

Perforating Tympanic Walls: A Second Look at Identity Politics in Relation to the 1988
and 2006 Protests at Gallaudet University

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Informing my dissertation are two uprisings at Gallaudet, the 1988 Deaf President Now Protest and the 2006 Unity for Gallaudet Protest (also known as Better President Now). I was one of the activists for the first uprising, but not the second. For the second, I followed closely on line the blog maintained by Elisa Abenchuchan, the Faculty Staff Students Alumni website (now defunct), the Gallaudet Office of Public Relations, GallyNet-L, and the now-defunct website that the staff of President-Designate Fernandes maintained, the blog maintained by Ricky Taylor, Vlogs maintained by Joey Baer, Jesse Thomas, and Amy Cohen Efron. I am especially grateful for the thought provoking,

perceptive and incisive discussion of the second protest by contributors -- especially those by Allison (Kaftan) Polk to DeafDC blog. Finally the bravery and tenacity of the first and especially the second protest leaders and activists were awesome. The second protest lasted a lot longer than the first protest – a total of two weeks in May 2006 and four weeks in October 2006 – due to the complexity of the protest, which this dissertation explores. It was through the process of thinking, talking, and writing about the second protest that I have come to deeply appreciate the awesome task of the protest to justify the violence it rendered. I also appreciate the difficult and daunting task of opposing the protest, as Shirley Myer Shultz did, and the opposition gave me the balanced I needed for my discussion. The second protest broke hearts for everyone, those who believed in the protest and those who wanted to accept the appointment of Fernandes. Without their contributions, this dissertation would not have been possible.

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Abstract of Dissertation

Perforating Tympanic Walls: A Second Look at Identity Politics in Relation to the 1988 and 2006 Protests at Gallaudet University

This dissertation explores the historical developments and progressions that led up to the uprisings at Gallaudet University. The uprisings, the 1988 Deaf President Now and the 2006 Unity for Gallaudet (also known as Better President Now) protests, were not accidental nor were they even isolated from the overall history of deaf education, educational and advancement opportunities for people who are deaf, access to languages (English and American Sign Language), recognition and validation for the Deaf Community and its culture and language as opposed to deafness as pathological, and the structure of the university that affirmed or denied those histories. In other words, the architecture (in more senses than simply blueprints of buildings) of the curriculum, policies, faculty, staff, and student body, has been informed by and has informed the larger discourses about deafness, deaf education, and policy-making process. The uprisings aimed to challenge those discourses with the goal of achieving humanity for people who are deaf, educated, and skilled, and with the goal of overthrowing the structure and its mechanism for (re)producing the discourses. Chapter 1, "Introducing the Perforator," introduces and explains the dissertation, its aims, and its underlying theory. With Michel Foucault's "The Subject and Power" essay as lens, chapter 2, "Policing and Hooping Deaf Bodies: Controlling and containing all things quintessentially deaf," explores the dynamics of power relations between all stakeholders, including the administration, students, faculty, staff, and the architecture of the university, and how they feed or take away from the relations, a sort of a confluence of the web, and how it

has come to the relations as they are set up. With Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* as lens, chapter 3, "Historicizing the Rage," explores the dynamics of the history of Deaf Education and its effects on the articulation of structuring the institution. It also explores the resistance to such structuring – in which the rage stemmed in during the protests. The rage is a way, a means, of, to borrow Homi K Bhabha's term, (re)enunciating the future writings of the deaf history that would be defined in more a positive, celebratory tone. With Jacque Derrida's "Plato's Pharmakon" as lens, chapter 4, "Text & Textuality of Jordan & Fernandes," explores the highly fluid representation of I. King Jordan, the first Deaf president of the university and of Jane K. Fernandes, the succeeding president-designate. They had come to mean different things for different groups of people. The activists, however, had perceived them as a part of the larger system that had to be destroyed in order to create a new system. Despite the attempts Fernandes made to pave way for a new system, her textuality (meaning in terms of representation) was so overpowering that the attempts and promises went with the wind. With Foucault's "Truth and Power" essay as lens, chapter 5, "What Truth? A Look at the (dis)continuity in discourse and knowledge," explores the language of the Mission Statement, Statement of Communication, and the undergraduate general education requirements, and how they become a web of discourse informed and informing the philosophy and practice of deaf education, which in turn informs the development of deaf history. With Minh-ha Trinh's "Not You/Like You: Postcolonial Women and the Interlocking Questions of Identity and Difference" as lens, chapter 6, "I am. I am not. I am. I am not: The plucking of the Ox-Eye Daisy of I/i," explores the complicated politics of self-identification and identity at the university and in the deaf communities. This is to

continue the discussion of the Unity for Gallaudet protest regarding what inclusiveness means. Does it mean, like Fernandes had suggested, making Gallaudet for everyone, oral deaf, hard of hearing, Deaf of Deaf family; and, as a result, the institution should reflect the confluence of those mixed identities, and honoring all ways of being deaf and communication styles (ASL is one of many styles, not the target language of the institution; English is). The Unity for Gallaudet protest, on the other hand, shares Fernandes's definition to a point: ASL must be the center of the institution, the umbrella under where everyone comes under with the aim to become fluent in the same way everyone aims to become fluent in English. Deaf Culture also must be the center, where visibility is crucial to academic life.

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Introducing the Perforator: Historicizing the uprisings at Gallaudet University

Chapter 1

Two protests erupted in the history of Gallaudet University, the only Liberal Arts University for the Deaf in the world. The first, The Deaf President Now protest of 1988, was about appointing a deaf president; the second, The Unity for Gallaudet of 2006, was about democratic participation in the selection of the next university president. We have been able to talk about the first protest in tangible ways: the university of the deaf should have a deaf person leading it. The second, however, has been trickier to talk about: the university has a deaf leader that the school does not want for reasons that escape many. The reasons will be explored more fully in the subsequent chapters.

What perhaps was at issue was what led to those eruptions; that is, what was at play that culminated in violence. The violence – defined in this case as disrupting the daily operations of the school, closing it down, making it difficult or impossible to have classes or to gain entry to campus – was not accidental, but a result of the institution's ignoring the tensions in the Gallaudet community. To be sure, those tensions had outlets, including town hall meetings, columns in school papers, and committees discussing specific grievances and desires for a more ASL-centric institution, a more prominent recognition for the existence of the Deaf culture, and less audism and racism. These tensions were talked about in surface or tangible ways, with specific vocabulary and phrases that described the situations that everyone could see or imagine coherently. But these did not begin to address the deeply rooted frustration, the fundamental lacking in cultural and linguistic autonomy and dominance in the capitol of Deaf world. Those canceled out even a semblance of the Gallaudet community owning the institution on

their terms.

Because of the failure on the institution's part to aggressively recognize or address the symptoms of the deeply rooted frustration and anger – after the repeated calls from the Gallaudet community for negotiation and renegotiation of the institution's ownership – it became necessary to break through the cement of negligence. Only then, negotiation for changes could happen, unfortunately.

My interest lies in exploring how the tensions manifested in both protests and the processes of the historical culmination of the tensions and their triggers led up to the protests. In this dissertation, different factors will be looked at, including I. King Jordan, the first deaf president, and Jane K. Fernandes, the ousted president-designate, and how they represented, what and how they had come to mean, to the Gallaudet and deaf communities, the idea of democracy in operating the institution (including selecting the next president), fixed or rigid ideas about deaf education at the expense of ASL and Deaf culture, the idea of Deaf World as a nation, and the history of Deaf rage. The goal is to illuminate how the protests have an origin in history and were fraught with complex meanings and representations. Each chapter will tell the same story in different ways.

Weaving these stories together is the theory of subaltern, first coined in 1982 by Antonio Gramsci in his “On the Margins of History: history of the subaltern social group” paper to describe dominated and exploited groups without class-consciousness. Gramsci described Indians as the subalterns and the British, the colonist, as the elite. The Indians, the colonized, rebelled against their masters. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, another subaltern theorist, expanded on Gramsci's discussion arguing that a subaltern is defined as a consciousness of a group with its own history and contributions apart from

their masters. Insurgency results when the subaltern forwards its history and contributions at the expense of the elite (whose history and contributions get challenged). Members of the Gallaudet community have come to be the subaltern, forming an agency for change, as a consequence of the history of deaf education and of discourses about deafness as disability.

In both protests, we witnessed a struggle for empowerment in terms of democracy in selecting the next president. In the DPN protest, the protesters complained that their wish for a deaf president was ignored and not for the first time. It was time that their wish was heeded, particularly since two of three eligible candidates were deaf. The media echoed support for the demand, and in a matter of days, the protest ended and Jordan was named the next president. In the second protest 18 years later, the protesters made the same complaints: they wanted democracy in the selection of the next leader. Only this time the new president was deaf, not late-deafened like Jordan. Puzzled by the rejection of Fernandes, whom the trustees deemed the most qualified candidate, the media portrayed the protesters as rogue and militant extremists who feared a death of ASL and Deaf culture. It was not until this protest and the aftermath that the institution has begun addressing the deep-rooted frustration and anger, something that the Gallaudet community was hoping for with the appointment of Jordan. In hindsight, his appointment turned out to be a bandage change that lasted nearly twenty years.

During the second protest, as conflicting messages and complaints became muddled and lost in the midst of confusion, uncertainty, and media jeering, the administration took advantage to forward their support for Fernandes and to contain the protesters. Unlike the first protest, where the media focus was on pushing for a deaf

president, the media focus was on digging for dirt, including failures on the part of President Jordan and Provost Fernandes, seemingly corrupt deans and athletic director, students with elementary reading level, and faculty petulance. These made for titillating reading on top of the stories of protesters' latest rogue doings. Despite the administration's hopes for containing the protest through media condemnation, the media portrayal of the entire school was horrible and no one came out a winner. Partly to end the PR hell and partly to end the campus unrest, the Board of Trustees fired Fernandes as president-designate.

Despite trying to contain the protest through negotiating, imposing (but rarely enforcing) stringent protesting policies, manipulating the media to their advantage, rallying support from the outside, saying things to shame the protesters, using various tactics (a few dangerous) to open the gates, and hiring the city police to arrest the protesters, it was akin to trying to contain an erupting volcano. The Gallaudet community was done playing nice and waiting; the school failed to police the rogue community. Chapter 2 “Policing and Hooping Deaf Bodies: Containing all quintessentially deaf”, with Michel Foucault's “The Subject and Power” as lens, explores this failure to negotiate and control the protests, to grasp the gist of the protests in terms of history of Deaf education, and to recognize and correct the imbalance of democracy and power. The goal of this chapter is to explore how and why the protests had to become violent in order to produce results.

This violence was a call for a change that includes moving ASL and the Deaf culture from the fringes to the center (or heart and soul) of Gallaudet University, an unfulfilled dream with the appointment of Jordan. With the exception of deaf leaders in

more prominent positions and deaf faculty members, the school looked the same as it did before the DPN protest for the 2006 protest activists. The frustration and anger remained deep-rooted. Having a physically deaf president stopped being enough; having a culturally deaf president became crucial. Whether the president was culturally Deaf was important in a historical sense: the Gallaudet community believed that a culturally Deaf president would have the shared understanding and agreement that the school must be ASL- and Deaf-centric and run by the Deaf. This would involve a paradigm shift in structuring the school, including its definition of democracy, the parameters of knowledge concerning educating the deaf, and discourses about deafness and ASL. Decisions about the changes and how they would look at the end were based on the history that had informed the formation of Deaf World. This history is explored in Chapter 3, “Historicizing the Rage: Locating the historical developments leading to the uprisings.”

Despite Fernandes's pledge to make the school ASL- and Deaf-centric, the protesters did not believe her. Why? Was it something Fernandes could control? What was it about her that the community had come to believe regardless of what anyone might say? In chapter 4 “Text and Textuality”, drawing upon Derrida's concept of text and textuality, and particularly “Plato's Pharmacy”, Roland Barthes's “From Work to Text”, and Ngugi's essay, “On the Abolition of the English Department”, this chapter will explore Jordan's and Fernandes's presidencies and deafness a text as interpreted by the deaf communities. The goal is to examine the process of interpretation in terms of the history of Deaf education and what Jordan and Fernandes stood to mean or represent. The argument is that Jordan's and Fernandes's textualities had much to do with the little

credibility that the deaf communities had for them in their leading the university.

Following up on Fernandes and Jordan as failed texts, chapter 5, “What Truth?: Looking at the (dis)continuity in the discourse and knowledge”, explores the architecture of knowledge, or in Ferguson's words, “canonical knowledges,” in the history of Deaf education that has excluded contributions from the key stakeholders, deaf children and adults. Drawing upon Foucault's discussion on “regime of truth” and “subjugated knowledges”, Dick Hebdige's discussion on architecture and ideology, Althusser, and Roderick Ferguson's “Invisible Man” chapter, I also argue that the architecture of knowledge does not fit with how deaf children and adults think about themselves, and so these children and adults naturally want to redefine the architecture of knowledges. When anything, be it architecture of knowledges, ideology, or subjugation, is imposed forcibly on a group of people, a conflict is sure to occur; the group is going to define themselves on their own terms.

What definitions the Gallaudet community has agreed upon does not include Jordan or Fernandes. Jordan and Fernandes do not fit anywhere in the vision of an ASL- and Deaf-centric institution; instead, they have come to represent the status quo of the mainstream. They, as the Gallaudet community saw them, promoted an “inclusive” institution where all definitions of deafness, including born deaf, hard of hearing and late-deafened, and where all modes of communication, including signed English, sim-com, spoken English, and ASL, have “equal” place. These are to accommodate the growing diversity of the community and in the world outside. Everyone must feel welcomed. The protesters disagreed: we can have an ASL- and Deaf-centric institution and still be welcoming of the “variants” with the idea of graduating them proficient in ASL and

familiarity with Deaf culture and history.

Amid the flurry of placards condemning Fernandes's deafness, including “Jane Fernandes, you are not deaf enough!”, “Fernandes, you do NOT represent us,” “We want a DEAF president,” questions were asked: what exactly was deaf, Deaf, how exactly was one “deaf enough”, how was Fernandes unqualified in ways that two other candidates were, and finally, what mattered at the end? Also, looking at the protesters themselves, we saw a huge variety of folks, including formerly oral deaf, those with cochlear implants (turned on or off), former cued speech users, born-Deaf, hearing, and those beginning to master ASL. A few questions come to mind: what did those from all walks of life have in common, what did they want in terms of identity, and how did they view the school as a place where they formed their identities? These questions are explored in chapter 6, “I Am. I am not. I am. I am not: The plucking of the Ox-Eye Daisy of I/i,” using Trinh T. Minh-ha's *Woman Native Other* as lens. This chapter will look at the perplexing dynamic, multi-layered, and multidimensional complex identity of Deaf World where no monolithic, singular perspective exists. This complexity was manifested in the protests and not even the experts or media could begin to untangle the hairball of the identity politics. The argument lies in my attempts to work a reversal in student protesters' emphasis on ASL and Deaf World as akin to Trinh's layered “i”.

This is not to prove anyone a winner or that there were victims and sinners. This is not to prove that anyone was wrong or right. This is not to provide answers, either. Rather, this is an exploratory dissertation focusing on the historical origins of the protests and the culmination of different factors that led up to those protests. One thing is clear: I believe that the protesters are the subalterns struggling for their place on this earth.

Both protests pushed to the surface the conversation, although unceremoniously. Gallaudet had long thought of itself as the steward of deaf education & the site of leadership in the deaf and hard of hearing community. As such, it had come to be viewed as manifesting a plantation mentality (to quote Allan Sussman's rally speech at DPN). In 1988, the plantation mentality was clearly connected to appointing a hearing non-signing candidate over two deaf signing ones. In 2006, on the other hand, the plantation mentality had a lot to do with the view that University leadership was out of touch with the concerns of many deaf people and contemptuous of anyone not part of the University leadership. The first protest brought about the much-needed changes, including having the first deaf president, changing the composition of the board of trustees so that over 51% trustees are deaf, making deaf leaders vice presidents and deans, and essentially making deaf people the steward of the university. Yet, eighteen years later, the conversation continued with the second protest, puzzling many. This time, it had become much more complicated. Having a deaf president, trustees, vice presidents, and deans were no longer enough; the Gallaudet community wanted more: it wanted culturally Deaf leaders who would make Gallaudet ASL- and Deaf-centric. In the duration of the protest and after, the question of owning the university, having a say in the structure of the institution, including the curriculum, policies, and mission, enunciating what the school should stand for, and talking about what inclusive means & deafhood pushed the institution toward a new trajectory that would be a departure from the plantation mentality that continued even with I. King Jordan for eighteen more years.

To participate in the conversation, I draw upon several important scholarships. First, *The Mask of Benevolence* by Harlan Lane has given me the much-needed basis for

my dissertation, especially the Historicizing the Rage chapter: Lane has done much of the scholarship on the history of deaf education within the framework of colonialism theory. Because such discussion exists, I am able to continue that thread in my discussion about the plantation mentality and paternalism that existed at Gallaudet University. *The Wretched of the Earth* by Frantz Fanon also complements Lane's work in my discussion about how the structuring of the institution based on or informed by history and practices of deaf education had made for what resembled a colonial ruling of the deaf. *Triumph of the Spirit: The DPN Chronicle* by Angel Ramos proved to be quite useful, as it has given me the evidence I needed to effectively demonstrate the plantation mentality, evince the necessity for the protest for structural changes at the institution, and demonstrate the historical basis for the 2006 protest. It also lent itself as an unintended (or accidental) support for the discussions surrounding the 2006 Unity for Gallaudet protest. "Truth and Power" and "The Subject and Power" essays by Michel Foucault, "Plato's Pharmakon" essay by Jacques Derrida, "Not You/Like You: Postcolonial Women and the Interlocking Questions of Identity and Difference" essay by Minh-ha Trinh, "On the Abolition of the English Department" paper by Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, the Invisible Man chapter in Roderick Ferguson's *Aberrations in Black* book, and Dick Hebdige's discussion about implicit ideological assumptions structured into the architecture in his *Subculture: the meaning of style* book all have complemented my conversation. I hope this dissertation will become part of the ongoing conversation that Deaf Studies scholars have had about Deafhood, Deaf World, deaf communities, and d/Deaf identity.

Policing and Hooping Deaf Bodies: Controlling and containing all things quintessentially
deaf

Chapter 2

When we look at the word, police, we think of police officers in uniform, most likely navy blue, with a state issued shield on the upper left chest, belt bearing a baton, a stun gun, and oftentimes a gun and bullets, patrolling the place, maintaining order, arresting bad guys. He (or she, but in our fantasies, our police officers are normally men, as until recently it was a male-dominant profession) exudes of authority, inspiring awe and trepidation. Little children often dream of becoming cops and chasing bad guys like in movies. Those who actually realize their dreams find that they spend a good bulk of their time patrolling and performing other unglamorous tasks. But, they also find that their uniform transforms them into a state (as defined as a “political structure” (Foucault 131)), an entity apart from their personhood; regardless of their personal beliefs, they enforce the law. Those they come into contact with respond as such: the police, the state (or an embodiment of) – authority; as someone – something – essentially bigger than they are. This phenomenon impersonalizes the individuals and aggregates them into an entity, a cosmically monolithic one, defined as an “Organization, or a controlling body, within a community” responsible for “The regulation and control of a community; the maintenance of law and order, provision of public amenities, etc.” (The Oxford English Dictionary).

This definition moves us beyond the basic assumptions about policing in limited terms, uniformed police patrolling and enforcing, to policing in a broader sense. We police each other on what we define as appropriate behavior, and when someone breaks

the codes, we take note. We may admonish, verbally or in writing, privately or publicly, shaming one another back into appropriateness. Tangible examples of policing within Gallaudet University include the Faculty Guidelines, Administration & Operations Manual, and Student Code of Conduct. The goal is to basically keep people within the parameters of acceptable behavior in order to keep peace. We would have something to refer to when people's behavior is out of bounds. Consequences include a meeting or two with superior(s), perhaps a memorandum, fines, community service projects, a drop in grades or ratings for merit increases, and a few snide comments and frowns from students or colleagues. Harassment, subtle or otherwise, or ostracization through excluding the "criminal" from activities can happen, also. Office (as well as classroom, organization, group, and even campus) politics can serve as a policing tool. Two examples, both anecdotal and from my personal experience: first, to win tenure, one has to do things and behave in specific ways; otherwise, if she publishes little or consistently gets mediocre teaching evaluations, she does not satisfy the expectations and therefore gets poor tenure review. She also has to go a bit further: she has to ingratiate herself in the department. If her tenure application is on the borderline, ingratiation can be a deciding factor. How she ingrains would depend on how the department expects it to happen. Second, the old curriculum for undergraduate education was heavy on English instruction with the idea of graduating students with (hopefully) competent reading and writing skills. As I discuss in my "Historicizing the Rage" and "Truth" chapters, the contributing forces behind the curriculum set up include the mandates of the Department of Education, the general practice of English-centric Deaf Education, expectations of the stakeholders, and the beliefs about deaf people and literacy ignorance. Such forces had policed (codified) the

curriculum design, and this included excluding ASL instruction.

In order to police or to control, one has to put pressure on the policed (those who are expected to submit to the codes). The policed has the option of complying or resisting. If he wants something in return of being policed and/or agrees with the principles offered by the policing body, he will comply; if he feels he gains nothing or disagrees, he will resist. Resistance can come in many forms, including passive aggressive behavior (i.e. not going to English class or doing the work), transferring to another school, on-campus protest and rallies (i.e. the ASLnow protest in 1994), and protests that shut the campus down (the DPN and 2006 Better President Now protests). I will return to this discussion at the end of this chapter.

In his “The Subject and Power” essay, Michel Foucault explains that resistance is “a chemical catalysis” that illuminates the “power relations,” or the mechanisms of power that occur within the state. Resistance also identifies the “position” of the “power relations” and “their point of application and the methods used” (128). In other words, no resistance, no catalysis. But the power relations still exist regardless; they are less obvious and this chapter will tease out the relations. Resistance as catalysis brings to the surface the relations, magnifying them, making it easy for us to observe the “position” of the “power relations” and their devices for control (128). The 2006 protest, the focus of my discussion, served as a resistance to the appointment of Jane K. Fernandes as the next president, and as the protest played out, the resistance as catalysis brought to surface – and magnified a hundredfold, almost as caricature or burlesque – the power relations as they existed at Gallaudet University. (As a side note, prior to Fernandes's appointment, a (formal?) poll showed 81% of the students and 64% of the faculty rejected Fernandes as

president (Znuage, October 25, 2006). The power relations, as they played out during the protest, illuminated their “position” and the devices for control (128). Even when university president and over 50% of the trustees were deaf, the power relations eerily paralleled with the ones that played out prior to the 1988 DPN protest. The top leaders held on to their unilateral power, where they made decisions without consulting the Gallaudet community.

Also at issue is power: when one polices or is policed, he thinks in terms of dominating or being dominated. Or to oppress or to be oppressed. Also the one doing the policing is thought of as someone with power or having power. Take an illustration of I. King Jordan as king in the center, towering over the battle, as our example: on Jordan's left side, his knights are the Board of Trustee members gunning down the protest activists (Faculty Staff Student Alumni – FSSA – a group of activists concerned about having Fernandes abolished and the system at Gallaudet changed). Jordan is holding a sword high, commanding his men to gun down (oppress) the combatants. This illustration portrays Jordan as possessor of power (sword), the trustees as instrument for protecting and maintaining that power, and activists as agents of “agonism” (Foucault's neologism for combat in terms of physical opposition) (Foucault 139).

It is easy to think that, since Jordan had the job as university president, he was responsible for the institution, and therefore had power. Foucault warns: “For let us not deceive ourselves: if we speak of the power of laws, institutions, and ideologies, if we speak of structures or mechanisms of power, it is only insofar we suppose that certain person exercise power over others” (135). Power is not something that anyone owns, but rather exists through action: “The term 'power' designates relationships between

'partners'" which includes "an ensemble of actions that induce others and follow from one other" (135). By "partners" Foucault means university president, board of trustees, activists, and Fernandes; each one, in individual or collective sense, is partners in the power relations. They participate in the process of relating to one other through actions of dominating, overpowering, whatever, and of resisting. President Jordan made choices – which I will explain below – and acted on those to control/contain the protest, and those choices and actions are manifestations of power. Because Jordan was the one acting, he was seen as possessing and exercising power.

"The exercise of power is not simply a relationship between 'partners,' individually or collective; it is a way in which some act on others. Which to say, of course, that there is no such entity as power, with or without a capital letter; global, massive, or diffused; concentrated or distributed" (137). This chapter will discuss the power relations that came to head during the fall 2006 protest, how those are played out, and how they were talked about among the administration, activists, and the media. This discussion will illuminate the complex, multifaceted, and multidimensional existence of the relations by looking at the action of all partners or players in the sense that "Power exists only as exercised by some on others, only when it is put into action" (137).

This is useful, as we get to explore the power relations "rooted deep in the social nexus" and "their historical formation" unique to Gallaudet (Foucault 140). Power relations are rarely ever random or independent of "the whole network of the social" or the "historical fabric" of the institution (or any place where power relations are explored) (141, 143). By exploring the relations, we get to learn about the "source of their strength or fragility, the conditions that are necessary to transform some or to abolish others"

(140).

One caveat I need to make, though: we need to keep in mind that, “The exercise of power is not a naked fact, an institutional given, nor is it a structure that holds out or is smashed: it is something that is elaborated, transformed, organized; it endows itself with processes that are more or less adjusted to the situation” (Foucault 141). So, when the activists declared celebration for having succeeded in denying the presidency to Fernandes in October 2006 and in having the first Deaf president in 1988, they hoped for transformation in the organization of the power relations. In the spirit of civil rights movement, a banner said, “We Shall Overcome,” and one might visualize the toppling or, in Foucault's word, “smashing,” of Fernandes's presidency. Along with the smashing came with transforming the “traditional conditions, legal structure, matters of habit or fashion” or even the “apparatus” that led to the appointment (141). In other words, the victory indicates that the institution no longer could unilaterally appoint someone whom the community clearly did not want. The “main objective” of the protest was to “attack not so much such-or-such institution of power, or group, or elite, or class but, rather, a technique, a form of power” (130). The unilateral appointment, a form of power, was not new; it had been the practice at -- and “deeply rooted in the social nexus” (130) at Gallaudet, long before Jordan took office in 1988. Indeed, the trustees unilaterally chose Elizabeth Zinser despite the community's desire for a Deaf president. This continued from when “[t]he board of trustees was so impressed with Dr. Lee as interim president that it abolished the Presidential Search Committee and made him Gallaudet's sixth president” (Ramos 15). Indeed, the Middle States Association (MSCHE) recognized this in its 1967 recommendation: “Effort must be made to insure that those affected by

institutional decisions in all the components of the College have an opportunity to express their views on a matter before the final decision is made” (quoted in Ramos 21).

