Personal outcomes of activist interpreting: a case study

Mark Halley

Abstract

In this paper, I explore how social movement participation may impact the personal and professional lives of interpreters. To do so, I studied the American Sign Language/English interpreters who worked in the 1988 Deaf President Now protest at Gallaudet University in Washington, DC. I conducted semi-structured oral history interviews with 21 interpreters who worked during the protest, and I employed narrative inquiry to identify critical events and analyze the personal outcomes interpreters experienced as a result of their participation. Specifically, the analysis reveals that interpreters' experiences in the protest contributed to their evolving views on the roles of interpreters and of deaf people, as well as to unforeseen personal and professional benefits. Taken together, the findings suggest that the experiences of signed language interpreters in contentious political settings may differ markedly from their work in other environments, contributing to personal transformation. Further, this data demonstrate how interpreters are embedded in protests in ways that parallel the experiences of other social movement actors.

Keywords: interpreting, disability rights, outcomes, case study, protest

Background

Deaf President Now: a history

Founded in 1864, Gallaudet University is the only university in the world designed for deaf[1] and hard of hearing students. Despite this, every president of the university had been hearing (non-deaf) until 1988. That same year, when the Gallaudet University Board of Trustees appointed another hearing person as

[1] In 1978, the term 'deaf' was capitalized (i.e., 'Deaf') for the first time in an academic paper to refer to a distinction between being culturally deaf, as opposed to audiologically deaf (Markowicz & Woodward, 1978). In response to debate over the term among academics, Woodward and Horejes (2016) argue that "a rigid taxonomy of deaf/Deaf is dangerous, colonizing, and ethnocentric, and it reinforces tautological and spiral debates with no positive constructions to the understanding of what it means to be deaf/Deaf" (p. 286). Deaf cultural values and the differences between deaf/Deaf identities are not the focus of this article. Therefore, I choose to avoid the taxonomy described by Woodward and Horejes (2016) and do not to capitalize the word 'deaf' when referring to individuals who may be audiologically deaf, culturally deaf, or both. Rather, I use 'deaf' in a broad sense of the word, to include individuals with a hearing loss who may or may not identify with American deaf culture, use American Sign Language as a primary means of communication, and consider themselves to be members of the American deaf community.

the university's seventh president, students and other members of the deaf community protested the decision. The uprising, which later came to be known as the Deaf President Now (DPN) protest, garnered media attention in the United States and across the globe. Dozens of American Sign Language/English interpreters volunteered in the protest, ensuring the communication needs of protesters, the press, and the public were met (Gannon 1989). The interpreters, who exhibited a collective identity with the protesters (Halley 2019), provided their services in a wide variety of claims-making activities (Lindekilde 2013) that took place during the demonstrations, including radio, newspaper, and television interviews, and public rallies, among other events. The protest was a historic milestone in the struggle for deaf rights, as well as in the wider disability rights movement.

If the Deaf President Now protest is regarded as an explosion that was ignited by the deaf community, its fuse was long and winding. Numerous events in American history and within the deaf community culminated in the frustration and collective action that erupted on Gallaudet's campus in 1988. It is impossible to judge any historical shift as an isolated event; rather, situating such a shift—including DPN—within a historical context is necessary to understand the social, cultural, and political influences that drove it. Gannon (2012) documented and explored these influences in his seminal book, *Deaf Heritage: A Narrative History of Deaf America*.

In framing DPN, one place to begin could be President Abraham Lincoln's 1864 signing of a charter that authorized the Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind to confer college degrees to graduates. Soon thereafter, deaf people began establishing a variety of social and political organizations, including the National Association of the Deaf (NAD) in 1880 and the National Fraternal Society of the Deaf (NFSD) in 1901. The NAD was founded "by deaf leaders who believed in the right of the American deaf community to use sign language, to congregate on issues important to them, and to have its interests represented at the national level," (NAD, n.d.).

These institutions and associations set the stage for greater opportunities for information sharing and organizing over the years. Deaf citizens in the United States have been involved in numerous protests and other civic engagement activities for many decades. For an in-depth account of deaf-centered advocacy efforts in the United States, see Gannon (2012).

Developments at Gallaudet in the early 1980s also stirred community discontent, igniting the fuse to the DPN explosion at the end of the decade. In 1982, Dr. Edward C. Merrill, Gallaudet's fourth president, announced his retirement. Deaf people did not actively organize or advocate for the board to appoint a deaf person to lead the university, but some deaf people had been arguing that it was time for a deaf president (Christiansen & Barnartt 1995). In one meeting with members of the board, Merrill suggested that a qualified deaf person should be selected. However, Merrill was replaced by Dr. Lloyd Johns, a hearing man, who ultimately only remained president for two years, until 1984. With Johns' resignation, the board decided not to conduct an exhaustive search

for Gallaudet's sixth president. The board instead appointed Dr. Jerry Lee, a hearing man who then served as Gallaudet's vice president of administration and business, to be the university's sixth president. Lee served as president for three years before announcing his resignation on August 24, 1987. Lee would later be replaced by Dr. Elisabeth Ann Zinser, which resulted in the protest on Gallaudet's campus. Perhaps as a harbinger of the protest to come, NAD and other organizations also opposed the selection of a hearing person as Gallaudet's provost one year prior, in 1986 (Christiansen & Barnartt 1995).

DPN can be seen as part of a wider, thematic context. Jankowski (1997) has suggested events like DPN fall under the umbrella of a broader "Deaf movement" in the United States. Whether the objective is achieving effective communication with a doctor via a qualified interpreter, accessing television programs through legally-mandated closed captioning services, or ensuring deaf children have access to their education in American Sign Language, "communication accessibility is the core of civil rights" in this movement (Barnartt & Scotch 2001: 49). However, it may not be accurate to describe DPN and the deaf movement as situated completely within the larger civil rights movement. Jankowski (1997) suggests that deaf people have generally framed their struggle around issues of culture and diversity, rather than civil rights. Regardless of how one classifies the movement, it is critical to note its three core elements of education, language, and culture (Barnartt & Scotch 2001). Each of these themes emerged as driving forces during DPN.

Although this paper focuses specifically on the work and experiences of interpreters–and therefore aligns well with the academic field of interpreting studies–disability studies and deaf studies are critical backdrops that inform an understanding of DPN and the data explored in this paper. Deaf studies–a term originally coined by Frederick Schreiber, the executive director of the National Association of the Deaf in 1971–is an academic discipline that "originally developed along the model of other minority studies" but "explored a wide spectrum of topics, many of which which [sic] fall under the more general notions of *identity*, *power*, and *language*," (Bauman 2008: 9, emphasis in original). A key concept in deaf studies is *audism*, a term coined by Tom Humphries in 1975, defined as "the notion that one is superior based on one's ability to hear or behave in the manner of one who hears."

Further, it is not possible to subsume audism and deaf studies within the discipline of disability studies. Rather, there is resistance from both individuals who are deaf and those who work in deaf studies toward traditional conceptualizations of disability. Rejecting the notion of a focus solely on the physical aspects of hearing loss, many deaf studies scholars suggest that their work is in fact "a branch of ethnic studies, separate and distinct from disability studies" (Baynton 2008: 296). However, deaf studies scholars generally recognize that "deaf people are disabled in the sense that they fall outside most cultures' notions of normality and are on that basis denied equal access to social and economic life"(Baynton 2008: 297).

