do you have now with English? How has this made you feel?

8. What have family or friends commented on your work in the School and the project? Have friends or family commented on any improvement to English, sign language communication, and attitudes?

9. In the classes did you have specific learning goals? Do you feel you are successful with your goals? What does this mean for your future plans?

10. After participating in the classes, do you think the classes can be improved? How?

11. Do you think this model of Multiliteracies learning could be repeated with different deaf schools, deaf clubs or deaf NGOs? Give examples.

12. After learning in these classes, do you feel you are now a representative of the deaf community? How is this different to before the project?

13. Can you name any examples of how this is influencing local communities or government?

Appendix 9: Figures drawn with SmartArt

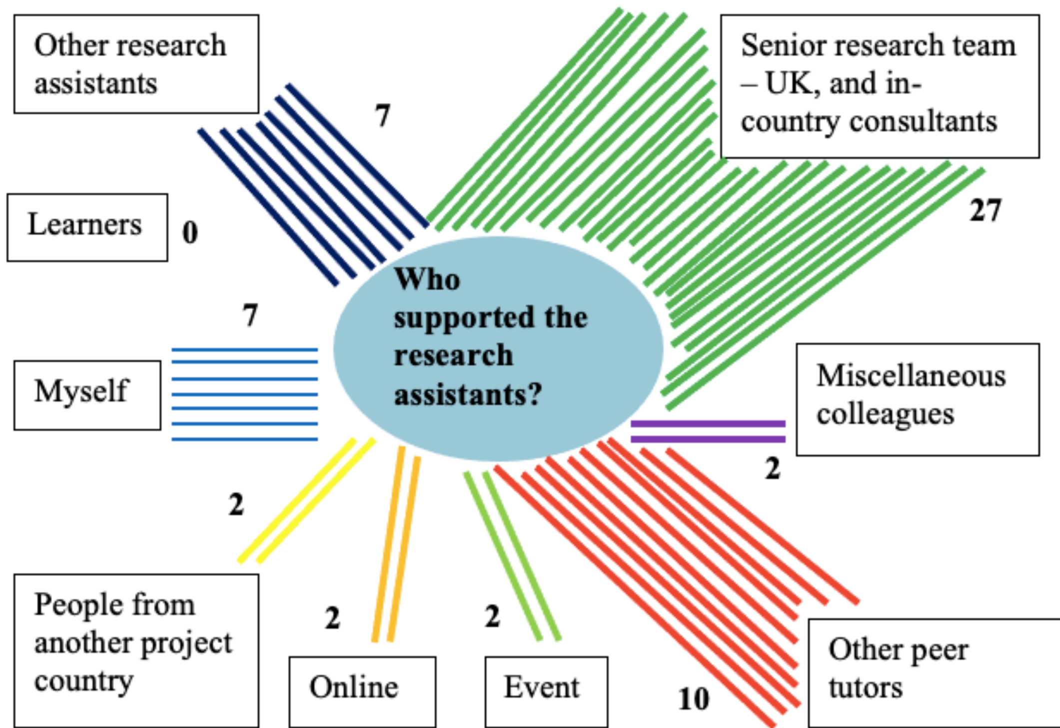


Figure 5.6 *Research assistant networks*

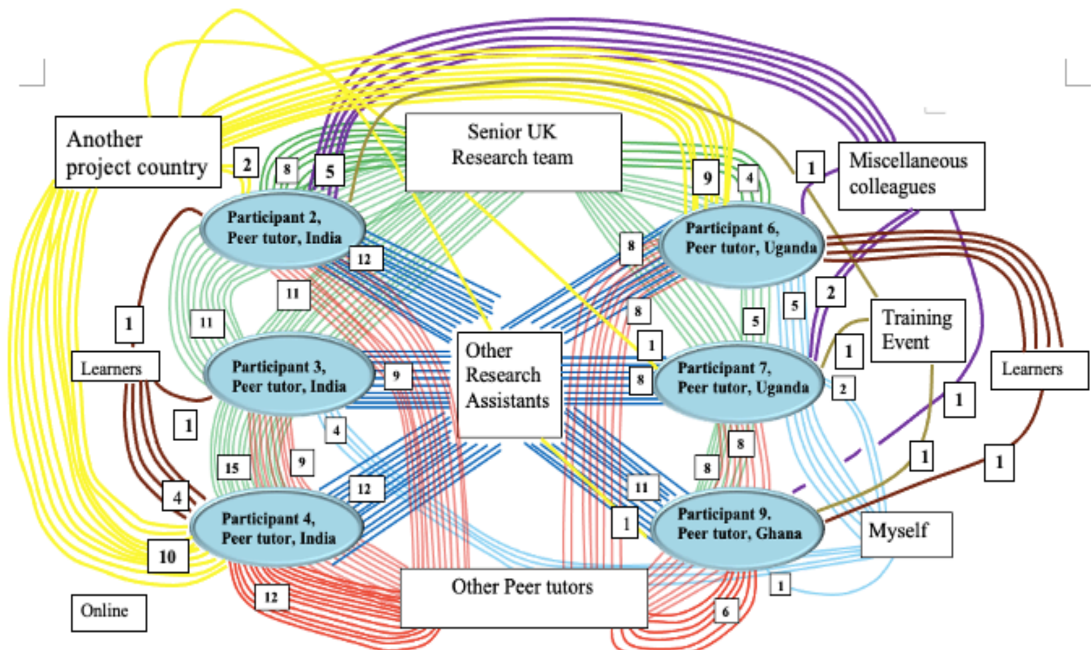


Figure 5.7 *Peer tutor network: who helped across all skill groups*