As we can see, unilateralism had a long history at Gallaudet that was “elaborated, transformed, organized” through the mechanisms for decision-making processes and the participation of the community (Foucault 141). Indeed, unilateralism as “the exercise of power” was carried through by having stakeholders share their input, as if to satisfy the MSCHE mandate for community's participation, but the final decision rested ultimately with the trustees. This is appropriate, except that trustees routinely appointed presidents despite the community's desire: In 1988, despite recommendations by Dr. Edward Merrill, Gallaudet's fourth president, Evan J. Kemp, Jr., commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Senators Tom Harkin and Lowell Wicker, Jr., Vice President George H. Bush, and most importantly, the community, the trustees appointed a non-Deaf and non-signing president (See Ramos “March 6, 1988” chapter). Fast forward eighteen years: Despite recommendations by students, faculty, staff, and alumni, the trustees appointed the candidate that the stakeholders did not want.

Those appointments pushed the trustees from exercising their rightful authority to appointing unilaterally and against the wishes of the masses. It was not as insidious or even sinister as it seemed, or personal (as burning effigies of Spilman, Zinser, and eventually Jordan and Fernandes seemed to indicate); it was a mechanism of power, an apparatus in the power relations. It was also tinged with signification, as Foucault explains, “[W]hile the human subject is placed in relations of production and of signification, he is equally placed in power relations that are very complex” (127). Through the act of unilateral appointment, the board of trustees participated in the

“relations of production” of power relations, and thus subjecting the community to the appointment decisions. That act carried within itself signification, and for the community, it was an abuse of power, to which the Unity for Gallaudet activists characterized (in terms of signification) as oppressive and divisive.

Beside the institutional history of unilateralism, we also have the history of knowledge about Deaf education. As I explain in my *Historicizing the Rage* chapter, the curriculum design, policies, and politics that favored English, spoken and written, and integrative behavior (acting and looking like hearing people), and relegating Deaf culture, the way of Deaf life, and ASL to the fringes of the university. Those were put in place as part of the power grid at Gallaudet and were created by people trained with the knowledge of Deaf education and psychology. There was also pressure from outside sources, including the Department of Education, Vocational Rehabilitation, parents of the students, competition for producing graduates with skills for professions that influenced and informed the political structure of the institution. These factors for power relations fed off each other and became, to borrow Foucault's word, circular: The design of the education, policies, etc. fed off the knowledge about Deaf education, psychology, and medicine, and in turn, vice versa. The mechanisms for power relations also fed off the knowledge, and that included the belief that Deaf people did not have it in themselves to contribute to the discussion regarding decisions and appointments, especially those that directly impact them, as Ramos writes, “The belief that Deaf people are not able to function successfully in a hearing world was nothing new” (9). Not only was knowledge circular in feeding, feeding off, but also in justification: The administration point to the Mission Statement, Credo, the mandates of those holding the money bag (Government,

investors, donors, who are apparatus and partners structured into the web of the power relations) to justify their actions, despite the wishes of the Gallaudet community.

Examining the knowledge as part of the power relations web is important, as Foucault explains, “What is questioned is the way in which knowledge circulates and functions, its relations to power. In short, regime of knowledge [*savior*]” (emphasis and brackets Foucault's 130).

The DPN protest succeed in challenging the age-old Deaf-people-are-not-ready-to-function-in-hearing-world knowledge as apparatus and in setting the precedence for appointing Deaf presidents, which was the point of the DPN, but the “exercise of power” of unilateralism continued (141). Up to the recent protest, years into his presidency Jordan chose Deaf leaders to fill many vice president and dean jobs. That was noble and a good idea, except that he consistently behaved unilaterally. Whatever ecstasy of having a Deaf president quickly wore off when he chose Fernandes as provost despite the national search and protestations of the faculty, as the Gally Protest letter to Fernandes put it: “In April of 2000, you were unilaterally appointed to be Provost of Gallaudet by your mentor, Irving King Jordan” (undated, “Issues/Identity”). In her provost years, Fernandes handpicked her leaders despite the recommendations of the Search Committees and faculty's and students' protestations, and the deans, in turn, did the same. The fall 2006 protest challenged that locus of power, and as a result, succeeded in transforming that part of the relations. Appointments will be a participatory activity where all stakeholders will have a say and the say will weigh a whole lot more. The trustees and president will not repeat the folly of “We heard you but decided not to heed.”

While that “We heard you but decided not to heed” statement felt like a personal

attack to the Gallaudet community, it was actually an articulation of “a mode of action” that “acts upon” the action of the unilateral appointment (perhaps in reinforcing sense). Foucault explains, “In effect, what defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action that does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on possible or actual future or present actions” (137). This “mode of action” of the unilateral appointment acted upon preserving and maintaining the legacy of Jordan's presidency through Fernandes. The consequences included closing out the Gallaudet community and destroying the possibilities for change with a culturally Deaf leader.

The Gallaudet community had two choices: first, does it accept the “political structure,” the “state” of the institution as it stands now, or second, does it “envision” a different one (Foucault 131)? It also viewed the state as the oppressive type “that ignore[d] individuals, looking only at the interests of the totality” or “a class or a group among the citizens” (131). Had the community decided that it would live with the appointment, it would settle with the “play of power relations” as they stand at the institution (137). It would essentially mean that they are okay with the “disciplines” of the institution, which affirms “the way in which systems of objective finality and systems of communication and power can be welded together” (136). In this instance, it obeys the state, affirming its power relations, including how the relationship of power “acts upon their actions” (137). Let's imagine this scenario: the trustees make the appointment despite the wish of the community for a different president, someone culturally Deaf. The community objects, complains, but does not seize or shut down the campus. It grudgingly accepts the new appointment, learns to live with it, and things are

back to business as usual. This would suggest the community, a part of the power relations, obeys the disciplines and accept the finality of the appointment.

This, however, did not happen. The community decided that it was fed up with the relationships of power, and decided that the power apparatus of unilateral appointment was its “immediate enemy,” the “power that [was] the closest” to it, thus impacting on its “government of individualization” (Foucault 129). As the theme, Unity for Gallaudet, suggested, the protest perceived the appointment as divisive, splitting up the Gallaudet community life (129). The trustees' act upon power reinforced the perception that it was more interested in the totality – the interest of the university above all – of the state (the mandates of deaf education) than the Gallaudet community itself (131). The state was ideally “individualizing and a totalizing form of power,” where the community is (ideally happily) subjected to submit to the appointment (130). But, the community as the subject did not want to submit. To accept Fernandes would have been equivalent of ignoring its sense of self, desires, and values – and submit it to Fernandes (130). The Gallaudet community could not identify with what she signified as the next president, and saw her to be an embodiment of the state that it was hoping would dissolve (actually, evolve) with a different leader. While Jordan was a story of success as the first Deaf president, his leadership perpetuated the power relations from previous administration – the apparatus of unilateralism, the code name for paternalistic administrating. For all of seventeen years Jordan was president, the community was subjected to submission to the power relations that were paternalistic, and the simmering frustration and anger erupted at the prospect of the continued submission to the power relations that would look exactly the same as Jordan's. For the activists, the protest was

essentially a “struggle against subjection” (130).

The activists claimed that Jordan's and Fernandes's administrations were repressive, oppressive, where their voice was repeatedly trivialized or ignored, citing the appointment of Fernandes as Provost and President-Designate as salient example. The protest was in direct resistance of that sort of power relations, and it was possible, as the activists were “free subjects” (Foucault 139). Foucault claims that “Power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are 'free' (139). He puts quotation mark around “free” to indicate its relativity; although the activists were free subjects and had the freedom to object, they may not have felt so “free” but “bound” to the appointment and to rebelling. But, to submit to the continuation of what the activists viewed as repressive administration would be equivalent to giving up their freedom. The act of protesting was one of the possibilities that the activists chose, as Foucault explains, “By [free] we mean individual or collective subjects who are faced with a field of possibilities in which several kinds of conduct, several ways of reacting and modes of behavior are available” (139). Only if the subjects have no “field of possibilities” that power disappears, and “there is no relationship of power” (139). The protest was basically a competition for power. The activists were combatants, not antagonists, in their struggle for a different sort of power relations (139). Furthermore, “At the very heart of the power relationship, and constantly provoking it, are the recalcitrance of the will and the intransigence of freedom” (139).

The activists understood the importance of (or the urgency of) the protest for Fernandes's removal, because if they subjected themselves to the decisions, they would be allowing the mechanisms of the power relations to continue: Fernandes served for the

institution as “an important part of the mechanisms put into operation by an institution are designed to ensure its own preservation” (Foucault 139). A different president would have challenged and as a result changed the mechanisms and the reproduction of the power relations, which the community had wanted ever since Jordan announced his retirement in fall 2005. Amid the shock and tears were sighs of relief and dreams for a different Gallaudet with a culturally Deaf president.

Suspicious lingered, however, when Jordan accidentally introduced provost Fernandes as “the next president” (and then proceeded to correct himself with “provost”) (Schemo, October 13, 2006).

The slip was also captured in the videotaped announcement of retirement (find the link). The activists believed that the appointment was rigged: “Though students and faculty members were on the presidential search committee, protesters complained that their voices were not heard, and that the search was biased to favor Dr. Fernandes, who has the support of Dr. Jordan” (Schemo, 7). There were rumors of Jordan's grooming Fernandes to assume presidency.

This apparent “grooming” of Fernandes to assume presidency was not new: previous presidents were groomed before assuming office. Zinser was reportedly groomed by a team of trustees who flew down to North Carolina to see her a few times before her appointment was announced: “Word had gotten out that prior to the constituency interviews Zinser had received private tutoring from the board” (Ramos 50). Once again, nothing sinister or insidious, but an instrument for institutional preservation. Whether the stakeholders wanted that instrument preserved was up to them, as they were free to resist and push for something different. That freedom lies in power: “A power

relationship [...] can only be articulated on the basis of two elements that are indispensable if it is to be a power relationship: that 'the other' (the one over whom power is exercised) is recognized and maintained to the very end as a subject who acts; and that, faced with a relationship of power, a whole field of responses, reactions, results, and possible inventions may open up” (Foucault 138). Upon the appointment of Zinser, the community reacted with bewilderment and anger, and responded by marching to the Mayflower Hotel where the trustees were staying and by shutting down the campus. The results included satisfying all four of the demands of the DPN protest, including appointing a Deaf president and composing the trustee membership with at least 51% deaf trustees (Ramos 67). Achieving the goal of the protest was far from easy, as the administration tried to contain the protest. It used all kinds of protest-calming devices, including negotiating, pleading, threatening, shaming, and bringing the police to supposedly arrest the activists. The administration and activists were at war, metaphorically speaking, for power, as “the exercise of power can never do without one or the other, often both at the same time” (Foucault 138). When the trustees opened the search process for new president, a group of activist, “nicknamed the 'Ducks',” alumni armed with institutional memory of the last presidential search that excluded Deaf candidates from consideration, mobilized and organized the protest anticipating a repeat of history (Ramos 41). While the trustees were voting on Zinser, the Ducks were organizing and cajoling student leaders to take lead – both the Ducks and leaders were players in “the exercise of power” (138).

Despite the efforts made to make the community “conduct,” or behave, itself through “mechanisms of coercion” (including demands for respecting the authority of the

Board of Trustees and bringing in the police), the DPN protest was wildly successful within six days (Foucault 138). The aim of the protest, appointing a Deaf leader, was a clear “question of government” where it was morally appropriate to have someone with a shared characteristic, deafness, lead the school. The world, all walks of life, perceived this to be a civil rights issue, easily paralleled with appointing a non-black to lead a historically black institution (138). Despite some hurt feelings and bewilderment, particularly on Zinser's part, the protest was “less a confrontation between two adversaries or their mutual engagement than a question of 'government’” (138). Foucault puts quotation marks around government to suggest relativity and flexibility in defining the term. The Board of Trustee's idea of government included appointing “the most qualified” (also relative), and this included appointing a hearing candidate over two also qualified deaf candidates (see Ramos “The Beginning” for discussion on the screening process). Although Ramos argued that “the two Deaf candidates were well qualified and had years of administrative experience, Gallaudet chose the hearing finalist,” Zinser, who by comparison, had even more extensive administrative (and scholarship) experience (Ramos 10). At the time she was appointed president, she was Vice Chancellor at the University of North Carolina in Greensboro; Jordan was Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences (his second administrative experience after being chair of the department of Psychology), and Harvey Corson, the other finalist, was Superintendent of the Louisiana School for the Deaf (Ramos 36). The question became whether Zinser was qualified (in terms of fit) to lead a school whose culture and history eluded her (and the trustees who were predominately non-signing hearing). Were candidates Jordan and Corson a better fit despite their comparatively little administrative experiences? The DPN activists believed

they were: the Deaf candidates had a shared characteristic and were far more likely to be empathic of the community they were poised to lead. Jordan said something to that effect during the Presidential Search interview: “It is your responsibility to select the best-qualified person. Deafness, itself, is not a qualification. It is a characteristic. But, it is a characteristic that brings with it experience and skills and knowledge you couldn't [do] without” (Ramos 53, addition his). The protest, however implicitly, made it an important qualification, as Dr. Allen Sussman, professor and activist, claimed, “The time has come for the plantation mentality which for so long controlled this institution and others serving the Deaf to end” (quoted in Ramos 64).

As the tone of the protest (i.e. “Don't tread on Gallaudet” said a placard) suggested, the non-signing hearing people involved in running the institution were exploiting it for their benefit without regard for its community, the citizens. After having said that deaf people were “not ready to function in hearing world” (which she later denied, blaming on misinterpretation), Spilman was quoted to say, “I think that there's a great deal that our Deaf friends can teach us to help us to understand their perspective that will make us better, more informed board members and more intelligent advocates in the world of the hearing-impaired” (Ramos 58, 74). Those are insights of government - in terms of “modes of actions” - as it was up to 1988 (Foucault 138). Additionally, the board of trustees, a governing body, ran the institution in what the 1967 MSCHE report characterized as “autocratic,” “paternalism,” tinged with “missionary' syndrome,” which precluded “meaningful participation within the college community” (quoted in Ramos 21). The actions of the trustees impacted directly and indirectly on the lives of students, faculty, staff, and alumni, as Foucault explains, “'Government' did not refer only to

political structures or to the management of states; rather, it designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed – the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick” (138). Whether the stakeholders agreed with the actions did not matter. The conduct of individuals and communities was directed by the actions of the trustees. This included appointing presidents ignorant of deafness, ASL, and Deaf culture, and training the candidates to run the school the same way previous presidents had since the founding of the school in 1864 – institutional preservation. Other governing bodies, including university president, vice presidents, deans, faculty, staff, and students (think of Student Body Government) governed in the same space of the institution in terms of structuring “the possible field of action of others” and partook in the power relations where a “singular mode of action, neither warlike or juridical, which is government” (138). The act of governing is circular, too, as each body feeds/feeds off the power relations, creating a web of conduct, consent, and resistance.

As I have discussed earlier, not only is government important, but also its signification and “the effects of power linked with knowledge” (129). What does having a non-signing hearing president signify? How does that play out in the history of Deaf education? Does that form of government work for the community and why? What kind of government would we have with a signing deaf leader, assuming that it would be different? More important, who owns the institution? I ask these simply to get us thinking about different possibilities, as Foucault explains, power lies in possibilities; without them, power does not exist.

As the DPN protest leaders discovered to their profound disappointment, the

government at Gallaudet resembled very much the one before 1988, despite having a deaf president. Although many of the leadership positions were filled with deaf leaders and that “plantation mentality” had more or less faded, autocratic government and paternalism persisted, as was a serious lack of trust and faith in the leaders: “Other faculty members express a lack of trust in an administration they say is heavy-handed and dismissive of complaints” The instruments of power relations remained in place: the English-heavy curriculum looked pretty much the same, the policies designed to enforce coercion from the community looked pretty much the same, as well. Calls by Student Body Government representatives and interested faculty and students for curricular changes to include ASL and Deaf culture instruction, making them requirements for graduation, and to trim the English requirement went unheeded. Calls for abolishing audism and racism went unheeded, also. “Demonstrations against Dr. Fernandes began last spring with students and faculty members saying she did not appreciate the primacy of American Sign Language at Gallaudet and in deaf culture and lacked leadership qualities” (Schemo, “Protests Shut University for Deaf a 2nd Day,” P6). It did not matter what Jordan and Fernandes said in support for those things, the political structure of Gallaudet looked the same as 18 years before.

The complaints stemmed from the question of “the status of the individual” where this perceived denial of Deaf culture and ASL was an attack on individuals, taking away their right to assert their Deaf identities (Foucault 129). It also rent apart, in the activists' minds, the community with the primacy of English, spoken and written, in that it grouped people into have and have nots (in terms of whether they were proficient and whether they could keep up with conversation only in spoken English) (129). In other words, the

government of Gallaudet as Jordan and Fernandes acted upon decisions that did not look like the stakeholders in that they could not identify with the political structure, and so they saw it as “oppressive” and “repressive.” As a result, the activists engaged themselves in a struggle for a different “government of individualization” that fit with their idea of Gallaudet as an institution and themselves (129). The government of individualization demanded a different set of strategies, and they included changing the mechanism for participation, as Professor Christopher Heuer, pushing for “checks and balances,” says, “Our current system needs to be reformed so that the wishes of the stakeholders of the Gallaudet campus are heeded, not just heard” (Flaherty and Kinzie, “A Conflict on Integrity Surfaces,” November 9, 2006, B01, P 23). This means an end of autocratic (and paternalistic) administering as a power apparatus for control (and coercion). It did not mean an end of Jordan or Fernandes personally (although the protest shredded their careers at Gallaudet), but what each (or they) meant or signified as administrators at Gallaudet. They as apparatus of the power relations were not working out.

Jordan, Fernandes, and the Board of Trustees resisted the protest's demand for Fernandes's resignation, embarking everyone in “the antagonism of strategies” (Foucault 129). For the duration of the protest, the resistance from all partners illuminated the power relations, pinpointed “their position,” and made clear “their point of application and the methods used” (128). The protest brought to surface and magnified the “technique, a form of power,” which was perceived as “repressive,” that demanded “coercion” (130). This was exactly the technique that the activists sought to destroy in order to claim the institution as theirs, as Jesse Thomas claimed, “It's just unbelievable.

Enough is enough. We gotta take what is ours - Gallaudet - and then we gotta MAKE IT OUR OWN. Everything around here has to change. I mean it” (“Reflection on Wednesday,” Thursday, October 5, 2006, Blog). This is not to say that they had a definite idea of what a different technique would be, but they had a goal to destroy the political structure that looked “only at the interests of [...] a class or a group among the citizens” which were Jordan, Fernandes, and the Board of Trustees (Foucault 131). The protest aimed to “promote new forms of subjectivity through the refusal of this kind of individuality that has been imposed on” the community (134).

Upon the announcement of Fernandes's appointment, on May 1, 2006, students, faculty, staff, and alumni got together at the mall in the center of the campus and eventually formed what was called The Tent City. Over two weeks, the Tent City grew to include 48 tents and 113 inhabitant protestors, according to the website. Only the front gate was blocked; the university stayed open. Fernandes had daily noon forums to meet with people and talk about the future of Gallaudet. The forums proved to be fruitless, since the focus was on Fernandes's removal. The administration, Cynthia May Baldwin, Board of Trustees chair, and Tom Humphries, a trustee, tried to placate the angry community without much success. The protest died down soon after the graduation, and the campus looked like it was back to normal, because the protestors went home. It was not until October 2, when the protest came back with vengeance that ultimately led to shutting down the campus.

The administration deployed various techniques for controlling the protest, thus engaging themselves in “a relationship of power” with the activists (Foucault 137). In doing so, they acted “upon their actions: an action upon an action, on possible or actual

future or present actions” (137). Daily noon forums with President-Designate Fernandes, a town meeting with trustees May and Humphries, and speeches at the rallies failed to sway the activists. One morning, organic fertilizer was sprayed around the Tent City, spurring speculation that it was administrator's passive-aggressive approach to discouraging the assembly. These paved way for more aggressive action from both sides.

The activists viewed their resistance as symbolic and noble, as they stood for their beliefs. Kathleen Roberts Jarashow, an honors student, told a newspaper reporter that she was “ready to be arrested. It's for a good cause, something I believe in” (Schemo, P 3). After 134 activists were arrested on what would be remembered as Black Friday, October 13, they wore their arrest number inscribed on white t-shirts, both sides. The arrest of Tim Rarus, one of the four DPN student leaders, and former Student Body Government president, was ceremoniously videotaped and posted on the Internet. Butch Zein, a former DPN student activist, dryly remarked, “Tim Rarus helped put Jordan in office just to have him order Rarus's arrest 18 years later!” (Joe Baer's Vlog). These important events served as examples, embodiments of the repression as apparatus in the power relations, signifying the political structure that was oppressive.

The activists also relied on blogs and vlogs to communicate with those following the protest about different techniques for repression, including the attempt to bulldoze a group of activists sleeping around the back gate one early morning, without warning, damaging properties, and throwing the activists into panic and injuring a few, including a lost toenail. Pictures and testimonials were posted for all to see and the strategy was to show and illuminate the oppressive system that had to be destroyed. Most visited blogs included Elisa Abenchuchan's “mad elisa” blog for up to the minute protest news and

Ricky Taylor's "Ridorlive" blog for lambasting the administration and its repressive techniques (he took on to calling the Board of Trustees "IrvingBot" to signify Jordan's owning the trustees). Joey Baer's Vlog was quite popular, also. This strategy stemmed from the activists' desire for outside support and participation in their quest for Fernandes's removal.

Although the protest had the backing of a segment of the Deaf communities both domestically and internationally (Tent Cities cropped up in various provinces in Canada, Britain, and major America cities with high concentrations of Deaf citizens), it did not enjoy the same sort of support the DPN protest had. The difference lies in what I would call "an internal understanding" of the political structure at Gallaudet. Many of the supporters had been to Gallaudet as students or visitors. Many also supported on principal: if someone in the community was suffering, everyone pitched in. The media misunderstood this to be a cultural war with the activists insisting on what looked like a militant institution with ASL and Deaf culture at the center. In one sense, "cultural war" was probably appropriate, as the activists felt that the political structure as it stood was divisive in that it excluded what they saw was an essential component of their identity, their individuality, and subjected them to the mandates of the state, which they could not identify (or see themselves) as part in terms of totalizing. But not at the price of excluding those who leaned toward hearing and communicating in spoken English or in pidgin English or ASL, as the outside world (mis)took as the aim of the protest.

As activists perceived it, Jordan and Fernandes took advantage of the world's ignorance about the protest and cast it in bad light in the hope of garnering public support. Whatever their motivations were in regard with handling the public relations,

their first goal was to open the university and get it back to business. Keeping the campus closed for days like this was costing money, Federal government's money, taxpayers' money. As university president, Jordan's first charge was to protect the university, which included deploying police power. Funded by the congress at over \$110 million yearly, Gallaudet University had been (and still is) closely tied to the state, and Jordan, as its chief executive officer had obligations to the mandates of the state, including running the school in ways that agreed with them. It was (and still is) essentially – and legally – a school created through Congress and has governmental objectives, which the Department of Education supervised. This meant adhering to the mandates, possibly at the expense of the Deaf community. This had become an issue of ownership: who owned the institution and who called the shots? The one with the money bag or those who live there?

Is it even possible to reconcile those competing priorities? Jordan did not seem to think so, or perhaps he thought that having the Communication Statement in writing, which was in itself an affirmation of ASL was enough. With the combination of the long-standing political structure into which Jordan capitulated in 1988, his administrative experience, his background as late-deafened individual, his knowledge in (but no personal experience with) Deaf education and psychology, he made decisions in the best way he knew how while keeping to the mandates of the state holding the money bag. Nothing sinister, insidious, but dangerous; simply a president's interpretation of what actions should be. What his presidential actions signified to the community was important, as they begged the question of government. After 18 years, the community decided it did not want any more of that government, as it perceived it as repressive and

oppressive. Instead, it wanted a president not groomed or handpicked by Jordan or tainted by the political structure of the institution.

An angry Jordan was quoted to say “This illegal and unlawful behavior must stop. If there is a confrontation, the dissenters will have caused it. They must take full responsibility for the consequences for their actions, including possible suspension and arrest” (Schemo, P 4 & 5). Public Relations Director Mercy Coogan agreed, “We live in a country that is governed by the rule of law, not anarchy” (P 9). Fernandes refused to converse with the activists saying, “I will come talk with the dissenters once they decide to stop holding the campus hostage” (P 10). They want the protest policed. They want the activists policed into submission. In the picture of the article in which Jordan, Coogan, and Fernandes were quoted, a policewoman stands amid the activists.

To uphold Fernandes's appointment and to preserve the institution, Jordan tried various techniques to contain the protest, and this meant policing the activists. He began with the Guidelines for expressive Activities and Assemblies, distributed on June 28, 2006. The three-page single-spaced directives were designed to restrict the protest activities, and it was clearly targeted at controlling how future protests can be conducted. In the beginning, Jordan rationalizes: “During the both semesters in the 2005-2006 academic year, some members of the University community, did, on occasion, exceed the boundaries of appropriate expression that infringed on the rights of the University to conduct normal business and/or on the rights of other members of the community.” In order to police (in terms of control and to establish boundaries), Jordan warns, “The University will take action through appropriate internal and/or external procedures against violators of these guidelines as well as other existing University policies and

regulations.”

All of the rules were ignored, which was symbolic for the activists; they were refusing to be policed into submission or be subjected to the apparatus of power. For them, Jordan was (as was Fernandes) the embodiment of the system, and like the police, the state. They were guarding the preservation of the institution from being destroyed. In do that, they basically “reproduced” the techniques of repression through intimidation and instilling fear (think the bulldozer incident) that the activists claimed they always had used as “mechanisms of coercion” to repress (Foucault 138).