In sum, the Deaf President Now protest did not take place within a vacuum. In the decades leading up to the 1988 rebellion, deaf people had already begun fighting for their civil rights and moved toward self-determination. And while it is not possible to point to DPN as the cause of future milestones, many view the protest as an important step toward the eventual passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) in 1990 (see, for example, Bauman 2008). The ADA introduced unprecedented legal mandates for accessibility in the United States, such as the right of deaf individuals to interpreting services.

Signed language interpreting in the United States

Interpreting has been defined as a type of translation "in which a first and final rendition in another language is produced on the basis of a one-time presentation of an utterance in a source language," (Pöchhacker 2004: 11). Interpretation can therefore be differentiated from translation in terms of its immediacy; translators have time to craft their translations and produce a lasting product, whereas the work of interpreters is more immediate and ephemeral in nature.

Like other social phenomena, interpreting is not simply carried out by objective practitioners. In the same way that social movement scholars study the work of movement actors, interpreting studies scholars investigate the work of interpreters. Like social movement studies, interpreting studies is interdisciplinary, having evolved over several decades as researchers have explored various aspects of interpretation (Pöchhacker & Shlesinger 2004). Scholars have studied interpretation and translation using a number of approaches: translation studies and linguistics (see, for example, Chesterman & Arrojo 2000; Nida 1964, 1991; Snell-Hornby 1988), cognitive science and psychology (see, for example, Barik 1972; Goldman-Eisler 1967), and sociocultural research (see, for example, Anderson 1976; Cronin 2002; Wadensjö 2004).

Despite their ostensibly *neutral* positioning, evidence suggests that interpreters are active participants in communication encounters. Historically, professional signed language interpreters have struggled to determine and explain the role they should assume when providing their services (see, for example, Cokely 1984; Frishberg 1986; Ingram 1974; Witter-Merithew 1986). Scholars and practitioners have used a number of definitions, models, and metaphors to describe the role of an interpreter, as well as the challenges interpreters face when enacting their roles. Specifically, interpreters have been conceptualized as providing services according to a number of roles: helper, conduit, communication facilitator, and bilingual, bicultural specialist (Roy 2002). A shift in recent years has moved toward a recognition of the active role interpreters play in managing communication between interlocutors (see, for example, Llewellyn-Jones & Lee 2014; Hauser, Finch, & Hauser 2008; Metzger 1999; Roy 2000; Wadensjö 2004). In what may be described as a perspective that takes into account the broader contributions of translators and

interpreters, Baker (2006b) boldly states "neutrality is an illusion, and thus uncritical fidelity to the source text or utterance also has consequences that an informed translator or interpreter may not wish to be party to" (128).

It may also be helpful to briefly contextualize the state of American Sign Language/English interpreting and interpreter education at the time of the protest. While the earliest records of interpreters can be traced back more than 5,000 years to ancient Egypt, Ball (2018) argues that American Sign Language/English interpreting in the United States likely began in the early 1800s. However, this work did not begin its trajectory toward professionalization until 1963, when a federal grant toward interpreter education was awarded, which resulted in a workshop held at Ball State Teachers College in 1964 (Ball 2013). Over the coming decades, a variety of organizations were pivotal in the professionalization and academicization of interpreting and interpreter education, including the National Association of the Deaf (NAD, founded in 1880), the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID, founded in 1964), and the Conference of Interpreter Trainers (CIT, founded in 1979).

Moving forward into the 1980s, a wide variety of advancements pushed the interpreting field forward as a profession. By this time, CIT had developed a national presence, hosting its seventh convention just months after DPN. During this decade, educators made great strides toward developing rigorous standards in interpreter training, such as through the development of the CIT/RID Educational Standards Endorsement (ESE) System (Ball 2013). This decade is also notable for new ventures into graduate-level education for interpreters, with the piloting of a master's degree in interpreter education at Western Maryland College and the development of a master's degree in interpretation at Gallaudet University. In the decades since DPN, the interpreting field has continued to build its new home in the halls of academia, with standards continuing to rise. For example, since 2012, candidates sitting for national RID certification must possess a bachelor's degree. Further, educators have recognized that students cannot be expected to learn the intricacies of interpreting in a few short weeks or months. A 2022 search of interpreter education programs listed by the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf yields 50 certificate programs, 81 associate-level programs, 55 bachelor-level programs, and six graduate-level programs, including one doctoral program.

Social movement studies: personal outcomes

Despite the far-reaching impacts of DPN, in this paper I focus on a more granular level: I address the personal experiences of the interpreters who offered their services during the protest. Specifically, I examine how the protest impacted the interpreters on both personal and professional levels. To do so, I draw from a variety of theoretical constructs and foundational concepts in social movement studies. I analyze interpreters' narratives to identify critical events

(Woods 1993) that reveal the personal or biographical outcomes (McAdam 1989) for the interpreters as social movement actors.

Studies of the personal impacts of social movement participation have frequently focused on quantitative, demographic changes and behavior in activists (e.g., marriage and divorce rates, income, having children) and suggest "a strong and enduring impact of participation on the life course of activists" (Giugni 2004: 502). In a public conversation in 2009, famed historian Howard Zinn aptly summarized–if not in academic terms–the benefits of participation in a social movement: [2]

> If you get involved in a movement, whether you win or lose today or tomorrow—because you never know whether you are going to win or lose–you've got to do it. Because if you don't do it, you will lose–definitely. If you act, you will have a chance at winning. A chance. That's the only way. But if you do get involved, your life will be better. You will feel better. It's fun to be in a social movement with other people who think and feel the way you do. It makes life more interesting. It makes life more fulfilling. So whether you win or lose, in the meantime you will win.
>
> (AUB Secular Club 2015)

In recent years, researchers have also been interested in the qualitative outcomes that individuals may experience as a result of engaging in activism and social movement participation, many of which mirror Zinn's sentiments. For example, participation in social movements has been shown to improve self-esteem (Cherniss 1972), self-confidence (Shriver, Miller, & Cable 2003), and well-being (Boehnke & Wong 2011; Klar & Kasser 2009). Researchers have also suggested that movement participation may bring about gender-specific personal outcomes, specifically that New Left activism has stronger biographical consequences for women than for men (Van Dyke, McAadam, & Wilhelm 2000). Further, a set of three studies examining activists' activity and personal outcomes provided evidence that engaging in activism was correlated with subjective well-being, eudaimonic well-being, and social well-being (Klar & Kasser 2009). Along these lines, a meta-analysis of 57 papers that addressed change revealed nineteen primary forms of psychological changes in activists (Vestergren, Drury, & Chiriac 2017). Evidence from longitudinal research has also demonstrated that collective action in an environmental campaign can lead to psychological change, particularly change driven by intergroup interaction (Vestergren, Drury, & Chiriac 2018). Further, Vestergren, Drury, and Chiriac (2019) also explored how participation in a movement led to eleven types of psychological change, including changes in relationships, well-being, and knowledge. Finally, it should be noted that activists who engage in failed campaigns may still reap positive personal outcomes, as Zinn suggested. In a

[2] Zinn's words have been edited for clarity.

longitudinal study of activists in the 2016 US presidential election, Dwyer et al. (2019) found that Hillary Clinton voters who engaged in activism and strongly identified with Clinton's campaign were less likely to experience depression and sleep quality problems following her electoral loss to Donald Trump when compared to other, less enthusiastic and vested Clinton voters.