Chapter 3

In his “Cultural Diversity and Cultural Differences” chapter, Homi K. Bhabha claims that culture is never static, fixed, or stable, but always changing, evolving, on-going, and “enunciated” (155). It is also always uncertain as opposed to the certainty of culture as “an object of empirical knowledge” (155). It includes a “process of the *enunciation* of culture as ‘*knowledgeable*’, authoritative, adequate to the construction of systems of cultural identification” (155, his emphasis). Additionally, it is “a process of signification through which statements *of* culture or *on* culture differentiate, discriminate, and authorize the production of fields of force, reference, applicability, and capacity” (155, his emphasis). In other words, culture is alive through talking about it; culture cannot exist without constant conversations about it. For instance, we identify ASL as a linguistic component, a big part, of Deaf World, and so we talk consistently about its signification. In the same way we identify deafness as physical component, also a big part. What these mean, though, are never fixed, and always subject to constant discussion. Also under discussion are the values of Deaf World, membership of the deaf community, who qualifies as culturally Deaf, who owns Deaf World, the ethical issue of the cochlear implants surgery, oral education, schools for the Deaf vs. mainstream programs, and the list goes on. Discussions can and have happened at deaf gatherings, in town hall meetings, in classrooms, through blogs, vlogs, websites, published papers and books, and especially during revolutions. What we see as true one day is not necessarily true the next day.

The Unity for Gallaudet protest was no exception; indeed, the enunciation, or the

conversation, became more chaotic, and age-old anger, frustration, and anguish became apparent. We witnessed a similar outburst of the enunciation and emotions during the Deaf President Now protest in 1988, but there were two things that set the first revolution apart from the second one. First, the 1988 protest had an objective that was clear and that everyone could identify with or connect: an appointment of someone from the deaf community to lead the school. An example is Ramos's likening the selection of a non-signing candidate to the selection of a non-white person to lead Howard University (30). Also particularly illuminating is the support of the political leaders, including vice president George Bush who said, "Gallaudet has a responsibility to set an example and thus to appoint a president who is not only highly qualified, but who is also deaf" (Ramos 3). Second, the 1988 revolution became necessary once it was clear that the board of trustees was not going to choose a deaf candidate despite the wish of the community and the advice of the leaders interested in the school, including former president Dr Edward Merrill who said, "it was time for the university to have a president who is Deaf" and strongly recommended selecting "one of the two Deaf finalists" (Ramos 2).

Indeed, on the surface, the Unity for Gallaudet protest also had a clear objective: to oust president-elect Jane Fernandes; however, the reasons and explanations for that eluded even members of the Gallaudet and deaf communities. Additionally, while it was true that the protest became necessary when it was clear that the board of trustees selected Fernandes despite the wish of the community, because Fernandes was a Deaf finalist, deemed the most qualified all around, the exigency of the revolution eluded even the intellectuals interested in Deaf Studies, as 9thPrez.com, a now-defunct pro-Fernandes website, indicated, "Reasons and issues for the protest changed as the days passed." In

his “Why I am Protesting” article written for Inside Higher Ed, Anthony Mowl captures the confusion perfectly, “It's difficult to explain to the outside world just what we're doing, and granted it's difficult to understand. After all, the trustees picked a deaf woman, who has spent much of her career at Gallaudet. What's all the fuss about?” (May 5, 2006, P 3).

Instead of a clear explained rationale for ousting Fernandes, what were characterized as lies, myths, exaggerations, or misinformation, circulated in blogs, vlogs, circulars, the Buff & Blue, and other sites for information-sharing. The administration, Office of Public Relations, and those interested in getting the information “right” (loosely defined as the truth or true information) struggled to combat the falsities, but were unsuccessful. But, as we shall see, the failure lies in failing to notice that the enunciation of culture was taking place and Fernandes got caught in its web. Jesse Thomas explains it well, “It’s more than protesting with a single objective - a dizzying array of factors, circumstances and for lack of better word, frustration, at work here” (May 4, 2006).

In her May 5, 2006 letter to the community, board of trustees chair Celia May Baldwin wrote:

“I am deeply concerned that the perception of many of you is that the search process that led to the appointment of Dr. Jane Fernandes as Gallaudet's ninth president was flawed and did not support diversity and social justice. While I respect the right to disagree with a decision of the Board of Trustees and value open discussion and debate, I also believe it is essential that such discussions are grounded in facts, not misinformation and innuendo.” Also, the Office of Public Relations sent out a memorandum on May 4 with the subject heading saying, “Countering Campus Rumors and Myths”:

“There are many rumors floating and flying around campus these days. PR intends to provide the community with facts to counter the misinformation and falsehoods. The hope is that when thinking people are presented with the facts they will make decisions that are fair and informed.” A pro-Fernandes website, 9thPrez.com, identified the “myths” and followed up with so-called “truths” about the President-Designate. It also included letters of support for Fernandes, in hopes of buttressing the “truths.”

Additionally, Shirley Shultz Myers, familiar with Fernandes's career as provost, wrote on Gallynet-1, a forum, rebutting the myths and listing evidence of Fernandes's stellar leadership, especially involving the issues of audism and racism that the protest was concerned with: “Who began dialogue about audism and racism this year as part of her work on changing the campus climate? Who backed strongly the Safe Zone training after the murders in 2000? Jane Fernandes” (May 9, 2006). She signed off with, “Posting despite the witch hunt hysteria that has closed minds to dialogue, Shirley Shultz-Myers.”

Although the “truths” stared right in the face of the protest, the activists were not moved. They persisted in their messages, real or imagined, until the day Fernandes was fired. Exactly why this happened and why Fernandes lacked support became clear only to a small number of people. A few more observers could explain that Fernandes did not have the following, but cannot explain exactly why. Take David Pancost's response to Shultz Myer's post as an example: “You and I could analyze everything she's done over the past 12 years, pointing with pride here & viewing with alarm there, but none of that matters. JK cannot lead this University simply because so many faculty and students don't want to follow. They may be mistaken, they may be acting from base motives, they may be misinformed--none of that matters. They don't want to follow. Her approval

ratings are about where Bush's are; she's starting her presidency where Larry Summers ended his" (May 10, 2006). As a hearing man who does not consider himself a member of the Deaf community, Pancost interpreted the protest as making a statement about its lack of faith in Fernandes's leadership in the same way he interpreted any leadership lacking followers. Because of that lack, Fernandes should simply do what good leaders do: resign and let someone else with the trust of the community lead. That was the extent of his understanding about the protest.

A response to a fellow discussant related to Adam Stone's blog entry, "Know Thy Name, Jane Fernandes" (DeafDC.com, April 27, 2006), had a slightly better understanding, however: "A Gally Student" wrote, "Fernandes is not ready at this time to serve as a positive symbol of Gallaudet and the global Deaf world. She does not have the mutual trust and respect needed to succeed in that role." In his "Why I'm protesting" essay, Mowl peeled another layer of mystery of the protest: "We don't have the luxury of just going with someone who knows how to balance a budget – we need more. We need someone – like Jordan – who knows everyone on campus and their families, and who can be eloquent with the media, politicians, and philanthropists" (P 10). By knowing "everyone on campus" he meant "deafness alone isn't enough" and also means that Fernandes could not be "just a college president, but [a] spokesman for deaf men and women around the world" (P 11, P 6). Peeling yet another layer, probably the innermost one, "Me is the Ridor" responded to Adam Stone's review of Fernandes's impressively presidential performance: "The major problem with Jane Fernandes is not the way she conducted herself in public, it is the way she dictated the [sic] persons in private — with plenty of vitrolic [sic] threats, acidic remarks and so on. She claimed that Deaf Culture

and ASL is the center of Deaf Education — then by all means, do something about it! For the last 5 to 8 years, what did she really do? She steered ASL to the curb and open the wide access for others to fill in — thus lessened the true identity of Deaf persons. Jane has to go. After dealing with her as a student for a couple of years, I know what I'm talking about. Jane is not someone you'd like to work with" (April 27, 2006). "Me is Ridor," Ricky Taylor, was the blogger for now-defunct ridorlive.com which drew a whopping 143,396 views, the third most popular deaf blog, according to Tayler Mayer of deafread.com (May 7, 2008).

That message about Fernandes's social and leadership incompetence resonated and resounded throughout the protest and Taylor was one of the key players in facilitating the protest. He also was one of the key catalysis for sharing memos, email, letters, and little known or hard-to-get information about Fernandes, Jordan, the board of trustees, and the Presidential Search Committee. Whatever "truths" that the Gallaudet PR office, board of trustees chair, Fernandes, or Jordan disseminated, Taylor posted and then thumped with the counter-arguments of his own and the protest's. He also pushed through the "truths" of the protest and included links to other blogs, vlogs, and readings that buttressed the truths. What set his blog apart from Mishka Zena (269,623 views) and Kalalau's Corner (237,447 views) was Taylor's rip-the-band-aid approach to discussions with unapologetic and his caustic tone in his attacks on Fernandes, Jordan, the board of trustees, and opponents of the protest. One of the reasons why Zena's blog had a much higher rate of views was probably due to activist Elizabeth Griffith's (who names her blog after her dog, Mishka, and cat, Zena) posting of newspaper articles, memos, circulars, videos along with her observations and analysis. Her goal was to supply her viewers with

facts and make observations that were not antagonizing and she welcomed disagreement. She also had friends from the Gallaudet faculty and staff who supplied her with credible information. Kalalau's Corner, maintained by Carl Schroeder, former professor of English at Gallaudet and one of the DPN and ASLnow activists, contains philosophical treatises about ASL, Deafness, Deaf World, etc. His treatises have fanatic feel to them and can lack nuance and complexity. All three bloggers are staunchly Deaf and supporters of ASL and had connections to Gallaudet, but had different approaches to discussing about the protest. Taylor gets in your face and will stick it to you; Schroeder gets passionate about Deaf World and ASL, and gets upset by anything that goes against the Deaf value; Griffith was a polite and impassioned activist, finding passion in disseminating information, commenting, and soliciting opinion from her readers. In her videotaped interview with Tayler Mayer of DeafRead.com, Griffith explained that her sole concern was to spread awareness about Jordan's repressive response to the protest. She posted notices about the Guideline for Expressive Activities, the arrests and harassment of the activists, and the lack of space for speaking out. "I just had to do something; Gallaudet was in a bad place," Griffith said.

For many, however, the protest had rogue feel to it, where negotiations seemed impossible, as Shane Feldman observed in his October 11, 2006 DeafDC.com blog, "How do you negotiate with factions?" One of the problems Feldman observed was the varying degrees of furor of the protest. We have the likes of Taylor, Griffith, and Schroeder all mixed together, and the philosophy of the protest was nebulous, and the messages changed every day: "The FSSA created its own website and collected donations for its cause during the spring and throughout the summer. However, they failed to come

up with a unified position with specific demands” (Feldman, October 11, 2006). Lacking the “unified position” and “specific demands” (besides ousting Fernandes), except for the raw rage, the protest appeared rogue. Also, Jordan found himself unable to hold the activists to the written agreements, as Jordan wrote in his October 9, 2006 memo, “I was looking forward to announcing a peaceful resolution today to the campus building takeover. We actually had a signed agreement this afternoon with the president of the Student Body Government. He has since rescinded his signature.” Jordan, frustrated, continues, “We have been negotiating in good faith throughout the weekend, and each time we thought we had arrived at an agreement, the dissenters changed their demands.” Feldman asks, “How do you negotiate in good faith with numerous groups that have different agendas and demands?”

Feldman's characterization of factions as rogue and Jordan's confusion and frustration are understandable. Fanon explains that while underdeveloped nations strive for independence from colonial power, they usually cannot fathom a unified concept of nationhood: “They mobilize the people with the slogan of independence, and anything else is left to the future” (99). Pressed for an explanation for “the regime they propose to establish they prove incapable of giving an answer because, in fact, they do not have a clue” (99). At the same time, the activists at Gallaudet did not consciously realize they were striving for nationhood. They struggled in their rationalizations for ousting Fernandes and Jordan, and they included wanting to end oppression, but what that meant exactly eluded the activists. They pointed to Fernandes's autocratic leadership and history of causing pain and insensitivity toward Deaf culture, all sentimental and anecdotal but could not come up with something concrete for future actions. While

observers and activists dug around for answers, they were engaged in the process of enunciating deafhood. The process was sloppy, painful, and horrible, especially when no one consciously understood what was happening. Rather than asking questions about why the activists kept on changing their agendas and demands, Feldman wanted resolution and fast, as he writes, “Perhaps it would be wise for Gallaudet administration to ask the FSSA to control its rogue groups if it wants to enter into good faith negotiations” (October 11, 2006). Armed with facts of Fernandes's successes and qualifications, Shultz-Myers's and Feldman's alarm and confusion are understandable.

It was not that the activists consciously disagreed with the “truths”; rather, they were more interested in debating the idea of democracy in the selection of the next president, ownership of the university, including getting a say in how to run the school, to eradicate audism, and to engage in deafhood. One could argue that this protest was not essentially about Fernandes but about enunciating Deaf World and its place at Gallaudet. The goal of the protest, in essence, was to eliminate oppression at Gallaudet. This was, as Fanon says, a “fight for democracy against man's oppression” where the activists sought to achieve their “demand for nationhood” (97). They also sought to “eliminate iniquities” they believe existed on campus, which were associated with audism (97). In the process of revolting against the oppression, the activists partook in the ongoing enunciation of the culture of Deaf World. The message of the revolution was chaotic in that the message of eliminating the oppression, which Fernandes was a (if not the) symptom of, was fraught in the process of conceiving deaf nationhood. This was in line with what Fanon explains as typical occurrences of revolutions for decolonization: “Instead of being the coordinated crystallization of the people's innermost aspirations,

instead of being the most tangible, immediate product of popular mobilization, national consciousness is nothing but a crude, empty, fragile shell” (97).

The Unity for Gallaudet protest witnessed a confluence of “people's innermost aspirations” which included having a culturally Deaf president, an ASL-centric institution, condemnation of cochlear implants and speech, firing anyone who does not sign ASL fluently and the wish list goes on and on. These are remedies for the ills of the school, but do not necessarily coordinate together to make for national consciousness. To achieve such consciousness, aspirations for the institution must be realized and tangible products of collective mobilization must happen; but the aspirations and products must first be identified through enunciating Deaf World.

The danger in having underdeveloped national consciousness includes falling “back from nation to ethnic group and from state to tribe – a regression which is so terribly detrimental and prejudicial to the development of the nation and national unity” (Fanon 97). In this case, Gallaudet as a nation or a state (officially defined as a institution inclusive of everyone, regardless of their hearing and communication preferences) switched to an ethnic group or tribe, which was a culturally Deaf institution (defined by the protest as a Deaf-centric institution with ASL as the primary language). This danger lies in the masking the Gallaudet community of the “complicity with the values the white colonial powers” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 99). The institution has been home to linguistic and cultural hybridity, including pidgin sign language (switching between signed English and ASL) and hearing and Deaf values mixed together. Some of the Gallaudet community members may have more Deaf-centric value system; others more hearing-centric. But, both groups are inevitably influenced by the dominating value

system as colonized beings, as Fanon explains, one of the reasons for “the under-developed” sense of nationhood lies in “the colonized subject's mutilation by the colonial regime” (98). No one, except for a tiny group of people, can sign in pure ASL or have solely Deaf values. Plenty of deaf people can speak solely spoken English and have solely hearing values. Members of the Gallaudet community come from such a wide range of communication preferences and backgrounds that they have resigned to being unable to figure out how to conceptualize the nationhood of Deaf World that includes every one. But, to do so, the community has to decide what that means and includes. This discussion (or enunciation) is not new; it has become much more complicated, urgent, apparent, and persistent with the Unity for Gallaudet protest. Since no one language or culture was dominant, even with Jordan at the helm for 18 years and the threat of maintaining the status quo with Fernandes's appointment, the protest sought to declare ASL and Deaf culture as dominant while respecting the hybridity of the Gallaudet community. This went against the previous practice of being open (and vague) about the dominant language and ASL in the name of inclusiveness. Fernandes was part of the package that the activists wanted destroyed.

To destroy the status quo, a revolution must happen, as Fanon explains, “Decolonization, which sets out to change the order of the world, is clearly an agenda for total disorder” (2). And it does not occur overnight, as we have seen with the Deaf President Now protest in 1988. That protest was at least twenty years in the making, beginning with the 1968 MSCHE report. The DPN protest, which had one goal, a deaf president, sought to overthrow the “plantation mentality” with the hearing running the school, beginning with selecting a deaf leader. However, with Jordan at the helm, not

enough was done, and the campus, eighteen years later, still felt like a plantation to many. The Unity for Gallaudet protest aimed to not only to replace Fernandes with someone who would decolonize the age-old ideals, but to completely destroy the status quo. Jesse Thomas said it well in his powhog's Xanga blog, “The war is with YOU, the board, the process, and the system. We are trying to take possession of our university, Dr. Fernandes!!” (May 7, 2006). Taking possession of the university had been an age-old fruitless struggle with many town hall meetings, rallies, and efforts by the Student Body Government asking for shared possession of the school. Fanon explains, “Decolonization, we know, is an historical process: In other words, it can only be understood, it can only find its significance and become self coherent insofar as we can discern the history-making protest which gives it form and substance” (2). After years of unsuccessful attempts to change an oppressive environment which refused to recognize ASL as an official language and the existence of Deaf World as the center of the institution, they revolted against “their cramped world, riddled with taboos” which could “only be challenged by out and out violence” (3).

Let's look at the sources (or enunciations) of unrest. They all have historical basis, and in the next few paragraphs, we will explore those, beginning with baby-down education. On the May 4, 2006 baby blue and pink circulars for the evening rally were passed out (copied exactly, including the spacing):

Go for Truth

and Justice!

You

deserve the best!

Demand the Board of Trustees
to investigate the provost's failures

in the last 6 years.

She is responsible for

declining quality of

education,

low expectations

waste of resources and

failure in improving academics!

Claim the resignation of

the newly appointed

baby-down

president!

On the right side of the circular is a drawing of a crawling and smiling baby with captions around it saying, “No More Baby-Down Education!”

This was in reference to the remedial English and Math courses at Gallaudet. Upon Fernandes's appointment as President-Designate, roughly thirty percent of new freshmen were taking remedial English courses and more than eighty percent of the entire study body had English language issues that interfered with successful college writing, reading, and doing research work. These are largely due to unpreparedness – a lot of those students have the raw intelligence and capacity, but did not get the type of education they needed to prepare – and when they arrive at Gallaudet, they take tests that place them into appropriate English courses. It was worse for Math, as nearly ninety

percent of new freshmen were taking remedial math courses, and the rate of failure was at a frightening ninety percent. We often had students with weak literacy and numerate skills in classes with the more literate and numerate. Faculty members often found themselves having to tailor their materials to accommodate those in need and the tutoring center was constantly understaffed and the waiting list long. Frustrations abound, and students who probably should have gotten failing grade passed and graduated. The four-semester limit to satisfy the remedial courses was rarely ever enforced; to do so would have killed the enrollment. So, students took twice as long. Passing the tests was usually a fluke, and after semesters of practicing writing in a particular way in order to “pass” and completing the cloze reading tests with the strategies they learned. They then went to classes still unable to read and write academically. In basic math classes, students could not add or subtract, let alone do fractions. They then went into work world unprepared to write good memos or do math. They either got fired or never got a promotion or a pay raise.

These were familiar tales of baby-down education, and it did not begin at Gallaudet, but at the K-12 schools where Gallaudet students got their education. They rarely got enough to adequately complete at most four-year colleges and they often found themselves at a community college or Gallaudet taking remedial courses. Those who did get appropriate educational preparation and have high ACT or SAT scores generally applied at four-year schools, including Gallaudet, and selected to go elsewhere with the idea of achieving something higher or more than just Gallaudet. To illustrate, *The Washington Post* had a write up on Ryan Bonheyo, a gifted football player who would be starting at Towson in fall 2009. He wanted to play on a real team at a bigger school, as

he said, “A lot of people feel deaf players have to go to Gallaudet,” and “I want to show them deaf can go higher than that” (Josh Barr, Washington Post, February 5, 2009, A01). He continued, “It's going to be big change; growing up, I've been around deaf people most of my life. I prefer to find out and know my limits rather than wonder for the rest of my life.” The arguments for aiming higher are common, as only a handful of deaf and hard of hearing faculty members have degrees from Gallaudet University. In the English department, of eight deaf members, only two are Gallaudet alumni; others went to Yale, George Washington, Oral Roberts, Culver-Stockton, and the like for their bachelor's degree. Their reasons are pretty much the same: they feared that the quality of education at Gallaudet was not up to par in terms of meeting their needs for academic rigor and lending credibility to their academic preparation in ways that programs and degrees at competing universities could.

The baby-down education bitterness has a much longer history, and Harlan Lane explores this history in *The Mask of Benevolence*. To begin, educators worldwide had little faith in deaf pupils' capacity for learning; French educators doubted that deaf pupils could achieve a high school degree, and Burundian educators doubted the benefit of elementary school (132). American instructors “believe that a high school degree is the highest academic level most deaf children are capable of” (132). These prejudices had translated into low expectations: “In Great Britain, half of all deaf students leave school with no qualifications; two thirds are in unskilled or semiskilled employment” (132), and this was also true in America with a good bulk of high school graduates (if not dropouts) seeking unskilled employment or going on Social Security Disability Income (SSDI). Only recently, in 1993, the Maryland School for the Deaf adopted the Essential

Curriculum developed by and used in Frederick County Public Schools. The website explains, “By adopting this curriculum, deaf and hard-of-hearing students at MSD are ensured an equitable and high quality education” (About MSD). The Indiana School for the Deaf and the California School for the Deaf, Fremont and Riverside, are all board certified, also. Students graduating from those schools routinely go on to college, Gallaudet or elsewhere. Raising the standard of deaf education took place soon after the Deaf President Now protest, which inspired schools for the deaf to appoint deaf superintendents and educators who have taken lead to raise standards. The aforementioned schools, along with many other deaf schools, have had history of “ineffective” teachers who “frequently infantilized their charges and could not communicate with them” (137). They also afforded “the limited educational achievement of modern deaf men and women” thanks to the Milan, which Lane believes “is the single most important cause” (113).

In spite of the 1985 UNESCO report on deaf education, which mandated, “We must recognize the legitimacy of the sign language as a linguistic system and it should be accorded the same status as other languages,” “most educators and administrators in programs for deaf children and adults are proceeding as if ASL simply did not exist and as if the deaf community were not a language minority” (Lane 46). Even to today, “most educators of deaf children worldwide speak to their profoundly deaf pupils” (47). As a result, without visual access to language, education suffers. And then they blame their deaf pupils for problems, as they “are intellectually deficient, because they lack true language” (47).

According to the United States Department of Education, approximately ninety

percent of deaf students are mainstreamed, whether with other deaf students or alone. The goals are to integrate these students while keeping them home, but they still struggle. Lane writes, “Immersed in a hearing, English-speaking environment, the deaf child frequently drowns in the mainstream” (136). They struggle with interpreters “insufficiently skilled to cover the range of academic subjects required and very few are board certified” (136). This results in insecurity about following and understanding lectures and assignments. Having interpreters also creates a sense of isolation, as it sets the deaf children apart from their classmates, which can be devastating, especially when they want to fit in (137). Because of limited access to languages, English and ASL, they risk falling behind in all subjects. At the time of the fall 2006 protest, eighty to ninety percent of new students coming to Gallaudet from mainstream programs ended up taking remedial English and/or math courses. This was also true for those coming from board certified bilingual schools for the deaf, including the aforementioned schools, but less frequently. If new students did not find themselves in remedial English courses, they were in a basic college English, which was equivalent to advanced English as a Second Language or a regular college English course.

What was especially infuriating for many, especially throughout the years with Jordan as president and during the Unity for Gallaudet protest was the continued preoccupation with English. Students saw English pushed upon them in classrooms, in hallways, in policy, and in curriculum. ASL had a place on campus, but was not officially recognized in the same way English had been. They brought with them the memory of English as the centerpiece of their educational life, as Lane explains that deaf educators refer to total communication, not the subject (history, math, etc), as “the answer to the

question of methodology” for deaf education (134). ASL was frequently disregarded and discouraged, and students frequently came to Gallaudet needing remedial ASL. As Lane explains the use of total communication, “The dominance of English (or French, German, etc.) was reinforced by encouraging its use in all forms of classroom communication: finger-spelling, lip-reading, written English, speech, speech accompanied by signs, signed English” (133). English and ASL disappear in the process and what comes out is a mangled mishmash of languages, resulting in students' getting virtually no language.

Students arrived at Gallaudet finding the same thing happening, and as a result struggled to pass the tests for degrees, at times having had to retake them over and over again. They continued to struggle after graduating from Gallaudet when they had to take tests to get their certificate in teaching or counseling field, or graduate admissions tests. Not only were the failures of the English-dominated educational activities infuriating, but they also denied and rejected the essence of the Deaf, which was ASL. Before the 2006 protest, the curriculum required all students take at least four semesters of English courses. ASL courses were optional and always full. The ASLnow protest in 1993 tried to change that unsuccessfully. The Student Body Government had tried to change that over the years as it had tried to address the issue of poor classroom communication and ASL skills among the faculty, the communication statement (which did not give ASL the same distinct recognition as English), and audism. What the activists of the 2006 protest were trying to do was to remove the erasure of ASL and Deaf culture, a form of oppression (Lane 94). This erasure was intertwined with the unpreparedness of those students (even the honors are students underprepared, but in different ways from the general student body) due to their poor educational backgrounds.

To show how poor, Lane explains, “In 1986, the American Congress created a commission to look into the education of deaf children. After two years of fact-finding and testimony from deaf leaders, parents, scholars, and others, the commission concluded: “The present status of education for persons who are deaf in the United States is unsatisfactory. Unacceptably so” (132). This was not news, as another “national commission” had made the same conclusion “twenty-three earlier” (132). Of course the activists were fed up and angry; they wanted better. They also wanted something else: more control over their educational pursuits, as they had always been bystanders to Individual Educational Plan (IEP) where they had no say. They continued to be bystanders to the administration and faculty who decided the curriculum without their say. They wanted to destroy the status quo and Fernandes as a symbol of it.

Evidence points to the contrary to Fernandes as baby-down President-Designate, however, as Shultz Myer wrote with her rebuttal: “Who understands the best practices and trends in higher education and can converse with established academic consultants on these topics? Who has supported seeds of change in teaching and learning and now is moving toward a comprehensive and specific plan of actions to realize best practices and current trends at Gallaudet? Jane Fernandes” (May 9, 2006). Also, in delivering a speech as a finalist, Fernandes described her educational plans, and they included raising admission standards, sending unprepared students to community colleges affiliated with Gallaudet before admitting them, and emphasizing college-level education. Her plans were specific and concrete, and clearly aimed at addressing the baby-down feel to the education. But that did not convince the activists. Justafan2, a blogger making observations about the protest, blames the decline in education on Fernandes as provost:

“Gallaudet University has gone completely downhill in the past 6 years. I recall while back that other Universities would compliment Gallaudet University's education but not anymore. As matter of fact, I had talked to several Deans of other universities and they praised Gallaudet's education and THOSE same deans are NOT supporting Gally's education anymore” (May 4, 2006). Much of what was said here was probably an exaggeration, but Justafan2 captured the spirit of the grievance about deaf education. Christine Roschaert started a new topic, “Deaf Education in the Nation and Gallaudet” on GallyNet-L, and wrote, “Raise education and academic standards for Deaf youths in Deaf insitiutions [sic], toss out that status quo and revitalize the tired old Education system so that parents will acknowledge that the education and social/cultural benefits will more benefit their child than mainstreamed” (May 19, 2006). This drew a good number of responses agreeing with the poster.

Not only that, but the evidence of Fernandes's lack of proactive leadership in the last six years as provost was also telling, as Jesse Thomas writes in his powhog blog, “A couple years ago, Dr. Fernandes fully endorsed and promised to follow through with the 5 Mandates proposed by the Audism Committee. If she has 'Walked the Talk,' I do not see it” (May 5, 2006). This has contributed to the perception of maintaining the status quo. I will delve further into this later in this chapter.

Another flyer circulated with an illustration of Fernandes by Kenny Garcia, chest up, unsmiling, looking off to her left, her eyes blackened, showing no white, chin up, snow white face, red lipstick, red background, red turtleneck, black jacket, and black hair outlined with a thin white contrast. Copied from Fernandes's letter of application, the caption read beneath the illustration,

I am a **white deaf woman**, the daughter of a **deaf mother** and a **hearing father**, with **both deaf and hearing brothers**, all of whom are **white people**. The **generations of white deaf and hearing people** in my family **have never signed**; they have always been **oral people**. Having **grown up deaf**, I came to **learn Sign Language** relatively late, at the **age of 23** (bold in red print and underlined).

On the left side of the caption was an illustration of an Aryan fist. This was almost a startlingly intimidating illustration of Fernandes. What began as sharing facts about herself became an embodiment of oppression: Fernandes represented two dominant groups, white and speaking, which translated into racism and audism. When I showed the flyer to two people at separate times, both responded the same way: why the emphasis on “white”? How is that important? And why “Sign Language” capitalized? Why not ASL?

This was a striking example of Fernandes's seen as echoing colonial ideals, as Fanon explains on page 13, “In order to assimilate the culture of the oppressor and venture into his fold, the colonized subject has had to pawn some of his intellectual possessions. For instance, one of the things he has had to assimilate is the way the colonialist bourgeoisie thinks.” In this instance, Fernandes recognized the ideals of inclusivity – at the cost of excluding or marginalizing ASL and Deaf culture to the fringes – as stated in the Mission Statement: “The mission of Gallaudet University is to serve as a comprehensive, multi-purpose institution of higher education for deaf and hard of hearing citizens of the United States and of the world [...] Communication among faculty, staff, and students, whether in or out of the classroom, is through the use of both sign language and written and spoken English” (Undergraduate Course Catalog 2005-

2006, 5). The language reflected the historical hegemonic ideal emphasizing English even in sign language, where English language shows up in finger-spelling, lip movements, signing in English order, with the goal of teaching English at all times, as Lane explains in his “English dominance” section (133-135). This clearly comes at a cost for ASL. Fernandes's exclusion of “American” from “Sign Language” reinforced that hegemonic ideal.

In his “Signed English is not sign language but a poor man's ASL...” post on GallyNet-L, Ron Fenicle wrote, “People who think they are excellent at 'Signed English' are actually either mediocre or inept at using ASL and they just use signed words in their primary language, which is usually English. That means they also don't follow ASL grammar rules and they are ASL illiterate”; he thus disagreed with the mandate that Gallaudet should “accept different sign systems” and believed that ASL was “being publicly abused” that way (December 8, 2005). He shared the belief that ideal continued the abuse perpetuated in K-12 schools.

As stated in the second of the three guiding principles “to ensure that clear visual communication is the norm in every University unit and department” in the Sign Communication statement: “Principle 2: Sign communication at Gallaudet will be inclusive, respectful, and flexible. Our communication will incorporate and respect ASL and recognize that students, faculty members, and staff members may each have different visual communication needs. We will respect the sign language style of every individual and use whatever is necessary to communicate in a given situation” (7). American Sign Language was mentioned whenever the issue of respect came up but not the center of the sign language discussion. In other words, visual and signing communication was the

nexus of Gallaudet communication statement, but not ASL; indeed, ASL was one of “modes of communication”. There was a boilerplate paragraph, however: “American Sign Language and English: Gallaudet University is a bilingual community in which both American Sign Language and English thrive. We recognize that in our campus community ASL and English coexist in complex ways; accordingly, this statement reflects the attitudes, philosophies, and realities of sign diversity on campus” (7). This suggested that the sign diversity that existed came from ASL or is a form of ASL, but was not ASL in itself. Sign communication was a part of ASL, but a part of English as well. In the entire statement, including the principles, we saw that sign communication and modes of communication were emphasized in the light of inclusivity, and ASL was one of many ways of signing. Fernandes's use of “Sign Language” rather than ASL was in the spirit of the statement, which was the spirit of the school ideals.

As the activists either protested or fought the oppressive system, they referred to the mission statement and sign communication statement that refused to recognize ASL as the center. The language in Fernandes's letter affirmed that refusal to acknowledge. After the protest, a working group appointed by president Davila worked through summer 2007 to rewrite the mission, vision, and communication statements. The mission statement in the Gallaudet Undergraduate Course Catalog, 2008-2009 now reads: “Gallaudet University, federally chartered in 1864, is a bilingual, diverse, multicultural institution of higher education that ensure the intellectual and professional advancement of deaf and hard of hearing individuals through *American Sign Language* and English” (4, emphasis mine). Also, while retaining much of the original language of the communication statement, the first sentence in the second principle, “Sign

communication at Gallaudet will be inclusive, respectful, and flexible,” was deleted.

In the eyes of the activists, Fernandes tried to enter into the fold of colonialist Gallaudet, presenting herself as the ideal candidate to lead Gallaudet into the next millennium. Her vision contained inclusiveness, which meant remaining neutral (and safe like Jordan) and welcoming of oral deaf, deaf students with cochlear implants, those fluent in ASL, and those communicating in Pidgin English and ASL. Taking upon the success of Jordan's formulation of the mission, vision, and communication statements, she became a promising candidate compared to the other finalists. The other finalists are far less colonized: they both are fluent in ASL and are culturally Deaf (according to the activists). Fernandes identified herself as culturally Deaf, but the activists disagreed. As long as Fernandes was colonized by the ideals that were oppressive in the eyes of the activists, she could not be culturally Deaf. The other two finalists represented a promise to wind down the oppressive system and push for change. They were individuals that the activists could identify with, those who the activists saw part of themselves. Indeed, they were a heartbeat from taking “the colonist's place,” and Fernandes posed as an “obstacle,” and her appointment “actually escalate[d] action” (Fanon 17).

Garcia's composition of colors on the flyer was telling: red background, red lips, red turtleneck, all reminiscent of communism, which could be analogous to Fernandes's (and Jordan's) autocratic style. Also, Tonya Stremlau observes that the red, black, white composition has the Disney cartography of the evil woman in “101 Dalmatians,” Cruella De Vil, who had the dogs kidnapped. Cruella De Vil has on black, red, and white, and her skin tone is gray. However, a childhood friend of Cruella, Anita, has pink lipstick and blush. In the same way, Princess Aurora in the Sleeping Beauty has the same pink

lipstick and blush, and the evil fairy, Maleficent, has brilliant red lipstick and ashen face. As Stremlau said in her email to me, “Disney princesses usually have pink lips and pink blushing faces. As opposed to the evil women. JKF def not a disney princess” (March 21, 2009). So, red, black, white, all bold colors, stern, communist, evil, oppressive.

In addition, Fernandes was an archetypal schoolmarm commonly seen in the deaf education field: women who believed they are on a mission to save the poor deaf; who were themselves broken and found satisfaction in building themselves upon helpless deaf children; and who bullied and took the power of autonomy or independence from deaf children. Lane describes such teachers as those who promote a “duet of dependence” which infantilizes and creates a lifetime of dependence. After graduating from high school, those deaf adults move their dependence from their teachers to Vocational Rehabilitation Counselor or someone in the field of working with the deaf community, and they often never learn to become resourceful (Lane 91).

Fernandes dressed the role in suits and tops that went all the way up to her neck line and talked like a schoolmarm. Joseph Shapiro observed Fernandes's interaction with the student body during one of the daily forums at Gallaudet during the May 2006 protest:

And she took all sorts of questions -- hostile questions, nasty questions. She took them all. And, she was trying to win them over and she couldn't there's something a little *school marmish* I thought about her, because some would ask a question and they'd want to follow up and she'd say, no, now look. See, there's a long line. All those other people want to ask questions. Go to the end of the line and let them go. So, sometimes people say, oh, she's *paternalistic*. And there's a little bit

of that temper... (“As Deaf Culture Changes, So Do the Questions, NPR, October 12, 2006, emphasis mine).

Also contributing to the perspective more particularly was the October 31, 2005 Goalpost/Hyatt Incident Letter that Fernandes sent out via email. This letter concerned the Homecoming Ball at Hyatt Hotel where “a number of students” rented rooms and seriously disturbed other guests and pulled the fire alarm, causing the hotel to evacuate a few times during the night. It also concerned the goalpost incident where fans of the university football celebrated the no-loss record by pulling down the goalposts. The letter was berating and punitive in tone, and implied immaturity and incapacity for growing up. Instead of writing as if her audience, Gallaudet students, were adults, she wrote as they were children in need for severe correcting. To illustrate: After describing the wrongdoings, Fernandes wrote, “Needless to say, Hyatt officials and guests do not and will not hold Gallaudet University and its students in high regard for a long time.” In the next paragraph, she describes the punishments: “An investigation to identify the students who pulled the fire alarms is underway. In addition, the University will not support students' contracting with any hotel for next year's Homecoming for any event. Further, serious consideration is being given to revision of policies which would significantly impact the future of off-campus events.” As for the goalpost incident, Fernandes once again delineated the wrongdoings of the participants and characterized this incident as “mob mentality” where “a few crowd leaders urged everyone to resist instructions to disperse back to their dormitories.” She ends the letter with threats, “University officials are aggressively investigating this incident to determine the students responsible for organizing and encouraging the crowd to ignore campus authorities and

destroy campus property. Those found guilty will be penalized, and could be suspended or expelled.” In response to the letter, the student body was outraged.

This corresponds with Fanon's discussion about colonized subject presumably guilty: “Confronted with a world configured by the colonizer, the colonized subject is always presumed guilty” (16). They were guilty of actually fulfilling Fernandes's (and Jordan's) belief of the student body's inability of staying within the confines of the colonialist ideals of proper hearing-like behavior. It was as if they expected them to act up and the student body, “confused by the myriad signs of the colonial world, [it] never knows whether [it] is out of line” and was therefore “constantly on [its] guard” (16). Confronted and commanded to disperse (“go back to your dorm rooms”) by the Department of Public Security officers, the body rebelled and tore down the goalposts. They refused to “accept guilt, but rather considers it a kind of curse” in their refusal to comply with the orders to “be domesticated,” demonstrating instead that they were “dominated but not domesticated” (Fanon, 16). The incident then drew out the schoolmarmish letter from Fernandes. Her letter drew ire immediately soon after, and an unknown group of students set up booth and sold t-shirts with Fernandes's picture with caption beneath it that said, “Know Thy Enemy.”

In the eyes of the activists, Fernandes affirmed the colonist view of the student body in terms of parent/child: Student body as colonized beings, the other, were treated as children, because they represented difference as deaf people. Gallaudet was the colonialist system with an idea of improving the colonized through instilling the values of the mainstream, including mastering the English language, for the future (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin 49). Because the student body could not be trusted with making adult

decisions, Fernandes made decisions for them, as “robyn” discussed the goalpost debacle where the Department of Public Security officers could not control the crowd because they could not communicate through ASL. She understood how upsetting the incident was for the administration, but sending the police to contain the crowd without the ability to communicate in ASL or without hiring interpreters was “uncivil” and asked, “how about you be civil with us too? Eradicating communication barriers is a pretty civil thing” (Gallaudet Admissions gBlog, November 9, 2005). She then closed with “Give a 'yea!' for being civil to one another! Give a 'yea!' for students and administration working together!”

Donald Tropp, Editor in Chief of *The Buff and Blue*, wrote in response to Fernandes's letter: “Under Dr. Jordan’s administration, Gallaudet has not effectively improved communication access, as was evident during the goalpost incident” (December 3, 2005). He then tied this with the presidential search, “That’s why it is important that the presidential search committee be aware of this pressing issue in their hunt for the next leader of the deaf world. That person must have strong convictions, personal courage and community building skills if we want to see changes for the better.” He then offered a solution to this problem, which the Unity of Gallaudet activists claimed Fernandes ignored: “But that doesn’t mean we have to wait until next January. When Dr. Donalda Ammons moderated the recent Town Hall meeting, she requested that the students not only identify an issue but propose a solution. My suggestion is to assemble a team of legal experts and qualified linguist to reform Gallaudet’s communication policies.” He closed the letter with, “We’ve waited long enough.”

In time, patience broke with the appointment of Fernandes, as it meant

maintaining the status quo, the empire of the colonialist. In *The Washinton Post*, “At the Tent City, Time To Pull Up Stakes: Gallaudet's Protesters Pack It In,” writer Anita Huslin observes the shift of mood within the span of twenty four hours from the tent city bustling with life to tearing down the tents and cleaning up the trash. Among the litter were “memorabilia,” including postcards that said, “Visit Tent City, Gallaudet. Meet courageous people...topple empires!” (May 14, 2006, D01). The background of the postcard was brilliant sun yellow, the grass green, the tent blue, the font silver with black lining, and the illustrator unknown. What was striking was the association of “empire” with Fernandes's appointment. Empire is defined as “a State with politico-military dominion of populations who are culturally and ethnically distinct from the imperial (ruling) ethnic group and its culture” (The Oxford English Reference Dictionary, Second Edition, 461). In this case, it was not territorial but hegemonic in colonial sense. For the Unity for Gallaudet protest, empire was defined as the existing system that went against the value system of Deaf World. To illustrate, Joey Baer, in his October 24, 2006 vlog, listed “The System” as the top reason for the failed leadership at Gallaudet. He explained that the system as it was set up at Gallaudet intended to stifle or suppress voices from the community through constricting communication between the board of trustees and the community channeling all communications through the president of Gallaudet. The board of trustees heard only the voice of president Jordan, so did not get the view of the community in the operation of the institution, as evinced by their blatantly ignoring the opposition of Fernandes throughout the presidential search. In response to the vlog, Christian wrote, “We all must fight and TEAR Jane and Jordan DOWN!” (October 24, 2006).

Jesse Thomas also pointed to the hegemonic system that was detrimental and contrary to the value system of the Gallaudet community: “We have a language, a culture and shared experiences of the annoyances of what is audism, if not ignorance. Yet the system that determines in a huge way the way our lives will be led - how we are educated, what our role in society should be and in layman’s terms, what to do” (May 4, 2006). He did not think that Fernandes was the leader who would lead the institution out of the system that was founded on the tenets of the deaf education, English dominance, imposition of the integrationist views without respect for the Deaf culture and ASL, and absolutist and paternalistic administrating. In the Canucks for FSSA website, sponsored by deaf people in Canada, devoted to supporting the Unity for Gallaudet protest, Chris Kenopic, an old classmate of mine at Gallaudet, wrote, “All of us whether we are alumni of Gallaudet or not, we must take a stand against this oppression!” (October 25, 2006). He explained why, “Why do we still have hands tied behind our backs and abiding by those hearing dominators who think they know our needs and path to a better future when in fact they know nothing!”

Echoing Mowl's “we need a president with all the right qualities, not just someone who shares our deafness,” (May 5, 2006 P8) Thomas writes, “Not just a president but a leader, someone who can inspire us. This comparison is extreme but let us consider personalities like Martin Luther King Jr and Che Guevara. They knew how to connect, relate to and inspire people. We want that. We almost need it” (May 4, 2006). Several “we need more, and Fernandes isn't it” circulars circulated throughout the protest. One said, “SHE IS DEAF ENOUGH, JUST NOT ENOUGH OF A LEADER!” written in all capitals, black font against white background. Another was an illustration by Joe

Wheeler with a bison bucking a startled Fernandes with spectators looking on in the background. The caption beneath says, “Fernie, you are Deaf enough ... but you are not good enough to ride a Bison!” (May 4, 2006). Another was an illustration of Fernandes trying to navigate a sinking ship, S.S. Gallaudet, through a huge wave (illustrator unknown) (May 8, 2006). This was in reference to the Saturday, May 6, 2006 forum where, in response to a question about leading a school without the support of the community, Fernandes used the movie “The Perfect Storm” (2000) as an analogy to the hardship that she and the institution had been experiencing in the wake of her appointment. The analogy was terrible, however, since the boat sunk at the end, and the activists used that against her, and the video clip of that analogy has been circulated and played a million times.

In that clip we see an example of what Mowl and Thomas had been saying was missing in Fernandes: she was missing the qualities that connected her with the concept of deafness. In “Deafness and the Riddle of Identity,” Lennard J. Davis describes this well: “Fernandes was also seen as lacking other characteristics, besides classic ASL proficiency, that deaf “‘insiders’ consider crucial to ‘pure’ deafness: a physical warmth and directness that is intense and intimate; pride in being deaf; and a certain attitude, both amused and cynical, toward the hearing world that results from a shared set of experiences” (Chronicle of Higher Education, January 12, 2007, B6).

Jordan came quite close to fitting the mold, as Mowl writes, “Jordan isn’t just a college president, but is a spokesman for deaf men and women around the world,” and this was by accident, too, as he was thrust into that job thanks to the DPN protest (P 6). We are indebted to Jordan for demolishing the myth that the hearing world had about

what deaf people were capable of and for making it possible for deaf people to do more. But, it was time for the new president to follow the footprint of Jordan and yet do a lot more to embrace the Deaf culture and ASL, the very things that Jordan failed to do. Fernandes was not up to the task, as Wheeler's illustration showed, and Fernandes could not stay on the bucking bison. Davis writes, “Fernandes was seen as not having those traits and experiences, and as being cold, aloof, detached from those markers – in sum, 'not deaf enough',” and Mowl writes, “she's an administrator, not a leader” (P 10). Davis is correct in that the activists wanted someone that they could identify with.

Those interested in the presidential search and the activists of the protest were looking to take over the “colonist's farm” (Fanon 23). They want not the “status of the colonist, but his place” (23). They were not interested in “competing with the colonist” but simply wanted to “take his place” and run the school the way they thought was right, the Deaf way (23). In sum, this protest was the cumulation of the “colonization or decolonization: it was simply a power struggle” where the Gallaudet community had struggled for many years to claim ownership in. Because their nice requests – through town hall meetings, publications in *The Buff and Blue*, open forums, and efforts by the Student Body Government to have some kind of influence over the operation of the institution, including English-only curriculum, policies, and statements, and efforts at eradicating audism, all failed, decolonization through violence had to happen (Fanon 1).

A circular demanding inclusion of the community in the selection of the next president had with a picture of a smiling Fernandes (one of the better photographs of the new president) with caption beneath saying, “All of your VOTES belong to us!” with “Bases are” crossed out and replaced with “VOTES” (author unknown May 6, 2006).

This was in reference to the complaint of the community that the board of trustees ignored the voice of opposition to Fernandes's candidacy throughout the presidential search. Mowl explains that this was precisely why the protest erupted: “[W]hat truly is upsetting is that students weren't listened to at all. We were stunned by the decision – and started the protests – because an extensive system had been set up to seek our views, and we provided them. Then we were ignored” (P 9). This was very much a reminiscent of the events leading up to the DPN protest: the community's demand for a deaf president was unheeded, and the protest erupted. Is this a case of petulance like TC suggested in his October 27, 2006 entry in his Forlorn Apple blog: “The students wanted a deaf administrator nearly 20 years, and they got one when the school caved to their demands. Now the students want an *appropriately* deaf administrator. One can only hope the school will stick by their standards and not cave to these petulant protesters” (emphasis his). And like Marc Fisher claims: “And when [the board of trustees] finally made their move, they caved to the petulance [sic] and arrogance of the student protestors while sending only the mildest message of rebuke” (October 30, 2006, blog in WashingtonPost.com). Or was this something more complicated?

To be sure, on the surface, both protests could reek of petulance for many, especially those unfamiliar with the dynamics of the deaf history and the enunciation of the Deaf culture. In order to successfully institute a deaf-centered university with a promise for recognizing ASL, the decolonization of the age-old system had to happen, and because the voice of the community went unheeded for so long and twice in the presidential search process, violence had to happen. This drew media attention, and because of the complicity of the Unity for Gallaudet protest, the widespread desire to

topple the empire that Jordan had continued from previous administrations, the media focused on what it understood best: the cultural war and Fernandes being caught up in it. The activists like Mowl and Thomas had tried explaining the protest, but with little success, mainly because very few people can accept, let alone imagine, the grievance about the system that was insidiously audist and linguistically imperialist, and because unresolved rage and frustration, while raw, were difficult to articulate in the moment of heat. The process of toppling the system with Fernandes in it, the protest tried to fathom its sense of nationhood, but had a difficult time of doing it, because there was nothing concrete or coherent. They also struggled, because the concepts of audism and linguistic imperialism struck hearing folks as silly and did not take the protest seriously. “Unity for Gallaudet,” to borrow Fanon's word, was “a vague term,” because although the activists were “passionately attached” to that term and the ideals it carried and aimed to “put incredible pressure on colonialism,” but in the process “reveal[ed] its true face and crumble[d] into regionalisms within the same national reality” (106). How could the term and the ideals it carried be inclusive when it clearly excluded Fernandes, a self-identified Deaf person fluent in ASL? The protest wanted “a spokesman for deaf men and women around the world” but Fernandes was not it, how? This was where and how the process of enunciating about what's Deaf became ugly and complicated. So, Fernandes was not “deaf enough,” who was? What was the litmus test for who was qualified as the spokesman? How were the other two candidates, Stephan Weiner and Ron Stern, more fitting for the job than Fernandes? The controversy then became the issue of toppling the colonial system and Fernandes, as evidenced by her failures as provost to take serious actions to eradicate audism and linguistic imperialism on campus.

Still. The protest succeeded in getting Fernandes fired, and the empire toppled and made way for a system that celebrates itself as a bilingual institution. But, there was still this question of “unity” and what it meant in inclusive sense. This then became an enunciation process, as complex and uncomfortable as it had always been as the Gallaudet community discussed its group identity as a bilingual institution – nationhood – and the individual member's private journey through deafhood, where one's identity as a deaf person was conceptualized in terms of his individual experience and being in the Gallaudet community.

Chapter 4

In “Plato's Pharmakon”, Jacques Derrida argues that Pharmakon could either be a remedy or a poison, or somewhere in between, depending on how it is used and how its uses are perceived. Remedy and poison are not opposites of each other in binary sense; rather a value attributed to the substance. This substance has no value to begin with until we decide that it does, and the possibilities are infinite. One such example would be Coumadin, a blood-thinning medicine that patients at risk for stroke take. It is intended to save lives. However, it is also poison for rats. What is supposed to be beneficial for a group kills another group; at the same time, it can be lethal for humans at a higher dosage. Until Coumadin as a substance was named as such, it had no identity or description, but simply a nameless substance. Our imaginations have given the substance its name and value according to how they have perceived its “metaphysical, physical, chemical, alchemical” characteristics (443). As a result of the attributions of values upon the substance, we now can refer to it and talk about it as Coumadin.

Now the remedy/poison (out/in, exit/enter, black/white, hot/cold) binary oppositions does not exist unless we make it so. We place value upon these oppositions and compare those values as opposites in our minds. We place limits on the substances according to what and how we imagine them to be or to mean to us. Take black as an example: when we see or experience total darkness with no light, we call it black in the same way we see a totally dark wall, paper, or book cover. We call it black to mean totally devoid of color (or, if we prefer, a particular color understood to be comparable to total darkness). Black or blackness was a substance devoid of any signifying value until

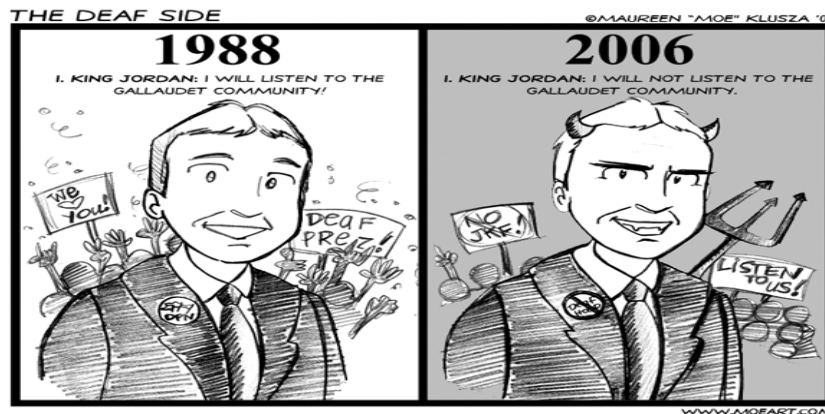
we place value upon it. And then we add associations (and dissociations), including evil, underworld, dirty, darkness, and the opposite of white. Through the binary linking of black and white, associations are also the opposites of each other: white has come to represent goodness, light, heaven, and purity. Those significations are constantly “in the play of difference” in our imaginations and conversations (443). We are able to do this through language in that we give substances significations collectively understood in more or less coherently (for instance, “black” and “white” are English significations of particular colors).

The agreed upon significations for substances become true through repetition: the more often the signification is used, referred to, talked about, and passed on through generations, the more it becomes a fixed or permanent part of our consciousness. As Derrida explains: “But in the anamnestic protest of truth, what is repeated must present itself as such, as what it is, in repetition. The true is repeated; it is what is repeated in the repetition, what is represented and present in the representation. It is not the repeater in the repetition or the signifier in the signification” (441).

In Pavlovian sense, when a signification is repeated often enough, it gets conditioned in collective consciousness, and as a result, that signification floats around in repetition through conversations, advertisements, journalism, media, associations and dissociations, symbols, and art. What representations accompanying the signification become clear through repetition, also.