Despite the wealth of research on personal outcomes of social movement participation, no empirical study has yet examined the consequences experienced by interpreters engaged in movement work. To address this gap in knowledge, I examine the outcomes for interpreters who participated in DPN and explore how their narratives offer insight into the ways in which their participation in the protest impacted their lives. Specifically, I describe a) their evolving views on the roles of interpreters, b) their evolving views about deaf people, and c) the unforeseen benefits of their participation. Taken together, the findings offer insight into the personal outcomes that an individual may experience as a consequence of interpreting in protest environments and demonstrate how interpreter participation in movements leads to unique biographical consequences, clearly situating them as social movement actors.

Method

I recruited interpreters who worked during the protest to participate in semi-structured oral history interviews (Blee & Taylor 2002). I interviewed 21 individuals who provided interpreting services during DPN, fifteen of whom identified as female, and six of whom identified as male. Nineteen identified as white, one identified as Asian, and one identified as being of mixed race. Nine recalled receiving at least some form of financial compensation for their work during DPN, although 14 of the 21 identified primarily as volunteer interpreters. In addition, although eighteen of the interpreters worked with protesters, three primarily worked with the university's board of trustees during the protest (i.e., interpreting for deaf and hearing members of the board). Finally, two of the interpreters who worked with protesters also undertook coordination roles in which they oversaw the provision of interpreting services within the protest (e.g., scheduling interpreters for media interviews).[3]

Materials and procedure

I created a semi-structured interview protocol (Weiss 1994) to guide data collection. Upon receiving approval from the Gallaudet University Institutional Review Board (IRB) and securing funding, I began contacting and recruiting participants for interviews. Prior to data collection, each participant completed an informed consent form and a videotaping consent form. During the interviews, I encouraged participants to elaborate by asking for clarification and

[3] For an organizational overview of the provision of interpreting services in DPN, as well as an analysis of coordination efforts, see Halley (in press).

posing follow-up and probing questions. At the conclusion of each interview, I verbally collected demographic information from participants and offered them compensation for their time.

Analytical approach

The data were analyzed via narrative inquiry and thematic analysis. Webster and Mertova (2007: 6) note that "there is no single narrative inquiry method, but rather a number of methods dispersed among individual disciplines." However, they argue that narrative inquiry stands apart from other forms of analysis because narrative researchers present the entire story offered by participants, whereas other approaches typically break narratives into piecemeal bits. Through narrative inquiry, researchers may identify critical events, or life experiences that demonstrate changes in an individual's understanding or worldview (Woods 1993). The overarching analytical aim of this study is to identify critical events associated with personal outcomes experienced by DPN interpreters.

The data was analyzed with a narrative approach, which Mona Baker used to study activist translators (2006a, 2006b, 2010a, 2010b, 2013). Finally, I also employed Braun and Clarke's (2006) approach to thematic analysis.

Findings

The findings in this section center on interpreters' a) evolving views on the roles of interpreters, b) evolving views about deaf people, and c) unforeseen benefits. I present an analysis of each of these themes paired with supporting narratives shared by the participants.

Evolving views on the roles of interpreters

DPN interpreters demonstrated shifting views about interpreting and their roles as interpreters.[4] In their narratives, the participants realized that they needed to take a step back in the protest, rather than attempt to assume control. When recounting her on-the-ground organizing work, an interpreter coordinator told a story about a time she attempted to provide interpreters with preparation materials before a rally:

> I always shared as much preparation information as I had with the interpreters. It was one of the last days when Harvey Goodstein[5] and others were on the stage in

[4] For an in-depth analysis of not only interpreters' perceptions of role but also the roles interpreters enacted during DPN, see Halley (2020).

[5] Dr. Harvey Goodstein was a deaf Gallaudet faculty member and prominent leader of faculty in support of the protest. Goodstein later served on the university's board of trustees.

> the gymnasium. Maybe it was like March 11th on Friday or something like that. But I remember running around to each of the interpreters and saying, 'This, this is gonna come! This is what you can expect.' And my timing wasn't the best, and I really shoulda just let it go, but I wanted to inform everybody of what was going on, and I remember Harvey going, 'What are we waiting for? Come on, we gotta get this thing on the road!' I guess I'd asked them to hold off because I wanted everybody to know what was coming, which is my preference as an interpreter. I like being really prepared ahead of time, and I want as much information as I can get because I feel so much more confident that way. So I remember Harvey specifically saying 'What are we…?' you know, 'We gotta get this thing going!' You know, so it was kind of an error on my part I realized. I kind of held things up a little bit in the efforts of trying to prepare the interpreters… Once I was in the position of having some say in the matter, I wanted to get people as prepared as possible, but I don't know. I'm not sure how much difference it makes really in the end. I realized right at the moment when he said that like, 'What are we waiting for?' You know, 'Let's, let's do this,' and you know, I thought, 'Oh, oops.' [laugh]

In this narrative, the coordinator suggested that her commitment to other interpreters and providing them with as much information as possible in advance may have negatively impacted the protest. She stated that when she had "some say in the matter," she took control over the situation in an attempt to ensure a smooth interpreting process. Referencing her personal preference to prepare for interpreting assignments, she described eagerly supporting interpreters with contextual information before they began working. However, when she was confronted about her actions, she appeared to realize her eagerness delayed the rally, noting the potential hiccup ("Oh, oops."), possibly suggesting a shift in how she saw her role as an interpreter and interpreter coordinator. In this particular case, she crafted a narrative in which she retrospectively saw her coordinating role as potentially causing a minor disruption to the protest. On a larger level, the story speaks to a realization that an undue focus on interpreting quality and the needs of interpreters over the needs of other participants may lead to unintended consequences.

Participants shared many narratives of critical events that led them to reconsider their roles in the protest and their roles as interpreters. An interpreter who worked as a contractor at Gallaudet and provided volunteer interpreting during the protest recounted her experience in a DPN rally at the United States Capitol:[6]

> At the large event at the Capitol we had positions where we were supposed to stand to interpret so that everybody could see what was going on. And there were

[6] Video of a march on the United States Capitol is documented online (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OtsYVeRuBuw) at time code 15:46. Included in the video record is an American Sign Language speech by one of the student leaders, simultaneously interpreted into English via a microphone system.

> speakers where there was like a platform podium set up. It was a sea of people. At that point I was being assigned by someone who was definitely scheduling things, so I was assigned to this one particular area, and we were set up in front of this stage. So I'm in position and it became very clear that only deaf people were going to be talking at this thing. There's no hearing people. So we were supposed to listen to the voice interpretation[7] and then interpret it so that people like way in the back could see. I had never interpreted in front of an audience of like, you know, three thousand people in this scattered environment. So I'm like 'Whoa.' And then about two minutes later someone said, 'Like, you're in the way.' [laugh] 'We can't see. You're in the way.' So I like shrunk out of there like [1:CL-walking away].[8] So that put me in my place. I realized, 'Really, you're not needed to do this because there's deaf people on stage.' And I was not far enough away from the stage. I was more in the front. That's why today I have the big picture of the whole scene. If you look really, really closely like right in the center, you can see me, and it must have been taken in the one second that I was standing before they told me to move. So I always look at that picture to remind me of my place.