This is useful to discussing how President Jordan lost popularity over the years since the DPN protest. In 1988 he was wildly popular worldwide and was a celebrity; in fact, he appeared on “all the morning shows”, ABC, NBC, and CBS, and for interviews

on NPR (Ability Magazine). Over the years, however, his popularity at Gallaudet slowly declined and criticisms about his performance mounted. He remained quite popular with the Board of Trustees and stakeholders outside Gallaudet, however. When he announced his intent to retire in fall 2006, the Gallaudet community whispered amongst themselves: finally, he was leaving; the next president better be Deaf, nothing like Jordan. When the Unity for Gallaudet protest erupted, what popularity he had had evaporated and the protesters behaved and spoke to him in the same disrespectful manner that the DPN protesters behaved and spoke to Elizabeth Zinser and Chair Jane Bassett Spilman. A cartoon by Melissa Klusza depicted Jordan as an Angel, a savior, bearing a halo and wings in 1988, and as a devil with horns sprouting out of his forehead and a pitched fork in 2006. In the first frame, people said, I love you, you are the greatest; in the second frame, people said, we hate your pick, JKF, no!, listen to us or get out.



What the activists saw here was a collective sense of alienation from Jordan. In the beginning, Jordan was “one of us,” an ambassador for Deaf World, and he and the Gallaudet community connected through a shared characteristic, deafness, and the resultant sense of empathy. Because of his picking Fernandes for the next president, the Gallaudet community felt disconnected from Jordan; indeed, she was not what the

Gallaudet community wanted, but Jordan did not seem to heed. Because the Gallaudet community perceived his refusal to listen, he was disconnecting himself from it, betraying its trust. This took us back to when Chair Spilman and board of trustees refused to listen to the pleas for Deaf president in 1988. Jordan joined the Gallaudet community by withdrawing support for Zinser and pushing for a Deaf candidate.

So, how had the Gallaudet community come to decide Jordan was no longer a good representative for either the institution or Deaf World? What did he represent as opposed to in 1988? Had he changed, or had the perception changed?

What about Jane Fernandes, President-Designate? Unlike Jordan, she had zero popularity, and as the candidates were being interviewed, the campus rallied for either one of the two Deaf candidates, Stephen Weiner and Ron Stern. In her six year stint as the Provost, Fernandes had a tiny circle of loyal friends and a large group of opponents. What, as a deaf person and President-Designate, did she represent for the Gallaudet University? What did she and her presidency mean for the school and Deaf World? As we will see at the end of this chapter, this was not something that Jordan and Fernandes could fully control.

As this chapter unfolds, we will see how (and what) Jordan and Fernandes, as individuals and presidents, had come to represent to the Gallaudet community, how they had signified a repetition or continuation of oppressive and autocratic administrating unsympathetic of ASL and Deaf culture, regardless of evidence of the contrary, how the baggage of Deaf history colored the community's view of both administrators, and how these were played out during the DPN and Unity for Gallaudet protests.

In 1988, when he first became president, Jordan was popular with deaf

communities and people not familiar with Gallaudet University or deafness alike. Why? He, as a person and as the first deaf president, worked for both groups. He fit the ideals of both groups in different as well as overlapping ways. For the first group, Jordan shared a physical characteristic of the community and was a celebrity, which was great PR. His presidency also stirred hopes for advancement for those dreaming of success: if he could become president, I could become somebody big, too. For the second group, he had a tear-jerker story of losing his hearing at the age of twenty-one in a motorcycle accident, but rising to stardom at Gallaudet. He carried himself and behaved in ways that were familiar to the outside world; he did not behave in ways that would puzzle, scare, confuse, or alienate. He stood straight and tall and spoke as he signed. He was every hearing parent's dream for their deaf child: dress well, talk while signing, stand tall, smile, and work hard and you shall succeed just like Dr I. King Jordan. For both groups, he was charismatic, warm, empathic, witty, intelligent, even-headed, tall, athletic-thin, and all-American handsome.

Jordan, however, was an in-between pharmakon, neither a remedy nor poison; although he was deaf, he was not “a fluent signer” or a “bonafide” member “of the Deaf community,” unlike both Harvey Corson and Robert Davila, two other finalists (Ramos 38). In the process of identifying three finalists, the Student Body Government preferred Davila and Corson, two of the six candidates interviewed by various constituencies on campus (Ramos 36). It did not recommend Jordan. The Alumni, another constituency, recommended Davila, but not Jordan or Corson (Ramos 38). The only constituency to recommend Jordan was The President's Council on Deafness, a group of deaf professionals, and it also recommended Corson but not Davila (Ramos 38). Both Corson

and Jordan made the final three, not Davila.

When the time came that Elisabeth Ann Zinser was announced as president designate, the Gallaudet community picked its battle and fought for a Deaf president, whether it be Jordan, who was not the first choice, or Corson, who had two fewer recommendations than Davila. When Jordan was ultimately appointed, the community cheerfully adopted him as its leader: as a signing deaf president, he represented the school and Deaf World. His deafness, although late, was a shared characteristic important to Deaf World. In the perception of the community, he represented a break from the age-old practice of hiring non-signing hearing presidents. As imperfect as he was as a Deaf person, he was the *pharmakon*, a remedy, for the disease of “plantation mentality” with hearing educators running the school for the benefit of deaf people (Ramos 64). Of two evils, Jordan was far better than Zinser.

Observing Ramos's discussion about the 1988 candidates, what we saw was a continuum with extremes: non-signing hearing who was not a member of the Deaf community at one end and signing Deaf who was a member of the Deaf community at the other. Zinser was at the extreme end of the continuum, and therefore unacceptable; Corson was at the other end, and therefore acceptable. Jordan was in the middle, late-deafened, signing, and a quasi- (or not yet) member of Deaf World, but acceptable. Who created the continuum? The Deaf community, of course, but for a good reason, as Carol Padden and Tom Humphries explain, “Deaf people for the most part have always lived within the world of others. Thus it is not surprising that their theories about themselves and their language are powerfully colored by beliefs held by others” (56). Drawing upon their experience in the mainstream, deaf people understand that their speech and hearing

skills are a measure of functionality. The more one is able to hear and speak, the more she is able to integrate and succeed; the less one is able to hear and speak, the more isolated he is and unsuccessful. Think of the Milan convention of 1880 where oral education was deemed the best, and after which sign language was forbidden for decades. Indeed, *Through Deaf Eyes* by Douglas C. Baynton, Jack R. Gannon, and Jean Lindquist Bergey speaks specifically to that history. Literature by Deaf and interested signing hearing scholars also speaks specifically to that history. Additionally, the Deaf shelves at the Gallaudet library are chock full of those struggles. With Gallaudet as a supposed escape from that hostility, the community understandably did not want anyone perceived to have come from that world to lead the school (or the plantation).

Is the continuum real? Absolutely. While hearing educators meant well, and were well-intentioned, their deaf education trainings perverted by myth or idea that deaf children were disabled beings in need of pathological and linguistic remediation. In response, deaf communities characterized their experiences with hearing educators as oppressive, uncomfortable, and alienating; they also experienced feelings of failure, inferiority, second-class, and isolation. They all told the same story regardless of where they came from or grew up, including oral deaf, Deaf family, signing deaf from hearing family, etc. They had collective empathy. And so they took their shared experiences and channeled them into an argument for a Deaf president; Bonnie Gracer, a student, was quoted to say, “The whole thing is a matter of can versus can't. Deaf people are told you can't, you can't, you can't” (Ramos 61). The repetition of “you can't” was all too familiar to the Deaf community; they had heard it all the time everywhere. Arguing for a Deaf president, R.G. Gentry, another student, was quoted to say, “A hearing person cannot

possibly understand what it is like to be Deaf ... Lacking that understanding they cannot possibly make logical decisions in our best interests. You have to be Deaf to understand” (Ramos 24).

Zinser appeared to them as someone who has no inkling of Deaf experience, and was likely to perpetuate such ill-advised practices as telling Gracer and others, “you can't.” This did not mean that Zinser would have done those things; indeed, she would have learned how to run a school in ways to tell Gracer and others “you can,” but even if there had been a psychic predicting Zinser's would run a school that was Deaf-centric, it would not have mattered. It was what, in the mind of the Deaf community, she and her presidency represented: she was a hearing non-signing woman coming to run a plantation. Perception is far more powerful than reality, and perception is usually what drives one's thinking, as Christine Scivicque explains, “Your perspective (the way you see the world) shapes your reality. Whether you realize it or not, your unique point-of-view influences your life and the world around you” (“Understanding Perspective, September 21, 2007, P 1). She lists experience as the most important factor for shaping perspective: “Your past is possibly the most important part of what creates your perspective; the things you experience, your upbringing, your personal story. The past allows your brain to create expectations. Thus, your perspective of the world around you adapts to these ideas. You begin to see the world as you expect it to be, not as it really is” (P 2).

Deaf individuals' experience with the demands for integration in the hearing world and with the treatment as disabled (and therefore unwanted or unloved) made for collective experience. Although Harlan Lane was quoted as saying, “[Gallaudet is the]

history of a struggle, sorry to say, between hearing people who thought they knew what was best for the Deaf and Deaf people who had very different views,” this history was also true at the schools where Deaf education existed (Ramos 100). As a result, Zinser unknowingly walked into the web of this unending struggle; her promises to learn ASL and to change the age-old practice of running the school went unheard. She represented the poison pharmakon of the Deaf education. Jordan, in comparison, was more of a remedy than a poison, mainly because, being physically deaf who signed, he satisfied the qualification for the university president job.

Eighteen year later, however, Jordan had gone from the in-between to the poison pharmakon, and Fernandes was even more so, in the perception of the Gallaudet community. But, for communities outside Gallaudet, Jordan was a wonderful president, a dream leader, and his retirement was a loss for the school; Fernandes was the best candidate, because Jordan chose and trained her for the job. She was the future with her plans to prepare Gallaudet University to include students with cochlear implants, which included expanding and modernizing hearing and speech support. She and her committee masterminded the multi-million Sorenson building with two floors dedicated to hearing and speech technologies, research, and therapies. These were forward-looking plans and actions, for, according to the National Institute on Deafness and Other Communication Disorder, approximately 15,500 children had cochlear implants as of August 4, 2008, an increase of 500 more since the 2005 statistics. For the first time in 2009, the Maryland School for the Deaf, Frederick, has set aside oral classes for children with cochlear implants. This school (ironically) is run by one of the Ducks members, James Tucker, as superintendent. Schools including Illinois School for the Deaf, many with Deaf

superintendents, have been providing support for children with cochlear implants.

Fernandes also had plans to include ASL and Deaf studies in the Sorenson building.

Fernandes's was a story that a majority of Deaf people share to some degree: she was a Deaf person who grew up oral and learned sign language at twenty-one. She became enthusiastic about and active in the Deaf community in Iowa. She participated in various Deaf organizations, including the Iowa Association for the Deaf and the National Association for the Deaf, and became Miss Deaf Iowa in 1984. She had an extensive administrative experience as well as scholarship in deafness and literature when she threw her hat in the ring for presidency in 2006. Like Jordan, she was a poster child for living in both worlds, hearing and deaf, and wildly successful and admired. Better yet, she was deaf from birth. Who would have been a more perfect candidate than Fernandes?

How was it that Fernandes was the poison pharmkon, probably more so than Jordan? Ignoring the 1967 MSCHE mandate that everyone be involved in the decision-making process and bypassing a national search, Jordan unilaterally chose Fernandes as provost in 1999, after having fired Roz Rosen, a widely respected Deaf leader. The Gallaudet community, especially the faculty, protested and expressed disappointment. She became provost with only a handful of supporters after having left her post as vice president of Pre-College national Mission Programs. Hers was ruthless administration style as an open letter from Clerc Center teachers and staff on October 13, 2006 testified: “During her tenure as the vice president of Pre-College National Mission Programs (PCNMP) from 1995 to 2000, Dr. Jane K. Fernandes ignored, alienated, and disrespected teachers and staff. During a period of restructuring in 1996, the teachers and staff at

PCNMP sought to offer additional advice and direction, only to be shunned and mocked. To continue our employment, we had to endure an atmosphere of distrust and fear. This statement of our oppression is long overdue.”

As provost, she was viewed as paternalistic; tee shirts with a picture of Fernandes and a caption beneath, “Know Thy Enemy” sold briskly among students in spring 2006. In his “Postscript: Gallaudet Protests of 2006 and the Myths of In/Exclusion” chapter in *Open Your Eyes*, H. Dirksen L. Bauman explains that the 2006 protest “included resistance to racism and paternalism and a lack of shared governance and administrative transparency” (328). During the NPR interview on October 26, 2006, Joseph Shapiro summarized the general sentiment the campus had about Fernandes: “Many co-workers say she's cold, distant and autocratic. Students say she's scolding, paternalistic and doesn't listen” (NPR, October 26, 2006). Additionally, none of the deans chosen by Fernandes was acceptable to the community: three of the deans were viewed to be like Fernandes, scolding, paternalistic, and unsympathetic.

In her entire career as the Provost, Fernandes was perceived to have done very little, especially in terms of addressing the audism issue. In fact, the Student Body Government presented Fernandes with the following mandates in fall 2002 (originally 7, but expanded to 12):

1. To provide ASL interpreters on the same basis as voice interpreters.
2. To have standard ASL screening and training for all faculty members.
3. To develop a professor communication method/competency catalog containing information on every Gallaudet professor's method of communication and ASL competency.

4. To require ASL and Deaf Studies classes at Gallaudet.
5. To implement a 24/7 signing policy, requiring every Gallaudet employee to sign at all times on campus.
6. To be aggressive and active in research and advocacy of the Deaf.
7. To revise the communication policy into one that guarantees equal access unique to all the students Gallaudet purportedly serves—reflecting the mandates above.
8. Establish and require a program for developing and evaluating ASL Proficiency for undergraduate and graduate students.
9. Require that new signers, whether faculty, staff, or students, have an intensive initial introduction to and ongoing support for ASL development through programs such as the New Signers Program.
10. Establish an on-going support system for students, faculty, staff, and teachers who are improving their ASL/English abilities. Effective on-going support is needed to improve and maintain ASL/English skills.
11. Establish a minimum proficiency level for all members of the community in both languages.
12. Implement a campus-wide ASL/English mentoring program.

To Fernandes's credit, she established the Provost's Committee on Language and Communication (PCLC), which included a student representative, Andrew Phillips. But, the committee moved so slowly that not very much was accomplished between its inception in 2003 and her 2006 appointment as President-Designate. Indeed, Andrew Phillips, a member of PCLC, wrote in his 4/24/06 blog entry,

On a personal note, I am disappointed that more did not come out of the PCLC

meetings and I feel that not enough progress was made. Some members have suggested that it would have been better if a faculty member was delegated the job of organizing our meetings-- suggesting that he/she would have had more time to focus on the mandates and their implementation. Overall, I feel that we started this work with a lot of energy and momentum but the meetings were scheduled too far apart and we didn't make any significant changes here at Gallaudet. The last time we met I believe was in 2004.

Two years of no meetings was enough to incite disappointment and anger over the lack of progress. The issue of audism was clearly not a high priority. The protesters cited her lack of action on the mandates as one of the reasons for protesting her appointment as President-Designate. They reasoned: if as the Provost, Fernandes did nothing to address the Audism issue, how do we expect her to do anything as President? In his vlog, Jesse Thomas explained why Fernandes was a bad choice for president: It was not that she was not deaf enough; it was that she was not good enough. She had failed to act on the audism issue. After collecting 2,000 signatures in support of the seven mandates, Thomas and the student-run audism committee accosted the then-Provost and asked for support. She and Jordan made a show of support for the mandates through sending an email to the entire community outlining her plans for action. But that was pretty much the extent of it, and not a lot had happened since the 2002 email. Thomas said that inaction broke the community's trust in Fernandes and should serve as evidence of what Fernandes would be like as President. His VLOG ended with "Not good enough!"

This clearly mattered to Thomas a lot, because it was an epitome of denial of recognition for ASL and Deaf culture. Thomas looked to Fernandes as someone in the

position of pushing through the audism mandates, because that would have meant an official recognition of the Deaf identity through affirming ASL and Deaf culture as part of Gallaudet life. The impact of such recognition and affirmation would have been tremendous; it would have informed how our policies were written, how we thought and talked about things in terms of ASL and Deaf culture, how we communicated with each other, and how we represented ourselves to the larger world, including deaf and hearing communities. Indeed, it could have impacted the enrollment. So, when Fernandes's stint as the Provost ended having accomplished very little to address this issue, her credibility as someone representing the "social stature of persons reflected in the presidency" was nonexistent.

Jordan had demonstrated the same failure in 1997, real or imagined. The ASLnow protest began in the beginning of the fall semester demanding the university's recognition of the language. The leaders, which included six students and Carl Schroeder, a former English professor, basically wanted ASL to have equal emphasis as English in the undergraduate curriculum and in the University's Sign Communication Statement. Schroeder argued that the institution was marginalizing ASL as evinced through the general education requirement which included at least four semesters of courses in English but not ASL: "ASL is not treated with as equal importance as English on campus, and that must change" (Lockhart 3 Sept 11 1997). He argued that through the structuring of the curriculum, domination had occurred through imposing English on deaf people.

The protest was also dissatisfied with the University's Sign Communication Statement. It promised to "incorporate and respect ASL" but also promised to "recognize

that students, faculty members, and staff members may each have different visual communication needs." The statement also mandated that "we will respect the sign language style of every individual and use whatever is necessary to communicate in a given situation." To promote open, polite, and respectful communication, the statement mandated that "We will know and practice deaf/hearing communication etiquette so that public discourse, both formal and informal, is fully accessible." That struck the protest leaders as Jordan's affirming the inferiority of ASL as Timothy Trotto explained, "ASL came to be labeled a second-class language, or a lower form of English" (Lockhart 3 Sept 11 1997). The protest leaders also argued that the Sign Communication Statement should include a language where the school would "thrive with two languages, ASL and English, not somewhere in between which is where the majority of the faculty tend to park and use for years," argued David Simmons, a student leader (Lockhart 12 Sept 11 1997).

It was important to the protest leaders that there was some kind of institutional recognition of the language, including instituting ASL requirements and making ASL the target language for communication on campus. In response, Jordan wrote an open letter to the Gallaudet community beginning with,

At Gallaudet, direct, visual and interactive communication will always be a top priority. To that end, Gallaudet is and will remain a university where everyone -- students, faculty, teachers, and staff is committed to the learning and clear use of American Sign Language and English in all aspects of University life to meet the needs of the students we serve.

Jordan continued with outlining his commitment to ASL:

I, too, value ASL. During my presidency, I have encouraged and supported

research aimed at enhancing the use, study, and preservation of ASL. The result of this effort is obvious: more ASL courses in the curriculum, the Department of Deaf Studies in the College of Arts and Sciences, and the Center on ASL Literacy and Training, which works with the entire community to improve the level of sign communication skills. Most recently, a faculty, student, adm-inistration [sic] task force began work last spring to identify the range and variety of best practices in visual communication in classrooms and suggest ways for them to be adopted and evaluated.

Finally, Jordan closed with a reminder that:

Adopted by the Board of Trustees in 1995, it states that 'Gallaudet University is a bilingual community in which both American Sign Language and English thrive.'

The Statement recognizes that American Sign Language is a key part of communication at Gallaudet.

But no matter. The damage has been done, and Jordan's reassurances of his position went unheard. The Gallaudet community's experience with Jordan told them that Jordan was insincere in his open letter. Nine years later, another protest erupted, and Bauman explains, "With the appointment of Fernandes, Gallaudet seemed poised to continue its lack of commitment to signed languages evident under the Jordan administration" (335).

The only accomplishment was the relegation of ASL and Deaf Studies to the moral guardship of the Department of Deaf Studies. Jordan proved to be a poison pharmkon, and the selection of Fernandes simply meant more of the same. And the deep-rooted frustrations would continue to simmer.

Simmering frustrations went as far back as 1983, when we could have had a

pharmakon before Jordan, as Davila was a proposed candidate. The departing president, Dr. Merrill, “shared with the board his belief that the next president of Gallaudet should be a Deaf person” (Ramos 15). Dr. W. Lloyd Johns was appointed president, instead; but, he left after three months. Dr. Jerry C. Lee, then Vice President of Business and Administration at Gallaudet, then became interim president (Ramos 16). However, he became permanent after the board of trustees saw how impressively Dr. Lee performed (Ramos 16). These took place despite the 1967 self-report submitted to the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (MSCHE) and the MSCHE mandates.

The self-report observed a plantation mentality: “The faculty, although recognizing the humanitarian nature of their profession, will no longer accept an autocratic administration, paternalism in its many subtle forms, and the 'missionary' syndrome, which has long been associated with teaching” (quoted in Ramos 21). The self-report also recommended changes: “Both students and faculty – as mature, competent individuals demanding respect and the opportunity to contribute – will continue to insist upon more meaningful participation within the college community” (quoted in Ramos 21). In response, the MSCHE mandated that “Faculty, students, the Deaf community, and others concerned should participate in the decision-making process at all levels” (quoted in Ramos 21).

Afraid of repeating of history in 1987, the Ducks, a group of Deaf graduates of Gallaudet, rallied support for Deaf president. In his “Student Apathy” chapter, Ramos chronicles actions that the Ducks took to engage students in the protest. The biggest obstacle was students' focus on their immediate concerns, including upcoming tests,

deadlines for papers, and graduation; they did not think having Deaf president was important (Ramos 42). Bridgetta Bourne, who would become one of the four protest's leaders, was quoted to say that the most qualified candidate should be selected, hearing or deaf (Ramos 42). With help of a few prominent alumni, the Ducks mobilized a rally on March 1, 1988, and invited students to participate. More than 1,500 showed up. It was there and then when students understood the importance of the protest, as Bourne explained, that she was convinced after hearing the star Deaf leaders, Roz Rosen and Jack Levesque, speak their support for the protest: "The rally was the turning point that helped convince me to support [the push for] a Deaf president" (Ramos 46). The success in the protest lay in the strong participation of the alumni who remembered the 1983 selection of a president. Students in 1988 were like those anywhere; they had no memory before their first year, and so the 1988 president selection held less significance for them. However, the shared experience of being told "you can't" propelled the students to rally with Gallaudet graduates, and Jerry Covell, one of the four student leaders, articulated that in his speech at the school cafeteria one evening: "If you think a Deaf person can't become president, then you can't. [...] If you say the Deaf people can't, it means that I can't, and you can't do it either! If you are saying no to a Deaf person, then you are saying no to yourself!" (Ramos 44). The alumni and student leaders had a herculean task of pointing out and helping break the apathetic cycle of I-can't/you can't mentality that many students had internalized. In order to do this, the leaders and protesters took on a mantra, "Yes, we can! Yes, we can! We can! Can! Can! Can!" along with "Deaf president now!" and "Stop! Stop telling us we can't! Stop! Stop!" These chants became a large part of the protest consciousness as were stories of being passed over for

promotions, new jobs, and increases in pay due to being deaf, and that it was about time that it all stopped. Breaking news and rumors, including the trustees' trips out to North Carolina to meet with Zinser and train her for the job, the student leaders immediately shared, and said, "See, see, same old story! Did Jordan and Corson get the same treatment? No! Do something! This must stop!" (Ramos 50-51). Letters to Zinser begging her to withdraw her application and to the board of trustees pushing for Deaf president were also shared. Also, rallies were an every day affair so to keep the momentum is kept up (Ramos 50).

The board of trustees was aware of the protest and moved the final interviews off campus and took extraordinary measures to ensure the secrecy of the location (Ramos 52-53). Instead of announcing the next president at a meeting, a press release circulated proclaiming, "The Board of Trustees of Gallaudet University has selected Elisabeth Ann Zinser as Gallaudet University's seventh president" (Ramos 55). The board of trustees stayed at the Mayflower Hotel and had no plans to come on campus nor meet with any student leaders (Ramos 56). The message, in the perception of the protest leaders, was that their request for Deaf president was unimportant, their rallies meant nothing, the selection was final, and no conversation about the selection would take place.

The board of trustees followed the 1967 MSCHE mandate that every group be included in the selection process and were acting under advisement of a consulting firm specializing in presidential searches. The final decision rested with the board of trustees, which was the general practice of all university presidential searches. However, what the board of trustees had failed to do was to take into consideration the request and advice for a Deaf president. Dr. Merrill, the fourth president, argued that without having a Deaf

president, the credibility of the school “is doubtful” (Ramos 54). Bob Graham, U.S. Senator from Florida, was quoted to say, “It is unfortunate that since its establishment, no hearing impaired person has yet been president of Gallaudet University” (Ramos 124). Finally, Evan J. Kemp, Jr., Commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity commission wrote to the board of trustees, “I was shocked to learn that in 1988, there is even token opposition to a deaf president for Gallaudet University” (Ramos 2). But, those were not enough to sway the board of trustees. Why? Ramos argues that they were “simply doing what the Gallaudet administration had always done – proclaiming to the world that Deaf people were not ready to function in a hearing world” (Ramos 10). In a private meeting at the Mayflower Hotel, Chair Spilman told Greg Hlibok, one of the four protest leaders and the incoming SBG president, Tim Rarus, also one of the four protest leaders and the outgoing SBG president, and Jeff Rosen, a Ducks member, “Deaf people are not ready to function in a hearing world” (Ramos 58). She also closed the meeting with “It is 10:30, [they] should go back home” (Ramos 58). These prompted the Mama Spilman nickname and the furor of the protest increased (Ramos 60); the next day, on March 7, the activists shut down the campus.

What did the behavior of Chair Spilman mean for the Gallaudet community? It meant a willful perpetuation of the non-negotiable paternalistic management the school for the benefit of the deaf. It also sent out the same old message to the Deaf community that deaf people knew nothing, must say nothing, and to just shut up and obey. Don't question. This was reinforced by the appointment of Larry Speakes, who was “another in the long line of board members selected without knowing anything about Deaf people” (Ramos 57). This appointment confirmed the protest's “conviction that this was the last

straw” and something must be done (Ramos 57). Gerald “Bummy” Burstein, President of Gallaudet University Alumni Association, was quoted to say, “Members of the Board [of Trustees] who lack confidence in the abilities of Deaf persons have no business serving on the Gallaudet University board and should resign” (Ramos 110). Throughout the protest, Chair Spilman behaved autocratically in ways that captured the attention of the nation and world, and the plantation management came to the surface and became much more apparent. Reverend Jesse L. Jackson was quoted to say, “The problem is not that the students do not hear. The problem is that the hearing world does not listen” (Ramos 1).

Chair Spilman's refusing to meet with the angry crowd outside the Mayflower hotel and speaking dismissively to the protest leaders struck the Gallaudet community as taking advantage of or exploiting the powerless at Gallaudet University. Photos in *The Week the World Heard Gallaudet* showed protests to that, and one held a placard saying,

TO BOARD OF TRUSTEES

DON'T TREAD ON GALLAUDET UNIVERSITY

WE WANT DEAF PRESIDENT

NOW AND DEMAND FOUR

THINGS. DEAF NEVER GIVE UP (Gannon 121).

This was an echo of the U.S. Revolution chant, “Don't tread on me,” with “me” being the colonized. Merriam-Webster defines “Tread” as “to beat or press with feet; to subdue or repress as if by trampling: CRUSH,” and explains the idiom, “tread on one's toes,” to mean “to give offense (as by encroaching on one's rights or feelings).” Whoa. Who was “Gallaudet University” that the board of trustees was treading on? Or, should we ask,

what was “Gallaudet University”? What did the school represent for deaf people?

In his reflection about the DPN protest, Ramos discusses what Gallaudet University means as an institution and implies how the meaning can get lost or misunderstood. First, there is this issue of ownership: who owns the school, the board of trustees, faculty, staff, alumni, students, congressmen, MSCHE, or Department of Education? The protest tried to pry the cold fingers of the board from the institution and give it back to the rightful owners, “Deaf students and their supporters, including faculty and staff” (Ramos 159). At the same time, since the school is an educational institution, federally funded, it has to abide by the expectations of the Department of Education. Activities on campus must be educational and supportive of the vision and mission, and cannot ever become a center for Deaf rights activism (Ramos 159). Now, what does Gallaudet mean as an educational institution? It is a place where Deaf students come for educational training and preparation for professions and where they are certified as capable of functioning in the hearing world (Ramos 158). This has been the case for 124 years before the protest; many got their degrees from Gallaudet and went on to become successful, so why the DPN protest? It would make no difference whether the president is non-signing hearing or Deaf, so what was the problem? Other than ownership, there was this issue of credibility: what does it mean to have a non-deaf president leading the school? What message does that send out to the world? In the same way, what message would Howard University send out if it never had a black president?

Chair Spilman disagreed, “I don't think you have to be blind to understand the world of blind people, and I don't think you have to be Deaf to be sensitive to the world of Deaf culture” (Ramos 74). In her likening deafness with blindness, both disabilities, in

terms of perceived physical abilities, she forgot (or did not know) that because blindness did not include a language apart from English, the blind community did not have a separate language and culture. She continued, “But I think that there's a great deal that our Deaf friends can teach us to help us to understand their perspective that will make us better, more informed board members and more intelligent advocates in the world of the hearing-impaired” (Ramos 74). She was right, up to a point. Board members, educators, administrators did not have to be Deaf to run the school, in the same way I did not have to be hearing to teach English, or black to teach black literature and history. But, what was more important was what Chair Spilman, board members, educators, administrators, and I as a faculty member meant to the Gallaudet community. Did we have the trust of the community to represent it? To honor our working relationship and not to tread on Gallaudet? How could Chair Spilman have behaved in ways that were respectful of the community and her role as representative?

The Gallaudet community places its trust in the trustees, president, and leaders to manage the institution in a way that reflects the interest and will of the community. According to John Rawls, trust involves honoring the social contract -- an agreed upon delineation of fundamental rights and responsibilities of people in a society – between the community and leaders. The leaders are vested with the power to represent the community and make decisions that reflect the mandates of the social contract. The community then honors the decisions.

When the community complains or questions the authority of their representatives, the relationship starts to break down, and the trust deteriorates. The representatives cease to have the trust to represent its constituency. The community then

begins to resist its part in the social contract, because it feels that their representatives are not holding up their end of the social contract. So, when the board of trustees appointed Zinser in 1988 and Fernandes in 2006 despite the wishes of the community, it basically destroyed the trust, and the social contract between both groups collapsed and the institution suffered.

How the community perceives the school leaders as its representatives is important. If it perceives them as cold, unsympathetic, dismissive, or autocratic, then the relationship collapses. It did not matter if Chair Spilman or Chair Baldwin happened to be an award-winning chair or if Jordan or Fernandes happened to be an award-winning president; what mattered was the perception of the community of the chair's representation of the community. What also mattered was that whether the community felt that its involvement in the decision-making process was taken seriously, rather than simply procedure for appearance. For instance, when Chair Spilman announced to the community on Monday, March 7, "The process [of selecting the president] was lawful, proper and final," and when Chair Baldwin said on May 28, "The board heard you, but decided not to heed," the community perceived the messages to mean that its voice and involvement in the selection was included as part of the procedure, that was it. It did not perceive the messages to mean that their involvement was an important part of the procedure and was taken seriously. In the community's head, it was plain that Chair Spilman was not particularly interested in its voice, no matter how much she argued to contrary, nothing she said could have mattered. The community took what Chair Spilman represented and came up with its own interpretation of the events. The perception lies in the repetition of history: non-signing hearing, ignorant of the Deaf, bullying and

oppressing autocratically. Chair Spilman, unfortunately, did not understand this collective baggage, and how could she have? Equally, Chair Baldwin was clearly puzzled and frightened by the outrage, and maybe understood then her (and the board's) disconnection from the community and that they did not have enough credibility to win the community's trust in the board's selection of Fernandes. More had to be done to win the Gallaudet community's trust.

How was it that the board of trustees with over 51% d/Deaf and the chair Deaf of Deaf family had lost the trust of the community? The community believed that the board was operating under the influence of Jordan; it was believed that Jordan had a lot to do with Fernandes's appointment, as Mark Glaser explains, "In a nutshell, the students, alumni and even faculty believe that the way the Gallaudet Board of Trustees chose Fernandes to be the next president was flawed and that she was not the right choice to lead the institution" (blog October 17, 2006). In his open letter, Ryan Commerson, a Deaf activist, wrote, "The process was flawed from the moment Jordan made a verbal slip during the announcement of his retirement, "president... I mean.. Provost, provost Jane Fernandes." Additionally, the board of trustees was perceived to have been handpicked and influenced by Jordan from the first day of his presidency. The only channel of communication between the board and community was through President's Office. Letters and email sent directly from the Gallaudet community to the board of trustees were sent back to President's Office for screening. Such funneling and screening disconnected the board from the community and essentially distorted the board's perception of the community. This contributed to the perception of the lack of transparency from Jordan's part.

During the 2006 protest, The Buff and Blue published profiles of the board members. Going through the roster alphabetically, each member's ASL proficiency and membership in the Deaf community was scrutinized. Of the 18 members, only eight were perceived as proficient in ASL and members of the Deaf community. Only three were "reportedly not under the spell" of Jordan. Forty-seven people responded to the composition electronically posted on RidorLive, a blog. Deaf Canadian Unhyphenated wrote, "Ugh... we need to do a major cleanup on the BOT panel! Hand selected by IKJ and some probably by JKF, who knows?" (October 24, 2006, 7:43pm). Tom Willard wrote, "Sounds as if practically NOBODY on this board is truly a good representative for Gallaudet" (October 24, 2006, 8:02pm). Chris Woodfill wrote, "The board make up as described is not representative of Gallaudet University thus [Wisconsin's GUAA's¹] third of four demands (can be found in gufssa.com) for 51% of BoT be Deaf Gally Alumni" (October 24, 2006, 8:07pm).

Further evincing the lost trust, RidorLive blogger, the Rush Limbaugh² of the Deaf community, Ricky Taylor, illuminated how tightly knit Jordan, Fernandes, and board members were with each other. Taylor reprinted Trustee Susan Dickinson's emails sent to Jordan, Fernandes, and fellow Trustees. The emails included endearing terms, "love," "dearly love," "bear hugs," and "BOT Brothers and Sisters" (June 12, 2006, 13:43 reprinted, June 16, 2006, 4:09am). Taylor charged:

This email is the proof that Gallaudet Board of Trustees are not impartial and professional in the whole process from the start. Just look at how she addressed to

¹ Gallaudet University Alumni Association. There are chapters in many major cities where alumni of Gallaudet University gather to meet and socialize. <http://www.gallaudet.edu/x438.xml>

² This is purely my characterization, because Taylor's blogs can be quite controversial because of their opinionated and sometime offensive nature.

others, she regarded Jordan and Fernandes as close buddies.

It is extremely important that we go after these self-absorbed individuals who claimed to do a good thing for Gallaudet community. They were simply lying through their teeth. They were not going to choose people for their qualifications, they were choosing their own friends in the best interests of Gallaudet University (June 16, 2006).

Perceived to have had practiced cronyism, Jordan, Fernandes, and the “IrvingBoT” had no credibility, and were therefore a danger to Gallaudet’s future.

As we have seen, Jordan and Fernandes were not necessarily the opposites of Davila, Corson, Weiner, or Stern; rather, every single individual eligible for leading the university was deaf, in terms of a shared physical characteristic, a member of the Gallaudet community, and use ASL. Or were any of the individuals essentially more or less of a pharmon, except in the perception of the Gallaudet community? How did the way the individual behaved, made decisions, communicated his decisions with the community, interacted with the community, formulated policies and positions, reveal his views about Gallaudet University as a institution for the Deaf, and if the views collided with the community's, regardless of the leader's intentions or motivations, the community became distrustful.

This was important, because Jordan and Fernandes represented different things to different communities, depending on what their accomplishments, policies, positions, and administrative actions mean to those communities. For instance, while Jordan's and Fernandes's accomplishments and actions probably struck the communities outside Gallaudet as appropriate, as they were acting within the capacity of their jobs and in the

interest of the institution as an educational setting, they did not bode well for the Gallaudet community. Colored by the Deaf past with bullies unsympathetic to ASL and Deaf culture, Jordan and Fernandes acted in familiar ways or repeated the parameters of behavior of the bullies. Regardless of their laudable pasts as administrators, their perceived paternalism and autocracy cost Jordan respect and Fernandes both respect and job.

This was also important, as Jordan and Fernandes were not able to successfully reconcile their commitment to the institution as an educational setting and with their Gallaudet community. Both Jordan and Fernandes were committed to act in the interest of the school and according to the expectations of the Department of Education and the MSCHE. This included carrying out the mission of the institution to serve deaf and hard-of-hearing students regardless of their backgrounds. The Gallaudet community wanted something else; it wanted the school to embody ASL and Deaf culture. This included requiring courses in ASL as well as English, recognizing ASL as the language of the Deaf, and formulating the Sign Communication Statement to reflect the institutional commitment to ASL and Deaf culture. Jordan and Fernandes clearly tried to reconcile these two agendas, theirs and the community's, but failed. Their resistance to making ASL and Deaf culture the center of the school was a mere repetition of the age-old resistance that we read about in *Through Deaf Eyes*.

This leads me to the next important point: Jordan's and Fernandes's interpretation of democracy, the process of including the community in making and acting on decisions concerning developing and revising the curriculum, writing the Credo, Mission Statement, Sign Communication Statement, and working collaboratively with different

parts of the Gallaudet community. Their idea of democracy included acting upon their commitment to the institution and communicating their actions with the community. It also included appointing people to serve on committees that advised them on decisions, and the recommendations and action plans were then communicated with the community. Finally, it included controlling communications between the community and the board of trustees, limiting them to the President's Office. The community's interpretation of democracy included acting on shared ownership of the institution. This meant making the institution the community's, and this included making ASL and Deaf culture the center of the Gallaudet life, not as one of many ways of being deaf, like Jordan and Fernandes emphasized. In Jordan's open letter responding to the ASLnow protest, he insisted on making the institution inclusive by welcoming students, faculty, staff, and alumni of all signing skills, communication preferences, and hearing and speaking skills, and to make ASL the language of the institution would exclude those who were not fluent in ASL or a member of the Deaf community. The ASLnow protest in 1997, and the Unity for Gallaudet protest in 2006, claimed the contrary: to not make ASL and Deaf culture the center was to exclude. That was audism; that was to deny the central part of Deaf life. That was perpetuating the spirit of oppression.

In the view of the Gallaudet community, democracy for the community included choosing its representatives to serve on committees for the administration. The representatives had to represent the community; they could not align themselves with the agenda of the administration. The administration could not choose representatives without risking accusation of handpicking individuals who would be unfriendly to the agenda of the community. Community-chosen representatives were expected to share the

results of the committees work and solicit voice and vote on things. The community expected the administration to accept and act on the recommendations and communicate those with the entire community. These would bode well for collaborative – and inclusive – operation of the school.

The designation of poison pharmakon attributable to Jordan and Fernandes stemmed from repeating the significations of marginalizing ASL and Deaf culture, thus affirming the truth about deafness and sign language (and oralism). In Derridan terms, through their administrative behaviors, they were repeating what was “true”, and through repeating the truth - as perceived by the community - the repetition represented and presented the behaviors representative of those advocating oral-only education and nation. Jordan's pharmakon as a remedy in 1988 evolved to poison through the representation of his administrative behavior. Fernandes's was poisonous from the first day, tainted by Jordan's unilateral appointment of her and strikingly similar administrative behavior (think repetition, signification, and truth squared).

All of this colored by the Deaf past. Experience colors perspective, and informs fear and doubts as well as desires. The repetition of the truth sparked fear and doubts about Jordan and Fernandes's security in their commitment to ASL and Deaf culture while acting within their commitment to the institution. The Deaf past also sparked desire for diversion from the past and affirmation for ASL and Deaf culture. Jordan and Fernandes proved to be obstacles to that desire and promoted fear and doubt; as a result, the Gallaudet community revolted.

What Truth?: A Look at the (dis)continuity in discourse and knowledge

Chapter 5

According to Michel Foucault, “truth is already power” (“Truth and Power” 75). Truth in itself, apart from the question of “illusion, alienated consciousness, or ideology,” is given the power “as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation, and operation of statements” which defines discourse (74). Truth consists of “rules of statements which are accepted as scientifically true” (54), and is “profoundly enmeshed in social structures” (52). Power is given to truth through “a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it” and is therefore “a 'regime' of truth.” (74). In order to sustain the production of truth, continuity – maintaining the regime of truth in discourse – must occur. When discontinuity – interruption of the regime of truth – happens, a new regime of truth competes with and can push aside the old one.

Both Deaf President Now and Unity for Gallaudet protests challenged the continuity of the discourse with discontinuity, and forced the underlying frustrations associated with the lack of the power to surface. This chapter will explore the continuity and discontinuity of the concurrent discourses (I say “concurrent” because the old regime of truth never dies, and the new regime of truth never totally prevails). We will look at the language of the philosophy, mission, vision, and communication statements, before and after the protests, and discuss how they had instituted the regimes of truth. We will also look at the structuring of the general education curriculum and how they had also instituted the regimes of truth. I will be looking at two catalogs, first for academic year 2006-2007, the last before the post-protest changes were made, and the second for

academic year 2008-2009, which reflects the changes (or not). Because I am looking at the history of deaf education for the history of continuity, bulk of my discussion will center on that. The most recent catalog will be looked at to reflect the discontinuity.

This is important in the same way that Dick Hebdige indicates how architecture communicates a tacit set of beliefs in *Subculture: the meaning of style*: “Most modern institutes of education, despite the apparent neutrality of the materials from which they are constructed (red brick, white tile, etc.) carry within themselves implicit ideological assumptions which are literally structured into the architecture itself” (12). Such ideological assumptions are instituted regimes of truth. We also inevitably structure the regimes of truth into the curriculum at Gallaudet.

Looking at the organization of the general education requirements, and even the language of the catalog communicate “implicit ideological assumptions” (12). By organizing, structuring, and writing the concrete objects, Gallaudet University communicates the regime of truth (the ideological assumptions). Such actions in themselves give power to the regime of truth; likewise, the regime of truth gives power to those actions. They basically feed and feed off each other on power. We do not “see” them, as they appear neutral and “shrouded in a 'common sense' which simultaneously validates and mystifies them” (13). Because the organization of the general education reflects the expectation and practice of the liberal arts education, it appears acceptable, neutral, and appropriate, as Hebdige asserts, “since ideology saturates everyday discourse in the form of common sense, it cannot be bracketed off from everyday life as a self-contained set of 'political opinions' or 'biased views’” (12). What we see and read about the organization, structure, and writing, noting nothing unusual, our minds think

unconsciously (or automatically) within the framework of the ideological assumptions. Indeed, when we arrive at Gallaudet, our minds respond automatically to the ideological assumptions there.

One instance is “the categorization of knowledge into” academic departments which place “different disciplines in different buildings” (12). The categorization in itself tells of the ideological assumptions. Let's look for example at “On the Abolition of the English Department,” which commented “on the paper presented by the Acting Head of the English Department at the University of Nairobi”: Ngugi Wa Thiong'o challenged “the primacy of the English language and culture” that accompanied the existence of an English Department at an African university, “in an African situation and environment” (439). The existence of the department lay bare the “underlying” suggestion and “basic assumption that the English tradition and the emergence of the modern west is the central root of our consciousness and cultural heritage” (439). African, not English, literature should have been instituted as the center of “the study of the historic continuity of a single culture” (439). Instituting a Department of African Literature and Languages in place of the English Department would have effectively brought in a different grid of thought – the African “stream” - centered upon the African consciousness and heritage, which placed English language along with other colonial languages under the satellite of African literature (439).

In the same vein, the language of organization of Gallaudet University as an institution as described in the Undergraduate Course Catalog has been informed by the underlying assumptions about deafness, deaf education, and language. The ordering of thought – the stream – in the operation of the school suggests that the larger – hearing –

society is supposed to be “the central root” of the school's “consciousness and cultural heritage” (439). Keeping in mind that English is the predominate language of the United States, Gallaudet has taken on the task of including as much English instruction as possible in the undergraduate curriculum. As the language of Philosophy of Gallaudet - which spells out the philosophy of education and serves as a preamble to the undergraduate curriculum - suggests, the school with its liberal arts education had the responsibility of preparing deaf and hard of hearing students to swim successfully in the English hearing mainstream:

The undergraduate programs of Gallaudet University intend to produce graduates who are well-informed about the world around them, about our civilization and its achievements, and about themselves as human beings. Students will ultimately be able to exercise the power of sound independent judgment necessary to enable them to provide leadership in both the workplace and the community. The undergraduate curriculum will provide students with a foundation for lifelong learning by offering opportunities to develop the skills, knowledge, and understanding needed for productive and fulfilling citizenship in a diverse and interrelated world. Gallaudet graduates will, as a result, have the competencies required to be competitive in their post-graduate endeavors (Catalog 2008-09, 1).

The language in this year's catalog is unchanged from the 2002-2003 catalog, the last archived electronic copy. The statement of philosophy suggests that the institution's responsibilities are threefold: first, it has the responsibility of preparing students to become well-versed in the happenings in the world, its history of development, and their own humanity; second, it has the responsibility of instilling in students a strong sense of

accountability; third, it has to supply its students with the proper tools for living as good citizens. As a result, the institution hopes to produce highly competent graduates armed with all the proper tools for succeeding in the hearing world. The language assumes the institution will take in students presumably unworldly, arriving with less than sound judgment and lacking the proper tools for success and mold them into ideal citizens. The statement makes no reference to the fact that the graduates are deaf and hard of hearing, and in a few instances, ASL-using hearing. It may not be vital or even relevant, but the omission is telling, as I will show in a moment.

Structured into the statement are implied formulations regarding deafness, deaf education, and citizenship and Gallaudet University as a (the?) site for normalization activities (which means trying to make students as hearing-like as possible). Embedded in the language of normalization for citizenship is canonical deaf education. Harlan Lane cites a few of professional journals that have characterized deaf children as “psychiatrically devastated,” and one was quoted to say, “Suspiciousness, paranoid symptomatology, impulsiveness, aggressiveness have been reported as typical of deaf adults” (35). Lane also catalogs many of the characterizations found in various journals, including “childlike,” “dependent,” “morally undeveloped,” “unsocialized,” “conceptual thinking poor & concrete,” “reasoning restricted,” “self-awareness, poor,” “unaware,” “immature,” “emotionally disturbed,” and “temperamental” (36). These are the products of “a whole tradition of discourse,” which make for a regime “in discourse and forms of knowledge” concerning deaf children and adults (the dispossessed) (Foucault 52, 54). The professional journals institute regimes of truth, and thus become “the web of power,” which leads to canonizing knowledge about deafness and deaf education.

Gallaudet University has carried within it this canonized knowledge and has taken on the mission of “socializing” its “subjects into the state,” as has been the tradition and duty (real or imagined) of any “Western university” (Ferguson 59). The goal is to basically elevate its students to defying the stereotypes of deaf education “on their way to achieving national ideals of equality and recognition” (Ferguson 59). Gallaudet hopes to produce graduates that are morally developed, socialized, mature, aware, and even-tempered, and thus “competitive in their post-graduate endeavors” as ideal citizens as every school seeks.

While this is altruistic on the surface, it is actually paternalistic, as it perpetuates a regime of truth which portrays deaf individuals as stunted beings in need for remediation. Lane writes, it is “a system under which an authority undertakes to supply the needs and regulate the conduct of those under its control’ – the definition of paternalism” (37). This happens not in a vacuum, but as a result of the “superimposition” of hearing values upon the world of deaf individuals, creating the “task” of “civilizing” them (37). Until relatively recently, those who have led and managed Gallaudet University, be it the board of trustees, faculty, staff, or other stakeholders (who can include advocates of oral and hearing education) have structured the institution according to this regime of truth. The university library, the Merrill Learning Center, the center of knowledge, make the only officially recognized university discourse.

The omission of the most important feature of the institution – students as deaf and hard of hearing individuals – from the statement of philosophy may indicate its “unmentionable anxiety about nonnormativity,” which Roderick Ferguson defines as a deviation from normality (60). Like any university, it wants to “declare its fitness for

citizenship, mobility, and normativity,” and contain the “internal discourse of [nonnormativity] within and around the college” (61). That includes all things unfamiliar (and also freakish) to the outside, and that is ASL and Deaf culture. So to promote its goal of normalization, the deviancy is written out of “the material space of the college” at the core, the curriculum (61). Mission, vision, communication statements are the only instances “deaf and hard of hearing” is mentioned in the Undergraduate Catalog, and these do not concern directly the education of the deaf but the (celebratory) idea of Gallaudet as the only liberal arts university for deaf and hard of hearing.

Before the so-called curricular reform in the wake of the 2006 protest, the statement of philosophy was followed by four “Goals of the Undergraduate Curriculum” that clarified the goals (and the core values) of the institution. They were as follows, “Communication and Literacy,” “Inquiry and Critical Thinking,” “Human Experience and Knowledge,” and “Self-Awareness, Ethics, and Social Responsibilities” (Catalog 2006-2007, 1). Each one began with the sentence, “The curriculum will provide...,” which implied its students as receptors of the core values and canonical deaf education's “extension of humanity to the dispossessed,” as if it and it alone would have made deaf and hard of hearing fully human (Ferguson 55). The receptors were “ethically obliged” to adhere to the mold of the institution's ideals of American citizenship. When its graduates successfully completed their undergraduate education, they had been “normalized” for the sake of American “unity” and deemed ready to join the hearing English speaking mainstream (at least in theory) (Ferguson 55).

The goals of the undergraduate curriculum were a part of the continuity of deaf education discourse. Especially illuminating was Communication and Literacy as the

first goal: “The curriculum will provide an educational experience that has a primary focus the enhancement of literacy and the ability to communicate in an appropriate manner to a variety of audiences. Specifically, students will be able to understand and convey ideas clearly through reading, writing, public speaking, and interpersonal communication” (Catalog 2006-2007, 5). Literacy as the “primary focus” was as old as deaf education, as Lane explains that education was never the focus of deaf education, English was and always has been (134). He cites Robert Johnson and Scott Liddell's study which indicated that teachers of hearing pupils had never relied on English as “the method” for teaching different subjects; teachers of deaf pupils, on the other hand, relied totally on educating literacy, orally and/or written, using other subjects as models of good English (134). To accomplish this, teachers relied on English in their communications, including total communication, which meant employing “every means of communication available to communicate with deaf pupils: manual language, finger-spelling with the manual alphabet, writing, speech, pantomime, drawing – whatever” (133-4). The Communication and Literacy goal substantiated the discourse that deaf and hard of hearing children and adults generally had poor literacy. The language of the Communication and Literacy goal is gone now, replaced with “Language and Communication” (with totally different articulation of goals) as one of the five “Student Learning Outcomes,” which I will delve into in a moment.

The regimes of truth, also known as body of knowledge, is basically the “effects of truths [which] are produced within discourses which in themselves are neither true or false” (Foucault 60). Without discourse, we would be left without truths and knowledge. Knowledge about deaf education, neither true or false, comes from age-old discourse

mediated through “systems of power which produce and sustain it” (74). These systems of power include doctors, audiologists, speech and hearing therapists, teachers, schools, programs, parents, conferences, newsletters, magazines, and scholarly and pedagogical journals. Production and sustainment happen in several ways. First, through professional publications, scholars and researchers write within the profession, quoting from previous publications to substantiate their claims. This also happens through professional conferences where older works are quoted. Second, doctors and other professionals not familiar with deafness normally refer to these journals for information, and then act upon the information, which in itself is sustainment. Parents with deaf and hard of hearing babies rely on medical professionals for guidance, and operate on the information they get. Third, through the structuring of deaf education with English education as the center, teachers study and rely on each other for advice and guidance in teaching deaf and hard of hearing students. Graduate programs in deaf education design and build their curricula around English language education, and the graduates take with them that training and knowledge as they embark their careers. In *The Mask of Benevolence* where Lane explores these systems of power and the production of the discourses and their devastating consequences. His investigations are historical, as production of the discourse is historical. Through substantiating the discourse about literacy, the old Communication and Literacy goal statement reinforced that regime of knowledge; in return, that regime gave Gallaudet the power to articulate the goal. The new Language and Communication goal proves to challenge that regime of knowledge, diminishing its power.

Also built into the production and sustainment of the literacy discourse are the

English course requirements for graduation prior to the curricular reform. Four clusters of English tracks, grouped according to the level of literacy from honors (H) to supported (S), were listed first under “Foundation Courses” (Catalog 2006-2007, 27). Except for honors and accelerated English courses, which were two- and three- semester courses, respectively, students were required to take four semesters of reading and writing courses. Students whose reading and writing scores fell below Gallaudet's definition of literacy readiness took at least one semester of non-credit English as a Second Language course, and many frequently took at least four semesters. And then they went on to take a total of twenty-four credit hours of supported college English, six credit hours each semester (27). Four semesters of regular college English counted for a total of twelve credit hours, three each semester. A bulk of Gallaudet students qualified for the supported and regular college English tracks; a small group qualified for the honors and accelerated tracks. This basically meant taking required English courses for four semesters out of their eight- or nine-semester (or more) stay at Gallaudet. More if they started in the English as a Second Language program, since the credits for those courses did not count toward graduation.