One of the interpreter coordinators shared a similar experience:

> There was a local news station that was going to be interviewing one of the four student leaders, and I think it was Greg Hlibok. By the way, his older brother Bruce was my very first person that I met at Gallaudet and was my dear, dear friend. That was my first year there. So I had connection to two out of the four student leaders, which was pretty amazing. Anyway, I'm at home, and I get a call from [another interpreter]. This was at like two o'clock in the morning, and she said, 'There's going to be an interview. We need an interpreter who will be picked up by a car to go to…' I can't even remember which station it was, one of the network stations. 'And they're going to be interviewing. We really need an interpreter there.' I said, 'Okay, I'll work on it.' I'm like, 'Okay.' Hang up. A, Who can I call at two o'clock in the morning? B, Who's a really brilliant voice interpreter? Who's somebody who's not gonna mess this up on national TV?[9] So who do I call? So I ended up calling [a particular interpreter], who's a dear friend of mine. So I called her, and I said, 'I'm sorry I'm calling you so early in the

---

[7] The participant uses the colloquial phrase "voice interpretation" to refer to interpretation from American Sign Language into spoken English. Despite the academic convention to refer the languages being used (e.g., "interpreting into Portuguese" or "interpreting from British Sign Language"), signed language interpreting practitioners frequently refer to each respective direction as "voicing" and "signing."

[8] The interpreter codeswitched, began using American Sign Language, and produced a sign depicting someone walking away in embarrassment. The sign is produced by the one-hand (i.e., the index finger) moving away from the body while flexing the finger.

[9] Many interviewees described the pressures of interpreting live on the air before large audiences. An excellent example of this is apparent on *Nightline*'s special on the protest, broadcast on March 9, 1988 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jxLCo_qTYVw). Included in the footage are live television interviews, including a joint interview with student leader, Greg Hlibok, Academy Award-winning deaf actress Marlee Matlin, and President Elisabeth Ann Zinser.

> morning. We have an assignment.' And I think I called back, or I gave her the number to call, I can't quite remember the details. And that happened. So in the meantime it's now three o'clock in the morning or three thirty in the morning. I'm pacing up and down going, 'Oh, my God…' I'm like, 'Okay, there's gonna be media, I better get to Gallaudet.' So I get to Gallaudet at four o'clock in the morning. And I go to Ole Jim.[10] Locked. So I'm in my office, I'm like, 'Okay. Just chill.' I lie down, and I do a meditation on the floor of my office. I'm like, 'Just calm down, just calm down, just calm down.' Seven o'clock! Nobody's there. But the interview was happening. I'm like, 'Oh, my God, nobody's here.' I'm back in my office, and I go, 'Okay, what's wrong with this picture? Why am I the only person here? I'm hearing, for God's sake!' And you know what? It was that moment that I realized that I could calm down, step back, be a little bit more chill about it. It was still history being made. It's not my history being made. If everybody else is asleep, why am I up? [laugh] It dawned on me that it was kind of ironic. That turned out to be a very important moment in my life because it helped me in future interactions to build a wall and go, 'Is this mine?' Being an advocate is not the same as, 'This is mine.' Different places, different mental climates. It just was kind of a life lesson that I never forgot: that when you are highly involved it's a good time to look at your motives and say, 'What are you doing? What's it for? Who's it for?'

In these narratives, both the interpreter and the interpreter coordinator experienced moments of stress that lead to personal reflection about their roles in the protest. In the first case, the interpreter found that she was not needed and was able to step aside, allowing the protest to take its course without her. In the second story, the interpreter coordinator recognized the need to secure an interpreter for a protest-related assignment, but she came to a point of overwhelming responsibility, which caused her to reflect on her role and stake in the protest. In both cases, the interpreter and interpreter coordinator's stories point to experiences in which they needed to re-evaluate their self-perceptions and responsibilities.

In a grander view, stories of critical events also suggest shifting attitudes of hearing interpreters toward working with deaf people. Through their narratives, the participants suggested that they came to see the importance of enacting roles that did not usurp power from deaf people. One volunteer interpreter did most of her work during DPN with a hearing journalist who reported on the protest. She recounted how her work in the protest shifted her thinking about the work signed language interpreters do:[11]

> I didn't really think about it much during the week, but what was very obvious to me that I ultimately looking back felt like it was a really, really good lesson that I could take with me for the rest of my time on this planet, was that we hearing

[10] Colloquially known as "Ole Jim," the Peikoff Alumni House is the first gymnasium built on Gallaudet's campus, constructed in 1881.

[11] This passage is also analyzed through the lens of social role theory in Halley (2020).

> people are facilitators and nothing more. So at that moment, we definitely were in the back seat, as interpreters, as hearing people, and I felt that had a cleanness to it and a separation of role that was just right. In terms of empowerment of the deaf community and so on, whenever I walk into a new situation now, 30 years later, this whole rest of my life, I've been involved in so many different kinds of situations where deaf people are trying to do something, and you know there's a little bit of a negotiation going on about who's in charge. But my impulse is always, 'Now step back.' Even if you disagree or you think that you could do something in a different way, let the deaf person handle it. When it's over you might advise or provide a comment, but when the moment comes for decisions to be made, you step back.

The interpreter described her work with the hearing journalist throughout the protest as a critical event that led to a lifelong shift in her understanding of how interpreters could best work with deaf people. The experience of witnessing deaf people take control of their destinies in a way that had not previously happened forced her to reconsider how interpreters could best ensure effective communication without taking on a role in which they acted in a paternalistic way. This shift in understanding, which led to decades-long changes in behavior throughout her career, is at its heart a transformation of both interpreter role and views of deaf people. In the next section, I explicate how DPN provided interpreters with experiences that challenged them to view and work with deaf people in new ways.

Evolving views about deaf people

In addition to evolving views on the roles of interpreters, the participants also described how particular experiences during DPN brought them to a deeper understanding of the protest and provided them with a more informed view of deaf people. Interpreters detailed several ways in which DPN impacted their worldviews or their beliefs about deaf people. They frequently suggested that although DPN did not alter their perceptions of the deaf community, their views were validated by the protest. As one interpreter said, "DPN confirmed my view of deaf people." Despite these comments, interpreters also shared stories from the protest that seem to suggest shifts in how they viewed people who are deaf. Interpreters often described feeling an increased sense of pride and respect for the deaf community. One DPN interpreter explained how the unfolding protest gave her a greater respect for deaf people:

> I think DPN gave me more respect for the deaf community. 'Cause you know, when you're saying you're part of the community, I mean it's hard to pinpoint it, but you just gain a respect like, 'Okay, you're really going up and fighting for what you want, and this is how you do it, and you're doing it peacefully.' I think I did gain a lot of respect because I saw many friends, faculty, and students behaving in a way that I hadn't seen before, and I respected that. Like when Harvey Goodstein

> interrupted [chair of the board, Jane Bassett] Spilman and said, 'Let's walk out.'[12] You know, it's like he was taking the microphone, and I was like, 'Oh, my gosh! I can't believe he's doing that!' So it was just a newfound respect.

In this narrative, the interpreter shared a critical event–Gallaudet faculty member Dr. Harvey Goodstein taking the stage from board chair Jane Bassett Spilman–that seems to have shifted her understanding of not only the protest, but her beliefs about the deaf community. By seeing a deaf person take such drastic and courageous action, she suggested she gained a new sense of respect for deaf people. Other interpreters shared similar stories of witnessing deaf individuals taking radical action to claim their own destiny and how witnessing these events deepened their understanding of the deaf community. For example, one Gallaudet employee who volunteered to interpret during the protest described her shock and amazement at seeing a prominent deaf member of Gallaudet's administration addressing a crowd of protesters while standing on top of a vehicle. Interpreters shared many similar perspectives of their DPN experiences. As one volunteer interpreter suggested, "DPN gave me another opportunity to see deaf people as fully human." Statements like this reflect interpreters developing a new layer of understanding about deaf people.

One interpreter who worked for the interpreting agency that was contracted with the board to provide interpreting services during the protest (Sign Language Associates, or SLA) recalled her experience in the deaf community prior to DPN. She recounted deaf friends and acquaintances who used English-based signing systems[13] instead of American Sign Language, and she described how they worked strategically within a system dominated by hearing people. Further, she noted that prior to the protest she had limited experience in working with deaf American Sign Language users and deaf "rebels." Facing this side of the deaf community that was previously unknown to her, she recalled interpreting during a contentious showdown between protesters and members of the board of trustees on the first night of the protest:

---

[12] Video evidence of the March 7, 1988 event is available online (https://media.gallaudet.edu/media/DPN+1988+vol.+13+-+Field+House+Protest+1+of+3+March+7%2C+1988/1_hxx0vz94/158896001). Goodstein usurps Spilman's role after she takes the stage at time code 4:40 in the video record. It is of interest to note that Goodstein's interjection, in which he stated that the board had refused to meet protesters' demands and that the crowd should therefore leave, was apparently not interpreted into English, perhaps because no interpreters had access to a microphone at the time of the interruption.

[13] Just as hearing people from different areas and backgrounds meet and experience language contact (Thomason 2001) between spoken language (e.g, English borrowing *taco* from Spanish), signed languages are also influenced by contact with users of other languages. For example, American Sign Language has been influenced by spoken and written English in both natural settings and in contrived communication systems devised by educators. As a result, signers sometimes communicate in ways that are influenced by English syntax and lexicon. For an extensive review of signed language contact in the United States, see an overview by Lucas and Valli (1992).

> I had spent a number of years freelancing before SLA, and I had been involved in the northern Virginia deaf community and working on campus. And one of the things I realized was while standing on Connecticut Avenue, the very first night at the Mayflower [Hotel]. I was standing at the Mayflower, and I saw this entire street full of people watching me. And so I'm looking out, and I'm looking at people, at deaf people who I consider very judicious, very accepting, very adept at working in their world. And I see them angry about the choice of the president. So what I'm thinking is, 'Wow, this is a lot deeper than I thought.' Because normally the deaf people I talk to are very judicious. They're very, 'Okay, we're gonna figure out how to work within the system, this is not what we want, but this is our goal, and this is how we're gonna do this.' And they're not necessarily as… well, there are some deaf people who I work with who are more rebels, more, 'I want this to happen, I want it now, I want it.' And so that is harder for me to work with because they are more confrontational. But in this crowd, these are people who I think of as being more working within the system, and I'm seeing them with really angry expressions, and they're acting out. That was my first time thinking, 'Wow, it's a much deeper issue than I'm thinking it is.'

In her narrative, the interpreter juxtaposed her prior understanding of deaf people, informed by her experiences with cautious and diplomatic deaf friends, with the fiery anger and animated expressions she sees in the crowd. She suggests that this critical moment of witnessing the rage of deaf people may have shifted her understanding of the gravity of the protest and deaf community members' sentiments about its significance. She later recounted another story of a meeting with a deaf friend after the protest:

> A deaf friend of mine who I knew through the community before DPN always Sim-Commed.[14] She always talked to me when we interacted, when we went out for lunch, when we were together. And then after DPN she stopped using her voice, and she only signed to me. I had to admit to her, 'I don't understand you when you don't use your voice' because I had gotten so used to hearing her voice. And when she signed her signing style was very close to her, not a lot of space, there would be a lot of fingerspelling, and there were not full extensions. So if you're using your voice, I don't care that I can't read your fingerspelling. But if you're not using your voice, I'm watching you very intently! That was one of the changes I saw. I remember during that period of time there was a lot of discussion in the interpreting community about what truly bilingual deaf people want from an interpreter. I can do English-like signing, so would you rather have a clean English rendition, or would you rather have sloppy ASL? [laugh]

[14] Sim-Com, or Simultaneous Communication refers to the linguistic activity of attempting to use both a spoken and signed language at the same time (e.g., speaking in English while also producing American Sign Language signs). For more on Simultaneous Communication, see work by Coryell and Holcomb (1997).

Although this occurred after the protest, the interpreter related it to her DPN experience as she described seeing a change in language use by the deaf community, specifically in how a deaf friend uses language. The story illustrated the interpreter's perspective on how her friend–and deaf people in general–use language, as she notes shifts in the autonomy of deaf people who chose to no longer use their voice when communicating. Despite the interpreters in DPN generally describing strong relationships with deaf people prior to the protest, events on the ground offered the opportunity for refinement of their worldviews. Witnessing deaf people engaged in unprecedented and brave action led interpreters to confront their own beliefs and biases about deaf people, ultimately leading to introspection about audism. Specifically, the interpreters suggested making strides in work toward addressing dysconscious audism, "a form of audism that tacitly accepts dominant hearing norms and privileges," (Gertz 2008: 219). In this particular case, the interpreter had become accustomed to deaf people shifting their language use and production in a way that met her needs as a hearing person.[15] Further, it underscores a shift in her beliefs about interpreting, as she pondered the linguistic needs and preferences of deaf people when interpreting into American Sign Language.

Unforeseen benefits for interpreters

In the interviews, participants suggested that working during DPN may have brought about benefits for interpreters. These positive outcomes for interpreters were unexpected, as no participant I interviewed recalled expecting any benefit as a result of their participation in the protest.

The participants frequently referenced an unintended "status boost" for DPN interpreters. They argued this raised prestige may have been beneficial to both interpreters who volunteered their time and to those who worked under contract, such as those who interpreted for the board of trustees. They reasoned that the new and intense spotlight on deaf people brought with it a new public eye on interpreters and their work. Interpreters commented on having few opportunities prior to DPN to interpret in which deaf people were the center of attention at large events. But with deaf leaders at the helm during DPN, interpreters began interpreting for journalists, television cameras, and large crowds of eager onlookers. With this in mind, participants suggested that DPN may have brought interpreting issues to the public discourse in an unprecedented way. This was borne out in practice, demonstrated most clearly with the publication of an illustration by cartoonist Bill Garner in *The Washington Times* on March 9, 1988. In the cartoon, Gallaudet's newly-appointed hearing president is shown at a platform next to a male interpreter; each caricature is labelled with a name placard. Below the interpreter and the president are numerous arms with their hands raised, offering thumbs down gestures. The interpreter appears to be attempting to provide an interpretation,

[15] For a linguistic overview of codes-switching, code-mixing, and code-blending in signed and spoken languages, see Emmorey et al. (2008).

but the president, face sunken, says "NEVER MIND!..." The mention of interpreters is notable given that interpreters are frequently forgotten in the historical record, particularly in times of conflict (Baker 2010a; Pöchhacker 2016).

Further, participants referenced advances for the deaf community following DPN, such as the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) in 1990, which created new career opportunities for interpreters. One Gallaudet contract interpreter reflected upon the ADA and how its passage may have benefited the interpreting field as a whole:

> Big picture, I'm not so sure about the ADA getting passed without DPN. It might have because obviously the deaf population wasn't the only group involved with that. But I think probably all of the publicity had something to do with helping make it more acceptable to the mainstream. I don't know, but I think it did have a big effect… Of course that opened up a whole lot more interesting possibilities for interpreters.