On top of foundation English courses, students were required to take four writing enhanced courses (WEC) – a total of twelve credit hours “in order to graduate,” assuming that students start as freshmen at Gallaudet (rules differ slightly for transfer students) (27). Those WEC were staffed with faculty trained in writing enhancement and prepared to assign writing assignments that included extensive writing support. That would have meant thirty-six plus credit hours of English courses for ESL students, twenty-four plus hours for regular students, twenty-one hours for accelerated English students, and twenty

hours for honors students. This was significant (and impressive), since like The Mission Statement said (yes, in past tense, as it has since been rewritten), “The University extends its activities to a worldwide audience through a network of regional centers, international agreements, and public service and advocacy efforts,” the curriculum centered around English instruction served to substantiate the canonical deaf education (Catalog 2006-2007, 3). The schools, residential, day school, or mainstream, looked at Gallaudet, whether as an inspiration, resource, or curiosity, and saw that what they were doing corresponded with what Gallaudet was doing. This was empowering, as it affirmed the canonical deaf education web of power. It was compelling and difficult to counter, especially since Gallaudet was “the only liberal arts university in the world designed exclusively for deaf and hard of hearing students” (The Mission Statement, 3).

Especially compelling was the salient lack of ASL classes as foundation courses. LIN 101, Sign Language and Sign Systems, did not count, since the course focused on the linguistics of sign language and ASL was not the center, but one of the four topics that the course covered (Course Description, Catalog 2006-2007, 110). The other three topics focused on sign language as signs system and its variation and major features. This course fell under the “Heritage and Self-Awareness” category, satisfying the fourth of the four old Goals of the Undergraduate Curriculum, “Self-Awareness, Ethics, and Social Responsibility” (Catalog 2007-2006, 1). The three other courses along with LIN 101 were offered, each for three credit hours, with which CAP 101, First Year Seminar, was a requirement, and the remaining three were available for students to choose from in order to satisfy the required six hour for that category. This meant some students had the option of skipping LIN 101, hence the possibility of graduating with absolutely no

exposure to ASL in academic sense throughout their college career. This was despite William Stokoe's successful ASL research at Gallaudet in 1965, which proved its legitimacy as a language, the language of American Deaf (ideologically speaking).

This elision of ASL from the old curriculum and containment of it within the department of Deaf Studies and ASL as its curator spoke volumes about its place at the institution. The power of truth is told not only through the exercise of speaking, writing, structuring, but also through omission. Or exclusion. This omission affirmed that canonical deaf education did not include ASL and Deaf culture or heritage in the whole schema of educating deaf and hard of hearing students. Canonical deaf education was (and still is) also supported and approved by the U.S. Department of Education, qualifying Gallaudet for federal appropriation of at least 100 million dollars every year. Through the structuring of the old curriculum, which excluded ASL and Deaf culture studies, the “dominant discourse” was “supported by institutional funding, by the provision of buildings and staff by the state, and by the respect of the population as a whole” (19). “The population” included professionals and stakeholders who also bought into the continuity of the discourse.

Also at issue was the structuring of the old curriculum designed to push forward the “national ideals of equality and its promise of upward mobility” (Ferguson 63). Students had to complete “the requirements of the General Studies Curriculum” of 54 to 60 hours (Catalog 2006-2007, 27). They also had to successfully complete “a minimum total of 124 hours” for graduation (27). On top of those hours, all students had to complete up to 80 hours “of approved community service” (27). The general studies courses were categorized according to the four old Goals of the Undergraduate

Curriculum, and for each group, a minimum number of credit hours was listed. Students were expected to meet the minimum for each category for graduation. They were also required to study nearly every discipline, a foreign language (8 hours), communication (3 hours), math (3 hours), physical education (2 hours), world or American history (9 hours), philosophy (3 hours), fine art (3 hours), and this went on and on (27). The structuring of the curriculum was designed to produce model graduates “of the American educational system,” making the students thoroughly American (Ferguson 63). What the curriculum basically did was to dominate and rein in the aberration of deafness in the name of “liberal progress” (63). The curriculum and its “Americanization” of deaf students served to “manage” the deaf “difference” (63). Anything that inspired imagination and discussion about deafness, Deaf culture, and ASL were “the discursive and material rebuke of liberal claims” (63). The Vision Statement, ironically, said, “Our definition of learning is inclusive” and “Respect for all will be a hallmark of everything we do” (Catalog 2006-2007, 3). “The heart and soul of Gallaudet has been and must continue to be quality undergraduate education” (3). These and the almost inhumane number of hours (which the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools had repeatedly said were excessive) were part of the institution's attempts at addressing the “traits attributed to deaf people in the professional literature,” including poor language, restricted reasoning and self-awareness, and lack of intelligence (Lane 36).

Threatening the continuity of the discourse was William Stokoe's publication of *Dictionary of American Sign Language on Linguistics Principles* in 1965 which documented ASL as first, a bona fide language and, second, the natural language of the

deaf. He also garnered support for the Linguistic Research Lab at Gallaudet and founded (and edited) the *Sign Language Studies* as a space for scholarly publications on ASL and sign languages. He also ran a publishing company, Linstok Press, designed for publishing materials related to the study of sign language. These were institutional means for challenging notions about ASL as “a corrupt visual code for spoken English or elaborate pantomime” (“Stokoe,” Gallaudet Press online) and as “Low-level English” (“Declaration of ASL at Gally!” Lockhart Buff n' Blue, September 19, 1997). As a result of affirming the legitimacy of ASL, protests, big and small, erupted on deaf campuses, including Gallaudet University. Indeed, as Katherine A Jankowski explains in her *Deaf Empowerment: Emergence Struggle and Rhetoric*, ASL research by Stokoe and colleagues sparked a sense of pride and autonomy apart from the hearing world, and, as a result, propelled the confidence in the Deaf President Now protest. Protests for deaf leaders also erupted at deaf schools with a lot of success.

Nevertheless, in 1997, ten years later, the curriculum remained pretty much unchanged, spurring the ASLnow protest in fall 1997, demanding making ASL mandatory like English. That protest failed. In May 2006, when the Unity for Gallaudet protest erupted, the activists were protesting against “the system” and “the oppression” but did not effectively articulate what that was, leading to confusion and puzzlement about the protest. They hoped that with the overthrow of Fernandes, a more deaf-friendly person would take lead, because she or he as a statement as a leader fluent in ASL and active in the deaf community would serve as a discontinuity to the continuity of the discourse, tilting the power over to the deaf community.

In his “Dr. Robert Davila, Interim Gallaudet President” vlog, Joey Baer praised

his appointment citing his status as an alumnus of Gallaudet and his ASL fluency, as making him “the right president” (December 13, 2006). At the end, he presented a challenge for Davila saying, “There's a need for more attention on ASL as language. Find more money for ASL research. In the past few years, more and more research shows that ASL is a bona fide language. Using it is beneficial to learning other languages, including English. It's time now. I hope Gallaudet will seriously look into doing more ASL research, because the entire world looks to Gallaudet as the role model, trailblazer, and Gallaudet can be a strong leader and influence” (my translation from ASL to English). In response to the vlog, Deaf Progressivist wrote, “We still don't have a standardized ASL/English curriculum since 43 years ago when ASL was declared a distinct language!” (December 14, 2006, 8:24 am).

The language of philosophy in the Undergraduate Catalog 2008-2009 remains the same as before, but the Learning Outcomes for Undergraduate Education at Gallaudet University have since been rewritten in two main ways: 1) Under “Language and Communication,” the goal is written as, “Students will use American Sign Language (ASL) and written English to communicate effectively with diverse audiences, for a variety of purposes, and in a variety of settings” (1), and 2) Instead of beginning with “The curriculum will provide...”, each goal now begins with “Students will...” The omission of “deaf and hard of hearing” still exists, but that becomes less important, as the structuring of the current curriculum gives equal emphasis to ASL, which lends very much to a new continuity of discourse about ASL and Deaf culture. The rewritten Mission Statement also lends to the new feeling at Gallaudet: “Gallaudet University, federally chartered in 1861, is a bilingual, diverse, multicultural institution of higher

education that ensure the intellectual and professional advancement of deaf and hard of hearing individuals through American Sign Language and English. Gallaudet maintains a proud tradition of research and scholarly activity and prepares its graduates for career opportunities in a highly competitive, technological, and rapidly changing world” (4). The General education requirements changed completely, also, requiring 40 hours of general education study; the individual English courses have been reduced to one and integrated into GSR (General Studies Requirement) courses, where the disciplines – science, math, history, whatever – are to be taught and learned through ASL and written English (at least in theory) (4). These point to the discontinuity of history due to discontinuity challenges.

I am. I am not. I am. I am not: The plucking of the Ox-Eye Daisy of I/i

Chapter 6

In “Not You/Like You: Postcolonial Women and the Interlocking Questions of Identity and Difference,” Minh-ha Trinh discusses how one conceptualizes identity in terms of the binary oppositions of what one is versus what one is not. Identity formation is largely based on “power relations,” where one rejects what she deems as foreign (and possibly unacceptable) to her identity makeup: “Identity is understood in the context of a certain ideology of dominance has long been a notion that relies on the concept of an essential, authentic core that remains hidden to one’s consciousness and that requires the elimination of all that is considered foreign or not true to the self, that is to say, not-I, other” (929).

At Gallaudet, as in many other places, people talk about their identities based on what they are not. For instance, many self-identified hard of hearing students identify themselves as such based on their lack of fluency in ASL. They say that they are hard of hearing because they are better at spoken and/or signed English than at ASL. On the other hand, self-identified Deaf students identify themselves as such because they are fluent in ASL. Interestingly, both self-identified hard of hearing and Deaf students may have comparable audiograms, or the hard of hearing may actually hear less and speak less intelligibly than the Deaf, but no matter. What matters is their perception of fluency in ASL and English, their experience with, personal and collective histories with, and relationships with hearing and Deaf worlds, and their personal desires. These become confluences of individual I/i identities. The self-identified Deaf may conceal (consciously or not) their hearing and speech skills, so as to internalize the ways of the

Deaf, which include voice-off, minimal mouth movements, and isolation from the expectations and mores of the hearing. When they indicate that they hear and speak, which usually happens while ordering from the menu or trying to negotiate a refund, the fellow Deaf are surprised. The speaking and hearing Deaf then experience slight embarrassment tinged with shame for having stepped outside of Deaf World. They generally brush aside that hearing/speaking part of themselves and continue to behave acceptably as Deaf person. What happens is that in order to live as Deaf, their I, they set aside their speaking and hearing side as “i,” a small part, but paradoxically a large part of their identity makeup.

The decision about how to identify themselves and how to become a part of any given group, clique, or organization has a lot to do with sets of expectations. For the Deaf, to speak and hear in the open is to align themselves with the oppressors. This thinking has a lot to do with the collective history of deaf education that emphasized oral and English education at the expense of ASL. On the other side of the coin, to use ASL without voicing or mouthing and to be active in deaf communities is to isolate themselves from integrating with hearing. The conflict is stark: to integrate, one should try to speak and hear, and to get speech and hearing training; to acknowledge and celebrate one's Deafness, one should reject the emphasis on speaking and hearing.

Also at issue are consequences of one's self-identification. For instance, what does it mean when one rejects the emphasis on speaking and hearing, embraces ASL, and proclaims himself Deaf? What does that say about him for those who are self-identified hard of hearing or integrationist? For those who are self-identified Deaf? Would he be militant? Like them? A threat? An asset? What would interacting with him in the dorm,

in the Student Body Government office, or at a party mean? What would having him become class president or student senator with power for making things happen mean? These are a few of many identity-related questions that are constantly interrogated at Gallaudet, Jane Fernandes was no exception; indeed, she served as the embodiment of those questions.

In reporting on the Unity for Gallaudet protest and the resulting termination of her appointment, Jane Fernandes appeared as a victim of rejection by the Deaf community. Brooke Lee Foster explores these views of the protest, including Fernandes's as well as opponents and supporters of Fernandes's presidency. "Dismissed," the heading in *The Boston Globe* says, followed by "Born Deaf, Worcester native and former Northeastern professor Jane Fernandes fought her whole life to fit into the hearing world. But after winning appointment as president at all-deaf Gallaudet University, she was rejected by her own community" (Foster, November 12, 2006). The photograph has Fernandes in a suit smiling mildly. The caption reads, "Jane Fernandes, who attended mainstream schools and didn't even learn sign language until she was 23, says many people at Gallaudet University opposed her because she's not 'deaf enough.' The article begins with a story about Fernandes as a rising star growing up learning how to speak and lip read, speaking French and Italian, learning math, science, and social studies, and then going on to achieve a PhD in comparative literature. Poised as a success story, Fernandes's (short-lived) appointment to Gallaudet's presidency was a milestone, but she faced an "obstacle she couldn't overcome – not deafness, but the deaf community." While her opponents were quoted as saying Fernandes would not make a good president due to her history of poor leadership, insensitivity, and questionable administrative

decisions, Fernandes believed that she lacked support because “she’s not ‘deaf enough,’ meaning she didn’t come from an all-deaf family or attend deaf-only schools.” On the other hand, her supporters cite her stellar professional record, including her PhD, teaching and administrative experience, and publications. Alan Hurwitz, dean of Rochester's Institute of Technology's National Technical Institute for the Deaf, was quoted as saying “She has a PhD. She taught and served as a department chair. She's published articles and served as provost.” These should serve as proof of Fernandes's qualification as president, Hurwitz argues. Another supporter, Shirley Shultz Myers, said of Fernandes, “She a change agent,” referring to Fernandes's plans to recruit more students from mainstream schools. “Still,” Foster concludes her article, “to a segment of the deaf community, Fernandes was an outsider.”

Although Foster acknowledges the opponents' grievances, admitting that “Fernandes made some unpopular decisions [as provost] that came back to haunt her,” she seems skeptical and shares Fernandes's not deaf enough assessment. She structures the article to place Fernandes in the spotlight as a success story as a former oral deaf speaker of multiple languages and someone who discovered and became active in the Deaf community. Foster also implies that “a segment of the deaf community” is the driving force behind the protest. She also suggests that the segment (defined as divided, a portion, or a section) includes culturally Deaf members fluent in ASL opposing speaking, hearing, and mainstreaming.

At the Faculty Staff Student and Alumni (FSSA) meetings and the Unity for Gallaudet rallies, however, there was a nice mix of activists as a whole, including those who grew up oral and discovered Deaf culture and ASL at Gallaudet, have cochlear

implants, communicate using both sign language and voiced English, communicate using cued speech, hearing children of deaf adults (CODAs), and other hearing supporters. They took turns standing up to speak to the crowd, narrating their upbringings, identities as deaf, Deaf, hard of hearing, or hearing, their communication preferences, and affirming the differences among the protesters. “Unity for Gallaudet” was the chant and that meant no more audism and racism, and to remove those isms included removing Fernandes. That Fernandes told the media that she was not deaf enough angered the protesters who saw that as her trying to manipulate the media to make the activists look bad. During the 6:30PM CBS news on Friday, October 27, 2006, LaToya Plummer said, “People are saying we are protesting because [Fernandes] is not deaf enough; that's not true. She's deaf to our concerns” (my translation from ASL to English). This included her refusal to acknowledge the gist of the protest: her poor record as an administrator and perceived audist and racist attitude.

However, Fernandes and the media's take on the protest was not entirely wrong: when the protest first erupted in May 2006 soon after the announcement of Fernandes's appointment, placards saying, “not deaf enough” and “Fernandes, you DO NOT represent us” dotted the campus. Flyers explaining how Fernandes was not qualified to lead had “not deaf enough” as one of the reasons. Protesters taking turns to speak at rallies talked about how Fernandes was not deaf enough. Blogs, including Ridorlive.com, DeafDcBlog.com, extensively discussed her deafness or lack thereof. When the protest resurrected after a four-month hiatus in October, however, the message shifted over to Fernandes's oppressive management style. Indeed, “not deaf enough” morphed into “deaf to our concerns.” But, despite the protest's attempts to separate itself from the “not

deaf enough” message focusing instead on Fernandes's competence, a few Deaf individuals, the media, public, and Fernandes believed her lack of deafness was the issue.

Despite the seemingly reactive tone of the messages of the protest, they were manifestations of age-old discussions about what Deafness, Deaf World, and ASL meant. When does one become Deaf? What are the costs? What does one gain or sacrifice to get into Deaf World? Who are (or are not) members of the deaf community? Is the community fragmented? Or is it diverse? What is culturally Deaf? What is (and is not) ASL? Who uses it and who has authority over the language? These questions came to the fore with the appointment of someone who did not strike the Gallaudet community as an ideal Deaf president. The process of discussing why she was not became chaotic and sloppy, because no one had the right answer, thus the protest became a space for working through those discussions. This space, probably unfortunately, became public via the media and the discussions framed by two extremes, integrationists on one end and culturally Deaf on the other.

In reality, however, many people in the deaf community fall somewhere between the extremes, and many move between the extremes. Fernandes is no exception. Neither is Jordan. Or are Davila and Corson, deaf candidates for presidency in 1988, or Stern and Weiner, deaf candidates for presidency in 2006. As this chapter will explore, identity politics in the deaf community is highly complicated and holds potential for volatile discussions that can affirm or cause pain.

In Foster's “Dismissed” article, the protest's “not Deaf enough” argument became monolithic and Fernandes is the flexible one whose goals included making Gallaudet “inclusive” for everyone and recruiting students from all kinds of background. She was

also portrayed as someone who grew up struggling in non-signing environment and succeeded and as someone who found the deaf community and became active. Hers was a story of a hero spurned by “a segment of the deaf community.” Foster was responding to what she thought was a foreign aspect of the protest, particularly the not Deaf enough argument. Foster also found Fernandes whom she could identify with, because although born deaf, Fernandes's background was something that was familiar and her goals for an inclusive university made sense. On the other hand, Foster found the activists as a group she could not identify with and their grievances puzzling, particularly since Fernandes was appropriately qualified and the university was supposed to be for everyone, not for a small group of people. In short, Foster understood and identified with Fernandes a lot better, because Fernandes was a lot less foreign to Foster than the activists. Foster and Fernandes shared an “I” and the activists were the “others”.

Ironically, for the Gallaudet community, Fernandes (and Jordan) had a monolithic, singular perspective about what it meant to have an inclusive university, which included recognizing Deaf culture and ASL as a segment of the community and refusing to make the university Deaf-centric and to recognize ASL as a bona fide language of the university. They kept on arguing that there was “more than one way to be deaf,” including diverse but equally important modes of communication and hearing. To make Gallaudet Deaf-centric with ASL would have been to exclude those who do not consider themselves culturally Deaf or fluent in ASL.

The protest argued a different vision for an inclusive university, which included members of all backgrounds coming to Deaf World of Gallaudet where both English and ASL are equally important. They believed that to push Deaf culture and ASL into a

segment of the larger Gallaudet community was to deny the essence of Deaf World, to separate Gallaudet from Deaf World, thus making it foreign, a non-I, when the opposite is actually true: Gallaudet is Deaf World, or the capitol of it. This was not to suggest that only culturally Deaf fluent in ASL were welcome on campus; rather, this was the place where everyone comes and continues to be or becomes members of Deaf World and to continue to be or become fluent in ASL and English. This was the place where members with infinitely layered 'i' come together to tell stories of surviving oral education, non-signing family dinners, misunderstandings, broken lines of communication, and torn sense of loyalty toward their people and non-signing families. In short, the protest was trying to make Deaf culture and ASL as the I of the university, rather than an 'i'.

In Fernandes's and Jordan's perspective, however, making Gallaudet the university for the deaf, in terms of hearing loss, an encompassing 'I' where members of the Gallaudet community have a shared physical characteristic was important. Also important was a shared way of communicating, which is sign language, be it ASL or otherwise, which are different i's. This way, everyone who comes feels included and welcomed with their i's. With this, they view the activists' vision as monolithic and themselves as flexible, and the media agrees.

This line between what makes the university an I as opposed to an i happens when one tries to define the institution according to his interpretation of what it should stand for or mean. The first possible definition lies in whether it meant a neutral place where deaf education is available to all deaf and hard-of-hearing students and hearing graduate students interested in working in deaf settings. The second possible definition lies in whether it meant the place where Deaf World thrives and is open to all deaf and hard-of-

hearing students and hearing graduate students who want to partake in it? One could imagine a third or a fourth possible definitions, but for this protest, these are the two definitions. What would it mean if we adopted the first definition? The second? What messages would the institution send out?

Gallaudet University had operated on the first definition by default, and the message for potential students, their parents, the government, donors, and advocates was that it was a school open to everyone. But for those already in the Gallaudet community, being told that Deaf World made for a segment of the community, an 'i', was to marginalize their essence, and to make most important the learning of skills necessary for integration after graduation, and those skills did not include learning about Deaf culture and ASL. Deafness, Deaf World, and ASL were unique but exotic qualities about Gallaudet limited to the segment – Deaf Studies department is an example – as their curators. As a result, they assumed an aesthetic and historical value unique to the Deaf community. This also resulted in giving members of the Gallaudet community choices about whether to thrive in Deaf World or not. This then led to questions about whether they could join, and if they did, what the benefits and costs would have been. This ambivalence was understandable, particularly for those who grew up in environments that were not of Deaf World or ASL and were wondering whether they would have been ridiculed if they tried to join Deaf World or speak ASL. If there were any doubt about the foreignness of Deaf World, the institution's relegation of Deaf World into a segment pretty much confirmed it.

As students wrestled with whether to take on a Deaf 'i', or any other 'i', they thought in terms of what Trinh-Ha describes: “Identity, thus understood, supposes that a

clear dividing line can be made between I and not-I, he and she: between depth and surface, or vertical and horizontal identity; between us here and them over there” (929). For instance, students whose oral background (like Fernandes's) was their 'I' as soon as they arrived at Gallaudet, and then decided to take on a Deaf 'I' would find themselves feeling like they had to relegate their oral self as 'not-I'. Ditto for those who took off their cochlear implants and those who moved from signed English to ASL as soon as they arrived at Gallaudet. They adopted the 'I' in terms of Deaf World and buried the 'not-I's' in order to get accepted into Deaf World. The process included distancing themselves from things considered taboos in Deaf World. On the other hand, many students went through their years at Gallaudet without ever taking on a Deaf 'I' or even 'i', staying with groups with similar 'I' and graduating as speaking and hearing deaf and hard-of-hearing individuals as they had been all of their life. In the school cafeteria, one would have seen tables symbolic of the 'I' that each one assumed. One would be culturally Deaf, whether the members at the table came from all-Deaf families, signing or non-signing hearing families, Deaf schools, or mainstream schools, or a little bit of everything. One would be oral-only table, whether the members wore cochlear implants, hearing aids, voice while signing, or spoke without signing, or a little bit of everything. Another would be swinging between deaf and hard-of-hearing, whether the members signed somewhere between signed English and ASL, depended on cochlear implants or hearing aids, but still wanted to use sign language, and wanted to live in both worlds, Deaf and hearing, but did not want to live exclusively in one or the other world.

What we saw was that as students went through the process of deciding their 'I's and 'not-I's', they experienced what Trinh describes as “a search for that lost, pure, true,

real, genuine, original, authentic self, often situated within a process of elimination of all that is considered other, superfluous, fake, corrupted, or Westernized” (929). They did this continuously from the day they noticed that they stood apart from certain groups; they continuously questioned their identity makeup, deciding what they were (and were not), thus taking on what was pure, real, and authentic, and rejecting the other, superfluous, fake, or corrupted. For the culturally Deaf, mouth movement, voice, cochlear implants, and hearing aids were corrupted, as I will demonstrate below. As a result, students drew themselves to others with similar (or familiar) identity makeup, and were at home amid the foreign. This was a natural way of thinking about one's identity (not in terms of essentialism but a thought process common to western Europe and America), but as Trinh-Ha shows, this disallowed fluidity in having multi-dimensional and multi-layered identity makeup (929). The cost of distancing or denying a part of (or foreign) self to make one's 'I' “pure” or “real” was to follow the monolithic, rather than flexible thinking of one's identity makeup. In order to have flexible identity with 'I' as well as 'i's', Trinh suggests replacing conflict with difference; instead of dealing with conflicts in one's identity makeup, deal with differences, not the lack (929). Take Fernandes as an example: as Foster explains, Fernandes grew up oral and then found the Deaf community. In her interview with Susan Boswell for American Speech-Language-Hearing Foundation (January 23, 2007), Fernandes explained that deafness ran in her family, “Being deaf has run in my family for generations. I was born deaf. My mother and one brother are deaf, as is one of my nieces.” But they all spoke, “As with all the deaf people in my family, I grew up speaking.” She also talked about finding the deaf community by accident when she went with her college roommate, who was learning

ASL at the time, to a deaf gathering, “At the club, people were shocked to find out I was deaf and didn't know ASL.” She then had archetypal experience of being inducted into the deaf community and ASL, “They welcomed me and taught me about the deaf community and their language.” Fernandes embraced her oral identity as well as Deaf identity, “By opening myself to this [deaf community] perspective, I was willing to expand the beliefs that I grew up with to become a better person.” She became a more rounded person having both oral and Deaf identities.

Fernandes's life as an oral deaf and Deaf person had influenced her beliefs about how Gallaudet University should have been run, as she explained to Boswell, “I believe that expanding the core [of the university] by becoming more inclusive of all deaf people is the best way – and perhaps the only way – to keep Gallaudet University a strong and viable institution of higher education.” Her definition of “all deaf people” included “everyone who is deaf or hard of hearing” who was “part of the deaf community.” As for culturally Deaf people, they were “a smaller group within that community. This group is bonded by shared norms and the use of ASL.” She further explained her understanding of the values, “They value the use of vision and sign and don't value voice.” She expressed fear that this core, culturally Deaf people, would drive away all others: “At Gallaudet, I see as the core of the university the culture of white deaf people who use ASL as their primary language. As a result of the recent protest, this dominance will continue to grow. Students of color comprise 49% of the current school-age deaf and hard of hearing population, yet they are a small population at Gallaudet. Many of these students are hard of hearing and combine speaking and signing when they communicate. These characteristics don't fit with the Gallaudet core; when they come to Gallaudet,

students must change to fit or leave. Often students of color have left without graduating” (interview, January 23, 2007).