It is outside the scope of this paper to speculate on the trajectory of the disability rights movement and the passage of the ADA without DPN; however, numerous participants credited DPN as a significant driving factor in the push for the ADA, indicating a widespread perspective about the import of the protest. Further, interpreters and protesters alike commented on ways in which the ADA impacted the interpreting field in the United States. By creating a legal mandate for access, interpreters found themselves employed and providing their services in a variety of new settings with greater frequency.

In addition to the broad floodlight cast upon deaf people and to some extent interpreters during DPN, a spotlight was also pointed directly on the deaf leaders of the protest and those who interpreted for them. For example, interpreters who worked with student leaders on live national television broadcasts were easily recognized by viewers. Participants suggested that interpreters who were either recognized or self-identified as DPN interpreters after the protest may have been viewed by deaf people in a different light. As one Gallaudet employee who volunteered to interpret in DPN commented:

> When people hear that I was there and I was part of it, I think it gives me credibility that I'm somebody who volunteered my time, who volunteered to be a body, to fill up a space on the side of the protesters. And I think that my friends and colleagues in the deaf community are struck by my commitment to the deaf community, and I think it gives me credibility.

Coupled with general respect that may be given to DPN interpreters, participants also commented on the individual professional benefits they reaped as a result of their work in DPN. Participants never reported considering

potential personal benefits at the time of the protest. Despite this, they reported a variety of personal and professional benefits after the fact. Numerous interpreters, particularly those who worked in high-profile DPN settings, attributed noteworthy future career opportunities to their time in DPN. One volunteer recalled a unique professional interpreting opportunity that arose after the protest:

> After DPN I became one of President Jordan's preferred interpreters. I remember when [a foreign dignitary] came to Gallaudet on a tour, and there were several of us assigned to interpret that assignment. I drove in that day, and I remember thinking, 'I don't know who's gonna do what here' because we were all gonna be assigned to different people, and I thought I'm just gonna say, 'Wherever is fine with me,' because it really was fine with me. I didn't have a real preference of being in any particular position. And when I got there, as soon as I saw President Jordan he said, 'You're gonna be with us.' And so it was like, 'Whoa.' You know, I was really surprised that he wanted me to interpret. Because I don't see myself as a real top interpreter, one of the best. I don't know what it was, but he felt comfortable with me. And it was a very successful visit, and it worked really well, and it was such an honor to be selected for that. But when I looked at the other interpreters I thought, 'Oh, no. There's other people here who have better skills than I do. They're more articulate, they're gonna have better word choices' or whatever. But for whatever reason, he preferred me in that particular role. And I also interpreted for the board of trustees after that, so I just feel like I did benefit from DPN, but it wasn't intentional.

Other participants also referenced specific post-DPN work opportunities that may not have been offered to them were it not for their involvement in DPN. Several participants commented on future interpreting opportunities in high-profile settings at Gallaudet, such as working with the board of trustees or President Jordan.

Participants frequently described how DPN impacted their beliefs about their ability to make change in the world, sometimes leading to new realizations about social change and progress. The participants suggested that these new realizations offered them an intangible benefit: a sense of excitement about their ability to enact change. One participant who was employed by an interpreting agency and also volunteered to interpret in the protest described how his participation in DPN changed his worldview and ultimately his career trajectory:

> Interpreting in DPN made me realize that's what I wanted to do as a career. That I could have an impact on people's lives. I had seen other movements externally.

> But to be in it was something very different, very unique. Even the second DPN[16] was nothing like the first one. So just that sense of history looking back, it's like, 'Wow, what a watershed moment in history.'

Here, the participant described his participation in DPN as a critical event in his career path. By seeing that interpreting had real-world consequences and that he could, in his words, "have an impact on people's lives," he suggested finding new significance in his work. He contrasted interpreting in DPN with seeing movements from the outside, exploring how his involvement in the protest carried a deeper and more significant meaning. An interpreter who worked as an employee at Gallaudet shared a similar story, detailing her personal transformation during the week. She indicated that in the early days of the protest, she was not in strong support of the protesters' demands. Although she described cherishing her relationships in the deaf community, she also described early feelings of indifference toward the protest:

> I didn't even know what I was doing at the beginning when people were asking me what was my opinion about who should be the president, and I was a little confused at first. Like I was all about, 'No, it should be the most qualified person.' I really thought they should just hire the most qualified person, and it doesn't matter if that person is deaf or hearing. But as we went through the week of DPN and I listened to more and more deaf people speaking and explaining how they felt, and it wasn't just about, 'We need a deaf president because we're a deaf university,' but 'we need a role model for the students, we need to send a message: a presidency of a university is something you can aspire to. We have to stop the oppression.' And during basically the five days of the protest from Monday to Friday my opinion turned around, and I changed… I personally am not a very strong activist. That's not my default. It's not my nature. But I think that week I really became one. And seriously when I jumped in my car on that Monday morning I think that I was there out of FOMO [Fear of Missing Out], but as the week went on I really began to believe in the cause, and I think I became an activist in that situation.

In this narrative, the interpreter describes her progression from being indifferent toward the protest to supporting the selection of a deaf person as Gallaudet's next president. Beyond this, she suggested that although she is typically not "a very strong activist," she became one that week after learning more deeply about oppression from members of the deaf community. In this

---

[16] The 2006 "Unity for Gallaudet" protest (often referred to as "DPN 2" or "the second DPN") has not yet been explored in detail in by scholars, but according to *The Washington Post*, students objected to the selection of Jane Fernandes as the university's ninth president because a) she did not cultivate a positive relationship with the campus community, and b) she was not a native user of American Sign Language (Kinzie 2006). For insight into the Unity for Gallaudet protest, see these stories from Amy Goodman's *Democracy Now!*: https://www.democracynow.org/2006/11/1/behind_the_struggle_at_gallaudet_u and https://www.democracynow.org/2006/11/1/students_at_premier_school_for_the.

way, she was suggesting a personal transformation, including her perspective on the protest, her understanding of oppression, and her assuming the identity of an activist.

Discussion

It is worth noting that, by and large, the participants described their experiences in DPN–and the impacts on their lives–in a positive light. They recounted the numerous ways in which the apparent turmoil brought about welcome changes to their perspectives and lives after the protest. However, the experiences of interpreters in DPN may not be generalizable to interpreters who work in other protests. The outcomes of DPN have been described as "unusually successful" (Christiansen & Barnartt 1995: 168) compared to other student-led movements, and to this day, many in the American deaf community view DPN as a watershed moment. Future research might examine the outcomes for interpreters who work in contentious political settings that do not have clear-cut positive consequences (e.g., a failed protest campaign), or those in which interpreters face significant hardships as a result of their participation (e.g., violence or personal attacks).

DPN also stands apart from other protests due to it being planned and led by deaf people. In the 21st century, deaf people continue to engage in contentious politics and participate in contemporary protests. However, DPN remains the largest protest in history led by deaf people. The protest situations in which interpreters work today, whether they be protests organized by deaf people (e.g., a local community protesting against budget cuts in a deaf education program) or the general public (e.g., demonstrations against the Trump administration), we must not assume that the experiences of interpreters will parallel those in DPN. However, this study has offered a glimpse into some of the personal outcomes interpreters may experience and has thus opened the door to further inquiry. Finally, note that this analysis has focused on the experiences of interpreters and the personal outcomes they report in one particular protest. Future research could more explicitly identify the types of psychological change reported (Vestergren et al. 2017) across interpreters who work in a variety of movements.

As Greenwald (2014) has noted, in the years following DPN, deaf people across the globe continue to engage in contentious political action. In contemporary movements, many parallels can be drawn to DPN. Deaf-led protests today frequently center on similar issues, including rights to education, language, and accessibility. Although it is not possible to draw a historical line from the 1988 protest to modern struggles, DPN may perhaps be best understood as a precursor for decades of activism that would follow. DPN remains to date the largest deaf-led protest in history, but activists today continue to fight for causes that share strong connections to Gallaudet's revolution. For example, movement building has taken place under the helm of Deaf Grassroots Movement (DGM), founded in 2015, whose mission is to "end the jobs/education discrimination, to

shatter the communication barrier and to provide equality for all." Another deaf civil rights organization is HEARD, an abolitionist group that, among other activities, advocates for the communication rights of deaf prisoners. In the decade since its 2012 Deaf Prisoner Phone Justice Campaign, HEARD has been a leader in advocating for accessibility, such as through its development of a guide for community organizers working in disability and language justice, aptly titled, "The Revolution Must be Accessible!" (BEHEARDDC 2020).

Notably, deaf people continue to engage in activism that diverges from the overarching themes identified in DPN. For example, in June 2020, the National Black Deaf Advocates (NBDA), released an open letter demanding the removal of Gallaudet's current president, Roberta "Bobbi" Cordano, citing her "failure to view systematic racism as an overarching priority for the University and to accept accountability, [which] demonstrates a lack of leadership, and moral conviction required from her role" (National Black Deaf Advocates 2020). NBDA's demands serve as just one example of activism undertaken by deaf people that extends beyond disability and hearing status.[17]

Taken together, while we must exercise caution in generalizing from DPN and overemphasizing its impact, the protest clearly falls within a historical context of deaf-led activism and advocacy across the United States and around the world. For this reason, an analysis of the protest and the interpreting associated with it provide valuable insight into contemporary movement activity.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have explored the personal outcomes reported by American Sign Language/English interpreters who worked in the 1988 Deaf President Now protest at Gallaudet University. The narrative data I have analyzed in this paper point to the complex work of interpreters in protest settings and clearly demonstrate how the interpreters were situated within the context of the protest. The findings demonstrate that far from being detached onlookers, interpreters who work in contentious political settings like protests become participants like any other and take with them transformational moments and experiences.

Social movements are by their very nature ongoing struggles that transcend space and time. In the 21st century, deaf people–and others from linguistic minority groups–continue to engage in a wide variety of social movements. Whether in the struggle for autonomy in Hong Kong or in the Black Lives Matter movement, deaf people's meaningful involvement requires the participation of interpreters of all backgrounds. The unique position of interpreters in social movements offers us a novel and dynamic look into a wide variety of historical and contemporary movements. Rather than overlooking the work and experiences of interpreters or viewing them as neutral conduits of

[17] As of this writing, Cordano continues to serve as president of the university.

claims-making activities, let us strive to better understand those who seek to both create new realities and enable communication across ideological divides.

References

Anderson, R. Bruce W. 1976. "Perspectives on the Role of the Interpreter." Pp. 209-217 in *The Interpreting Studies Reader*, edited by Franz Pöchhacker. New York: Routledge.

AUB Secular Club. August 30, 2015. "Howard Zinn on Joining a Social Movement," YouTube Video, 5:22. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0X07Wp0Q3ys

Baker, Mona. 2006a. "Translation and Activism: Emerging Patterns of Narrative Community." The *Massachusetts Review* 47(3): 462-484.

Baker, Mona. 2006b. *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account*. London: Routledge.

Baker, Mona. 2010a. "Interpreters and Translators in the War Zone: Narrated and Narrators." *The Translator* 16(2): 197-222.

Baker, Mona. 2010b. "Narratives of Terrorism and Security: 'Accurate' Translations, Suspicious Frames." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 3(3): 347-364.

Baker, Mona. 2013. Translation as an Alternative Space for Political Action. *Social Movement Studies* 12(1): 23-47.

Ball, Carolyn. 2013. *Legacies and Legends: History of Interpreter Education from 1800 to the 21st Century*. Edmonton: Interpreting Consolidated.

Barik, Henri. 1972. "Interpreters talk a lot, among other things." *Babel*, *18*(1): 3-10.

Barnartt, Sharon, and Richard Scotch. 2001. *Disability Protests: Contentious Politics 1970-1999*. Washington, DC: Galaudet University Press.

Bauman, H.-Dirksen. 2008. *Open Your Eyes: Deaf Studies Talking*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Baynton, Douglas. 2008. "Beyond Culture: Deaf Studies and the Deaf Body." Pp. 293-313 in *Open Your Eyes: Deaf Studies Talking*, edited by H.-Dirksen Bauman. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

BEHEARDDC. 2020. "The Revolution Must Be Accessible! (ASL with English voice-over)." [YouTube video]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aVBV0vUvT18.

Blee, Kathleen and Verta Taylor. 2002. "Semi-structured Interviewing in Social Movement Research." Pp. 92-117 in *Methods of Social Movement* Research, edited by Bert Klandermans and Suzanne Staggenborg. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Boehnke, Klaus and Becky Wong. 2011. "Adolescent Political Activism andLong-term Happiness: A 21-year Longitudinal Study on the Development of Micro- and Macrosocial Worries." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 37: 435-447.

Cherniss, Cary. 1972. "Personality and ideology: A personological study of women's liberation." *Psychiatry* 35: 109-125.

Chesterman, Andrew, and Rosemary Arrojo. 2000. "Shared Ground in Translation Studies." *Target 5(1)*: 1-20.

Christiansen, John, and Shaorn Barnartt. 1995. *Deaf President Now: The 1988 Revolution at Gallaudet University*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Cokely, Dennis. 1984. "Response to Etilvia Arjona on Evaluation." Pp. 139-150 in Proceedings of the Fourth National Conference of Interpreter Trainers: New Dialogues in Interpreter Education, edited by Marina. McIntire. Silver Spring: Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf.

Coryell, Judith and Thomas Holcomb. 1997. "The Use of Sign Language and Sign Systems in Facilitating the Language Acquisition and Communication of Deaf Students." *Language, Speech & Hearing Services in Schools* 28: 384-394.

Cronin, Michael. 2002. "The Empire Talks Back: Orality, Heteronomy and the Cultural Turn in Interpreting Studies." Pp. 387-397 in *The Interpreting Studies Reader*, edited by Franz Pöchhacker and Miriam Shlesinger. New York: Routledge.

Dwyer, Patrick, Yen-Ping Chang, Jason Hannay, and Sara B. Algoe. 2019. "When Does Activism Benefit Well-being? Evidence from a Longitudinal Study of Clinton Voters in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election." *PLoS One* 14(9).

Emmorey, Karen, Helsa Borinstein, Robin Thompson, and Tamar Gollan. 2008. "Bimodal Bilingualism." *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, *11*(1): 43-61.

Frishberg, Nancy. 1986. *Interpreting: An Introduction*. Silver Spring: Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf.

Gannon, Jack. 1989. *The Week the World Heard Gallaudet*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Gannon, Jack. 2012. *Deaf Heritage: A Narrative History of Deaf America*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Gertz, Genie. 2008. "Dysconscious Audism: A Theoretical Proposition." Pp. 219-234 in *Open Your Eyes: Deaf Studies Talking*, edited by H.-Dirksen Bauman. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Giugni, Marco. 2004. "Personal and Biographical Consequences." Pp. 487-507. In *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, edited by David A. Snow, Sarah. A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Oxford: Blackwell.

Goldman-Eisler, Frieda. 1967. "Sequential Temporal Patterns and Cognitive Processes in Speech." *Language and Speech*, *10*(3): 122-132.

Greenwald, Brian. 2014. Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Deaf President Now Movement [Special issue]. *Sign Language Studies*, *15*(1).

Halley, Mark. 2019. Interpreting as Ideologically-Structured Action: Collective Identity Between Activist Interpreters and Protesters." *New Voices in Translation Studies* 20: 54-85.

Halley, Mark. 2020. "Becoming Allies: The Transmogrification of the Role of American Sign Language/English Interpreters During the Deaf President Now Protest. In Allison Carey, Joan Ostrove, and Tara Fannon (Eds.), *Research in Social Sciences and Disability*, *12*. Emerald.

Halley, Mark. In press. "Interpreting in the Deaf President Now Protest: An Organizational Overview." *Sign Language Studies*, *22*(3).

Hauser, Peter, Karen Finch, and Angela Hauser. *Deaf Professionals and Designated Interpreters: A New Paradigm*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Humphries, Tom. 1975. *Audism: The Making of a Word*. [Unpublished paper.]

Ingram, Robert. 1985. "Simultaneous interpretation of sign languages: Semiotic and psycholinguistic perspectives." *Multilingua*, *4*(2): 91-102.

Jankowski, Katherine. 1997. *Deaf Empowerment: Emergence, Struggle, & Rhetoric*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Kinzie, Susan. 2006. Gallaudet Names New President. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/05/03/AR2006050300920.html.

Klar, Malte and Tim Kasser. 2009. "Some Benefits of Being an Activist: Measuring Activism and its Role in Psychological Well-being." *Political Psychology* 5: 755-777.

Lindekilde, Lasse. 2013. "Claims-making." Pp. 201-203 in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, Vol. 1, edited by David A. Snow, Donatella della Porta, and Bert Klandermans, 201-203. Oxford: Blackwell.

Llewellyn-Jones, Peter and Robert G. Lee. 2014. *Redefining the Role of the Community Interpreter: The Concept of Role-Space*. Carlton-le-Moorland: SLI Press.

Lucas, Ceil, and Clayton Valli. 1992. "Language Contact in the American Deaf Community." Pp. 11-40 in *The Sociolinguistics of the Deaf Community*, edited by Ceil Lucas. San Diego: Academic Press.

Markowicz, Harry, and James Woodward. 1978. Language and the Maintenance of Ethnic Boundaries in the Deaf Community. *Communication and Cognition 11(1)*: 29-38.

McAdam, Doug. 1989. The Biographical Consequences of Activism. *American Sociological Review* 54(5): 744-760.

Metzger, Melanie. 1999. *Sign Language Interpreting: Deconstructing the Myth of Neutrality*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

NAD. n.d. Civil Rights Laws. Retrieved from https://www.nad.org/resources/civil-rights-laws/.

National Black Deaf Advocates. 2020. NBDA Open Letter to Gallaudet University Board of Trustees - June 2020. Retrieved from https://www.nbda.org/news/nbda-open-letter-to-gallaudet-university-board-of-trustees-june-2020.

Nida, Eugene. 1964. *Toward a Science of Translating*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Nida, Eugene. 1991. "Theories of translation." *TTR: Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction*, *4*(1), 19-32.

Pöchhacker, Franz. 2016. *Introducing Interpreting Studies*. New York: Routledge.

Pöchhacker, Franz. 2016. *Introducing Interpreting Studies*. 2nd edition. New York: Routledge.

Pöchhacker, Franz, and Miriam Shlesinger, 2002. *The Interpreting Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge.

Roy, Cynthia. 2000. *Interpreting as a Discourse Process*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Roy, Cynthia. 2002. "The problem with definitions, descriptions, and role metaphors of interpreters." In *The Interpreting Studies Reader*, edited by Franz Pöchhacker and Miriam. Shlesinger. New York: Routledge.

Shriver, Thomas, Amy Chasteen Miller, and Sherry Cable. 2003. "Women's Work: Women's Involvement in the Gulf War Illness Movement." *The Sociological Quarterly* 44(4): 639-658.

Snell-Hornby, Mary. *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*. Revised edition. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Thomason, Sarah G. 2001. *Language Contact*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Van Dyke, Nella, Doug Mcadam, and Brenda Wilhelm. 2000. "Gendered Outcomes: Gender Differences in The Biographical Consequences of Activism." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 5(2): 161-177.

Vestergren, Sara, John Drury, and Eva Hammar Chiriac. 2017. "The Biographical Consequences of Protest and Activism: A Systematic Review and a New Typology." *Social Movement Studies* 2: 203-221.

Vestergren, Sara, John Drury, and Eva Hammar Chiriac. 2018. "How Collective Action Produces Psychological Change and How that Change Endures Over Time: A Case Study of an Environmental Campaign." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 57: 855-877.

Vestergren, Sara, John Drury, and Eva Hammar Chiriac. 2019. "How Participation in Collective Action Changes Relationships, Behaviours, and Beliefs: An Interview Study of the Role of Inter- and Intragroup Processes." *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 7(1): 76-99.

Wadensjö, Cecilia. 2004. "Dialogue Interpreting: A Monologising Practice in a Dialogically Organized World." *Target*, *16*(1): 105-124.

Webster, Leonard and Patricie Mertova. 2007. *Using Narrative Inquiry as a Research Method: An Introduction to Using Critical Event Narrative Analysis in Research on Learning and Teaching*. London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Witter-Merithew, Anna. 1986. "Claiming Our Destiny." *RID VIEWS*.

Woods, Peter. 1993. "Critical Events in Education." *British Journal of Sociology and Education* 14(3): 355-371.

Woodward, James, and Thomas Horejes. 2016. "d/Deaf: Origins and Usage." Pp. 284-287 in *The Deaf Studies Encyclopedia*, edited by Genie Gertz and Patrick Boudreault. Los Angeles: Sage.

About the author

Mark Halley, PhD, NIC is Assistant Professor of ASL/English Interpreting at the University of North Florida. Dr. Halley conducted his dissertation research in the Department of Interpretation and Translation at Gallaudet University in Washington, DC, where he studied the role of interpreters in the 1988 Deaf President Now protest. He is currently working on several studies that address interpreting in contentious political environments, online interpreter education, and gendered language. In addition to his research interests in politics and interpreting in contentious environments, he has investigated how interpreters manage metalinguistic references in discourse. He has presented at conferences in the United States, England, Italy, Poland, Scotland, the Netherlands, and Qatar. He has also been a certified interpreter in private practice since 2011 and works in community and video relay service settings. In his free time, he enjoys going to the gym (but not on leg day), traveling the world, and being a technophile.

mark.halley AT unf.edu

Acknowledgements

This work was conducted as part of my research at Gallaudet University. I thank the members of my dissertation committee for their support throughout the project: Brenda Nicodemus (chair), Mona Baker, Sharon Barnartt, Keith Cagle, and Emily Shaw. I also thank the Gallaudet University Office of Research Support and International Affairs (RSIA) for their generous financial support of this project, as well as the Gallaudet University Archives for their technical support. Finally, I thank the two anonymous reviewers and editorial team for their insightful feedback that strengthened this paper.