Fernandes either forgot or neglected to mention that those who “are hard of hearing and combine speaking and signing” also included many white students, and they also left without graduating, whatever the reason, given that “Gallaudet graduation rates consistently have been below 50 percent” with the student body 90% white (AP, Washington Post online, February 7, 2007). Fernandes's idea about the Gallaudet core was interesting, too, since the premise was that culturally Deaf people ran the institution and drove away those who did not fit. It would depend on how Fernandes defined “the core,” and it would appear to me that “the core” was actually “the cores” in terms of different segments of the Gallaudet community, including hard of hearing, voicing and signing, culturally Deaf, etc. Who was prominent depended on perception, and if culturally Deaf was deemed the most visible or vocal core as agents for change and as curators of the culture, it was probably because they embodied the idea of American Deaf, authentic, indigenous to what Gallaudet meant, historically and culturally, maybe, and of royalty. Or, they might have sparked anxieties about negotiating identity makeup that included one's deafness and language. Or, their foreignness – in terms of deviation from speaking and hearing to solely visual – made them noticeable and subjected to gaze.

Still, Fernandes was correct in her analysis that culturally Deaf could be brutal at times about speech and hearing. In her Paotie's Green Couch blog, Paotie, a self-identified Deaf blogger, explained what Deaf culture meant, “According to a couple of Deaf political leaders, there is no room for consideration of other deaf or hard of hearing people into Deaf culture,” which suggests exclusivity (Deaf Culture Hypocrisy and Jane

Fernandes, 12/01/2007). Also, “there is no longer a simple requirement that people must only be fluent in American Sign Language (ASL) to gain entrance into a purportedly exclusive country club called, Deaf culture.” To gain entrance, one had to “never criticize ASL, or Deaf culture, or other Deaf people. To be Deaf, you must also worship all things Deaf.” She then posited Fernandes as someone who got into trouble for appropriately suggesting reassessing what it meant to be in the Deaf community. She suspected that one of reasons “Fernandes was run off Gallaudet” was “related to her not having the 'right Deaf attitude'.”

Paotie's and Fernandes's complaints were in light of what Harlan Lane, Robert Hoffmeister, and Ben Bahan explain in *A Journey into the Deaf-World*, “Speaking and thinking like a hearing person are obviously fine, if one is hearing. And speech skills may be helpful in dealing with hearing people in some circumstances. Within Deaf culture, however, between one Deaf person and another, speaking and thinking like a hearing person are disparaged, as are mouth protests when signing (unless they are called for by the ASL signs). Deaf people who adopt hearing values, perhaps even looking down on other Deaf people, are regarded as traitors” (70). Obviously, to be culturally Deaf, one had to have the right Deaf attitude that included adopting ASL and Deaf values and behaving appropriately according to the rules of socializing within the Deaf community.

A large segment of the Deaf community consisted of those educated orally, and who, in order to join Deaf World, disconnected themselves from that past through relinquishing all things hearing. An example of this is illuminated in Bryan K. Eldredge’s study of “Mark’s” (not his real name) negotiation with his present and former identities as

a Deaf man and a former (or “Ex”) oral person, respectively, through ASL. Eldredge is fascinated by how Mark negotiated with his identities using “the signing space to simultaneously represent himself – or, more accurately, two of his selves – at two different stages in his life and to depersonalize a less desirable former, oral self” (256-7). Instead of using the same space in front of himself to refer to himself as a former oral and then Deaf man in sequence – he could do this by signing “oral” on the left side of himself and then sign “Deaf man” on the right side to demonstrate sequence of time, – Mark took to “refer[ring] to himself using both a first-person singular and a third-person singular pronoun” at the same time (257). He did this by signing “Deaf man” in front of his body, pointing at himself (first-person singular) and “oral” behind him, waving or dusting it away as a dead past. This was an example of replacing that oral 'I' with Deaf 'I', thus making the oral past as 'not-I'.

In order to take on the Deaf 'I' and integrate successfully, MJ Bienvenu explains what is and what is not acceptable in her “Can Deaf People Survive ‘deafness’?” chapter in *Deaf World*, edited by Lois Bragg (now Edna Edith Sayers). Bienvenu vociferously accuses the hearing of oppressing Deaf people, mentioning “oppression” six times in six and half pages and alluding to anything that is directly or indirectly oppressive, including medicating deaf people, imposing hearing cultural values on deaf people, and paternalism. She complains stridently of the lack of cultural autonomy in how the community views and defines itself, and says that now that we have suffered the hearing ways, we should “work together to educate everyone about who we are, to help eliminate the pathological perspective of us which is subtly embedded in everyday conversations” (323). In the same article, Bienvenu displays a barefaced dislike for lukewarm deaf

people, “There are also heafies who prefer to work with the ADA, with English transliterators, and although they were probably once members of Deaf Culture, they no longer share the values and beliefs that most Deaf people do” (323). In her footnote, she explains the term, “heafies,” to mean those “who may have attended a residential school and/or know ASL, but prefer to function and communicate as hearing people. They follow hearing norms and behave more like hearing people than Deaf” (324). Those who behave in any way as hearing are qualified as “attitudinally” hard of hearing (323). This definition of Deaf is clear: behave in any way like hearing people and you cannot be Deaf, no matter how well you sign or how poorly you hear. If Bienvenu’s chapter is any indication, the Deaf community can be quite unforgiving toward anyone deemed not behaving totally Deaf, including devaluing anything hearing.

If what Bienvenu says is true, then the Deaf community is full of heafies, and only 10% (if even that) are culturally Deaf. Considering the demographics of the Gallaudet community, only 10% (again, if even that) of the members are culturally Deaf. The rest, Fernandes and Jordan included, are heafies, if not hearing.

Fernandes and Jordan had been quoted as saying, “There are many ways to be deaf.” And that the university should have reflected that spirit. This basically coincided with what Fernandes said in her interview with Boswell: everyone who was deaf or hard of hearing was a member of the Deaf community. Did this indicate fragmentation within the Deaf community in regard to who was in it and who was culturally Deaf? On the surface, it might have seemed so, but on a deeper level to this discussion, the community was not fragmented, but was experiencing an on-going discussion about what it meant to be d/Deaf and to join the Deaf community. This included who decides what.

Despite Foster's reporting of the Unity for Gallaudet activists as those from “a segment of the deaf community,” the activists were actually from all segments, including all kinds of “heafies” as well as culturally Deaf. Their goal included making Gallaudet Deaf- and ASL-centric to which the members of the Gallaudet community aspired to celebrate, regardless of whether they were heafies. For example, Chris Heuer, a hard of hearing English professor who grew up oral and learned ASL later in life, repeatedly stood up at FSSA meetings and the rally meetings to say, voicing while signing, that he had a strong Deaf identity, was a member of the Deaf community, worked in the places for and of the Deaf, but still preserved his oral past, because that was a huge part of who he was. He announced, “I will always voice as I sign, and that is who I am; I can't get rid of it.” He continued, touching upon the gist of the protest: We must accept ASL as the language of the institution, since this is for Deaf people; to deny ASL is to deny the essence of the Deaf. Bienvenu and Bahan, professors of the Deaf Studies Department, cheered, as did all activists.

This is not to suggest that everyone on campus agreed with Heuer. A good number did not care about the protest, and did not participate, as they did not have an opinion about Fernandes or the protest. Or whether they agreed with Fernandes's appointment or not, they decided to respect the board of trustee's authority. A small number agreed with Fernandes's vision for an inclusive university. These included people from all segments of the Gallaudet community. Of course, one would be hard pressed to find anyone from the Deaf Studies Department or anyone culturally Deaf who would not advocate a Deaf- and ASL-centric institution, but we cannot blame them; they wanted the essence of themselves in the very space where that essence had existed but

been long unacknowledged, officially. Think Howard University: its essence is blackness with its African and Caribbean ancestries, including culture, history, and language; this essence has been acknowledged with blacks in leadership positions, the language of the mission, vision, and policies, and the structuring of the institution and curriculum. Black essence. But, of course, within the black community, discussion about what it means to be black is ongoing. Does that make the community fragmented? I think not, in the same way forming a community identity is an on-going process where ideas are talked about and tried.

As the Unity for Gallaudet protest sparked discussion about deafness, Deaf culture, and ASL, the deafhood concept came up. The term, first coined by Paddy Ladd in his *Understanding Deaf Culture: In Search of Deafhood*, is defined as a process of defining one's deafness in terms of how one sees oneself. This process begins with recognizing that one is not a hearing person (or that he does not hear things the same way hearing people do). Then, he decides how he is a deaf or hard of hearing person, where he fits into the society, his relationship with family, friends, and people in general, where his interests lie, his professional options, and so on and on. Ladd explains that there is no one way or the right way to being Deaf, but a very personal process: “[Deafhood] affirms the existence of a Deaf sense of *being*, both within the individual and throughout the collective, which, like a river surging against a dam, cannot rest until it can find a way through that will take it down to a sea of life, where all human souls are enabled both to find their fullest self expression and to interpenetrate each other” (Ladd 4, his emphasis).

The path to that “sense of being” can be a confusing and frightening journey, and can be a lifetime process for a person. As the Unity for Gallaudet protest has proved, the

process is ever changing, as everyone, culturally Deaf included, participate in the conversation about individual and collective deafhood. The Deaf community consists of all kinds of people whose experience with deafhood differs from each other's. The Deaf community is a center for where all segments (positive division, not fragmented) come together. Where do Bienvenu and Bahan fit in all of this? Their discussions were appropriate – in terms of the contemporary and ongoing conversation at the time they wrote. Their discussions belong to them alone, as those are part of their individual deafhood journey. In duration of the Unity for Gallaudet protest, the deafhood discussion came in full force. At many rallies, the activists discussed and debated deafhood. Deaf Studies intellectuals from California State University, Northridge, came and led the discussion.

Deafhood, as defined, makes me think of Trinh-ha's discussion of subjectivity: as such it is something “understood as sentimental, personal, and individual horizon” in the face of “objective, universal, societal, limitless horizon” (931). Because deafhood is an individual process (as well as collective), individuals experience sentimental, personal, and individual self-determination as they think about their identity makeup. The individual process is always messy, as it is always intertwined with the collective process; the individual process is dependent on or informed by the collective process and vice versa, as we will see below, beginning with Kathryn Woodcock.

In the lead-in to her “Cochlear implants vs. Deaf Culture?” chapter in *Deaf World*, Woodcock argues that “When community members fail to conform to community mores, they are in for some old-fashioned schoolyard ridicule” (325). For her, as many other people with cochlear implants, to wear one is anti-Deaf World; it suggests that the

Deaf ears were sick and needed to be cured. Woodcock argues that the perception re-implantation of deaf children as a threat to Deaf World is “misplaced” (326). Instead of fearing cochlear implants, Deaf World should find a way to welcome even those with that technology. “We must not be misled into a spurious argument that can only fragment us” (326). Also, when people with cochlear implants try to join Deaf World, they experience frustration, “Through the process of becoming deaf,³ we lose membership in the hearing group, but the Deaf group won’t let us in” (330). She sympathizes with the “value structure” of the World, but argues that oftentimes people received the implantation as children, and had no choice, or found Deaf World long after the surgery, and other factors. At the time of writing this chapter, Woodcock did not have CI, but had the surgery in 1999 and remains active in the Deaf organizations in Canada and the United States.

Edna Edith Sayers, who edited *Deaf World* as Lois Bragg, in which Woodcock’s and Bienvenu’s chapters appear, underwent cochlear implants surgery in 2005 after years of experiencing evolving hearing acuity that left her completely deaf in her 40’s. Like Woodcock, she is late deafened, but claims membership in Deaf World just the same, as she wrote in her email to me, “in my view, I’m living in the Deaf world.” In describing how people responded to her cochlear implant, she identified folks in the Deaf Studies as those making “mild jokes or slapped me on my back,” while others were “interested” and “happy” for her. While responses to Sayers’s implantation ranged from happiness to mild derision, she had never experienced “any negative response to my face,” although she was aware that “it’s possible people talked.” She ended with “now you tell me if you’ve picked up any gossip about me acting hearing!” This is telling, as Sayers was aware that

³ Not physically, but a process of forming one’s identity as a deaf person.

while she considered herself “radically Deaf,” more so after having the surgery, the perception of Deaf World was that her implantation indicated inclination towards hearingness. She insisted that the implantation served to ease communication with her doctors, mechanics, and other non-signing people, but that was the extent of it, and she interacted with other signing people almost full time. Indeed, upon reporting on her life with the implants to her audiologist, her audiologist was “pretty disappointed that I’m not getting a new life, and tells me so.” Hers was an example of living in the world where she wrote her own rules: while her audiologist assumed that because she had cochlear implants, she would have lived in the hearing world; while Deaf World frowned upon cochlear implants, Sayers could not imagine aligning with either extreme. She was going to live as Sayers with cochlear implants in Deaf world. Kathryn Woodcock shared that sentiment about inhabiting in an extreme, according to Sayers, “like me, she seemed to become more radically Deaf as her implants experience bared some ugly truths about the hearing world.”

Sayers rationally argued,

I view my audio abilities with my 'plant as pretty much the same as Willy Conley's⁴ with his aids, except that he can use the phone and I can't. Carol Padden is reported (by Bruce⁵) to have perfect speech. These people are indisputably Deaf, right? As, I think, Aiello said, why shouldn't I have as good hearing as most of my deaf friends⁶?

These are examples of subjectivity: each individual decides sentimentally, personally, and

⁴ An author of two theatre-related chapters in her *Deaf World*.

⁵ Bruce White, Professor Emeritus of English at Gallaudet and author of “Signing Off” in her *Deaf World*.

⁶ She is referring to Philip and Marina Aiello’s “Cochlear implants and Deaf Identity” chapter in her *Deaf World*.

individually their identities as persons with cochlear implants in the Deaf community.

However, one could argue that wearing cochlear implant is akin to internalizing oppression. By choosing cochlear implants (speech and hearing therapies, hearing aids, or anything aural), they are internalizing hearing oppression. After years of being in an environment where deafness as disability is an embedded part of every day conversations, the structuring of the establishment and the curriculum, and interactions between educators and deaf children, these children absorb the view of themselves as disabled beings who need speech and hearing therapies, hearing aids or cochlear implants. Lane explains, “The more the deaf person internalizes the identity of 'hearing-impaired' proffered by the audist establishment, the more he lends himself to its designs” (89). “Hearing-impaired,” a term often used in educational and medical settings, has disability connotations just as “Deaf” has cultural connotations. This absorption thus becomes a part of the deaf individual's experience and identity makeup. To act on that absorption would be to internalize oppression. That, however, may be a simplistic explanation for a very complicated process of identity formation. Just because one decides to get a cochlear implant, as Woodcock and Sayers have, does not suggest internalizing oppression. To do so would be to impose or simplify the complexity of one's identity. To internalize oppression, one has absorb the view at the expense of the freedom of subjectivity; in other words, the individual has to give up what is close to her, be it wearing cochlear implants openly at Deaf gatherings or risk ridicule. That may be internalizing oppression, but that is for her to decide, as she is the one making the choice. We can see only the surface, not the reality. Additionally, we often see individuals find hearing aids, cochlear implants, or speech and hearing therapies useful, and he takes

something out of it, yet are active in the Deaf community. They live their lives with multiple but highly intertwined identities with Deafness, or deaf person with cochlear implants, or hard of hearing, or.. as their 'I' and the other components of deaf experience and life as 'i's.

Through silence, defined as “a will not to say or a will to unsay,” people with cochlear implants complicate the stereotypical ideas that Deaf World has regarding them and the technology and its threats (Trinh 931). People with cochlear implants (whether they have them on) do consider themselves Deaf. This is not to say, of course, that there are people with implants who do not consider themselves Deaf. Instead of Deaf World totally devoid of Deaf people with cochlear implants, we have a world filled with Deaf people with all walks of life, and cochlear implants are a big part. That cochlear implants have forced themselves into Deaf World, residing in Deaf people's bodies, they have since subverted, freeing themselves from the Deaf-defined context of destruction. Deaf World had long feared that the cochlear implant technology would destruct Deaf World; instead, had added itself, complicating the Deaf identity i/I discussion.

Explaining women's silence as subversive against the larger narrative of feminine as lack or other (or 'not-I'), Trinh writes, “silence can only be subversive when it frees itself from the male-defined context of absence, lack and fear as feminine territories” (931). Silence is not necessarily the opposite of speaking out, but as having “a language of its own” (931). Using Trinh's definition, silence can “be subversive when it frees itself from” Deaf world's framework of particular characteristics or requirements for membership, including cochlear implants. In the same way, it “can be subversive when it frees itself from” the hearing-defined narrative of deficiency, disability, medication, and

integration, as Sayers's narrative shows. Individuals with cochlear implants act as a subversive silence, freeing itself from the hearing-defined and Deaf-defined webs of discourse, developing its own language of celebration and affirmation of their subjectivity.

But not without a price. As Woodcock has demonstrated, they experience some degree of resistance or hostility, because they are perceived not to quite fit in the profile of the ideal member of the world. Aside from the most ideal member - someone born into generations of Deaf family, ASL-only, including at home and Deaf Clubs, and is well-versed in the ways of the Deaf – ideal members should behave in ways that prove that they embrace the ways of the Deaf. This includes using proper ASL, knowing the norms and mores, showing support for the causes, sharing the attitude of Deaf World. The further away the members are from this idealization, the more frosty the welcome becomes. The frostiness lies in the perception that the further away one is from the center (the idealization), the nearer one is to the hearing world, which is a perceived threat to Deaf World.

Deaf World has to welcome the person wanting to join. Woodcock assents to this, “Deaf outsiders arriving in a new community are similarly marginalized until they have proven their membership,” drawing from Padden’s and Humphries’s discussion in *Deaf in America: Voices from a Culture* (Harvard 1988). Indeed, “Deafened adults in their groups share stories of becoming deaf and being rejected and criticized by their local Deaf communities as ‘not really deaf,’ ‘not deaf enough,’ ‘Think-Hearie,’ ‘hard of hearing,’ and so on” (Woodcock 330). Woodcock complains (almost bitterly) about the binary thinking of Deaf World: “In my opinion as someone who has discovered Deaf

world after fifteen years of being hard of hearing and a couple of years as deaf – oral, by default – Deaf world does not need to denigrate the hearing world to be a treasure for all deaf people” (331). In her analysis of Deaf world’s protectiveness, she thinks that it values all things the opposite of ways of the hearing:

Valuing sign language, visual art forms, deaf history and heritage, eye contact, unobstructed sight lines, and illumination are “deaf-positive” values. Disdaining sound and spoken language is “hearing-negative,” enhancing the deaf status only by discounting the status of the hearing (331).

Such polarity, extremes, is configured in what Trinh characterizes as “an outgrowth of a dualistic system of thought peculiar to the Occident⁷ (the “onto-theology” which characterizes Western metaphysics)” (90). In her “Infinite layers: I am not i can be you and me” section in *Woman, Native, Other*, Trinh argues that how we view ourselves, our self-definition, individually or collectively, is largely based on what we are not. Such binary exists in oppositions such as black/white, animals/people, true/false, and so forth, allowing for no continuum, no complication. This lack of “between” existing in “absolute presences” lends to the illusion of “pure origin and true self” (90). Instead, Trinh promotes the idea of talking about ourselves from the “differences grasped *both between and within* entities, each of these being understood as multiple presence” (94, her emphasis). In other words, “I” is, therefore, not a unified subject, a fixed identity, or that solid mass covered with layers of superficialities one has to gradually peel off before one can see its true face. “I” is, itself, *infinite layers*” (94, her emphasis).

Manifested in a language of resistance, through claiming itself as a linguistic minority, an ethnic group, as MJ Bienvenu insists at the end of her “Can Deaf People

⁷ Defined as the countries of Europe and America; the West.

Survive ‘deafness’” chapter, “Let me close by saying that Deaf people are people who also live in America, who speak a different language, who have their own cultural values and norms, who recognize and identify themselves as Deaf and not disabled” (323-4). They also claim child abuse when ASL is denied to children and when oral training is imposed on children. They argue that through denial and imposition, the child’s Deaf identity is denied, thus causing them to feel nothing but insecurity, dissatisfaction, and disconsolation. They testify to those who grew up oral and found Deaf World later in life to say that they finally found themselves. Deaf World has a long history of being welcoming of those with oral education, late deafened, and other atypical characteristics of the world, as long as they embrace Deaf World.

Using Trinh’s theory of constructing I/i’s, we would have a different conversation about ourselves, our deafness, and identities, and thanks to the Unity for Gallaudet protest, this is already happening with the deafhood discussion. Deaf people with cochlear implants, hearing aids, perfect speech, or certain hearing acuities that allow access to the hearing world, would feel less compelled to hide or explain away their hearing-related performances. Instead, Woodcock’s dream that the Deaf community become more welcoming would become real: “The message I wish the Deaf community would send to other deaf people (oral, deafened, implanted) is: ‘What we have is good, and we think it could be good for you’” (332). Woodcock, Sayers, Aiello, and Conley would not have to feel defensive about their performances that put them between Deaf World and hearing world. Regardless of individuals’ histories, Deaf World would see people seeking membership for various reasons, be it that they feel aligned through shared experience, friends, easier communication, fascination, and so forth. Within Deaf

World, there would be communities of people, including those from multi-generation Deaf families and hearing families, those who are CODAs and late deafened, and those who went to oral schools, residential schools, and mainstream schools, and so forth.

Padden and Humphries estimate that the Deaf population is “in the neighborhood of a few hundred thousand” (5). If Deaf World limits itself to those coming from Deaf families, then the world would be quite small, as only 10% of the American Deaf population are born into such families. The remaining 90% are born into hearing families (Padden and Humphries 5). Regardless of whether one is born into a Deaf family, we will see a wide range of Deaf people with infinite layers of I’s, those who do not speak or hear, those who speak with hearing people for business, those who enjoy music, those who ... No one can fit absolutely or neatly into a category; indeed, as Trinh says, “categories always leak” no matter how hard we try to “separate, contain, and mend” (94).

The leak becomes a gusher when we talk about hearing members of Deaf world. Think of those born into Deaf families. While Padden and Humphries explain that “not hearing is not itself a determinant of group identity,” one’s deafness can vary, ranging from “hard of hearing” to “profoundly deaf,” but exclude people who are fully hearing from the list (4). Lane, Hoffmeister, and Bahan make the same exclusion, Deaf people seem to agree that a hearing person can not fully acquire that [Deaf] identity. Even with Deaf parents and a native command of ASL, the hearing person will have missed the experience of growing up Deaf, including attending a Deaf school, and that person is likely to have divided allegiances (70). Divided allegiances in terms of being loyal to both Deaf and hearing; either/or, pick one.

What do CODAs do if and when they live in Deaf World but in the fringes or have their membership tagged with CODA marker? Padden and Humphries are right in asserting, “Hearing children of Deaf parents represent an ongoing contradiction in the culture: they display the knowledge of their parents – skill in the language and social conduct – but the culture finds subtle ways to give them an usual and separate status” (3). Leah Hager Cohen exemplifies the angst re her separate status in *Train Go Sorry: Inside a Deaf World*. She describes her experience growing up living at Lexington School for the Deaf in Queens, New York. Her parents worked there: mother as nursery teacher and father as director of child care (1). The whole family, parents and children, lived on campus. The kids, including Cohen, who’s hearing, went to classes with Deaf kids. Cohen’s grandparents, Deaf, went to school there. She described her childhood dream, “I wanted to grow up and be deaf, be a Lexington student, with all the accouterments: hearing aids, speech lessons, fast and clever hands,” and while a student at the school, she felt that “In many ways I seemed no different from any of my classmates [...]” (10). Yet, she knew she was different, and “One afternoon, while playing with my classmates outside, I sought to remedy my most blatant difference. I selected two pebbles – urban pebbles, rough bits of dark gravel – from the gravel and set them in the shallow cuts of cartilage above my earlobes” (10). She reports being jealous of her classmates’ speech therapy, FM units, deafness, “I never felt so apart. The privilege of being able to hear paled in comparison to the privilege of being close, of sharing that common experience with other children” (11). Cohen’s shared spoken language with her teachers further set her apart, adding to her sense of alienation (11). Then, she explains,

As I grew up, I was slow to realize that the deaf community I had idealized was

fraught with political tensions. I was even slower to understand that my status as a hearing person would forever restrict my membership in that community. For most of my childhood, I continued to nurture a secret belief that I belonged to this special world, and it to me (15).

In *Mother Father Deaf*, Paul Preston explores the split identities, alienation, confusion, and other issues that his 150 CODA subjects experienced. All of them learned the ways of Deaf world and are probably more of a member than those growing up only in the hearing world, but they have one physical characteristic that sets them apart, on the outer fringe of Deaf world. Those 150 CODAs share the same angst that Cohen experiences. They probably partake in the CODA International, an organization for CODAs (coda-international.org/membership.html), which hosts annual conferences. It also hosts artistic endeavors, including stories, poetry, music, performances, comedy, and so forth. The organization also has its own newsletter. In a sense it is a subculture within Deaf World. CODAs have so much Deafness in them, probably making them an 'I' Deaf with hearing identity as an 'i', that they cannot feel that they fully fit in the hearing world or in Deaf World. In the hearing world, they have to negotiate their internalized Deaf values, making them feel at odd or out of place; in Deaf World, they have to negotiate their physical hearing in order to participate in sports events and gatherings. One such example is a GallyNet-L posting by Mongoose Domain announcing the National Racquetball Association of the Deaf (NRAD) annual racquetball tournament in April 2009. To qualify, one has to be deaf: “Only deaf participants are eligible for the tournament. If you're really desperate for cash, just hammer a nail in one of your good ears, and presto, you're eligible :-)” (February 13, 2009).

This is not unusual. Padden and Humphries recount a story told about a hearing son of Deaf parents wanting to play at a local Deaf basketball club. The American Athletic Association for the Deaf (AAAD) forbade hearing people from playing, citing inequitable competition (49). The local club bent the rule and let the hearing son play. It proclaimed the son as hard of hearing, but when regional AAAD officers asked for his audiogram, the club had to kick the son off the team. Padden and Humphries believe that this problem manifested in the club's desire in having the CODA son on the team, because he was a son of the local Deaf family. This son was seen as part of the Deaf basketball family (50). Padden and Humphries recognize the interesting dilemma that hearing children of culturally Deaf families pose in our conversations about who is Deaf: "Hearing children of Deaf parents represent a special problem. They have blood ties to Deaf people as well as knowledge of the customs and language of the group" (50).

The agony that both CODAs and Deaf people feel is understandable, as both wrestle with the long history of hearing domination, and CODAs represent that threat, whether or not they intend to dominate. Also at issue is the status of ethnicity of Deaf World. Presenting his "Ethnicity, Ethics, and the Deaf-World" paper at the 2004 Deaf Studies Today conference, Lane argued that culturally Deaf people are members of an ethnic group, citing the features that qualify Deaf World as such: collective name, feeling of community, norms for behavior, distinct values, knowledge, customs, social structure, language, the arts, history, and kinship (2-3). His goal was to dissociate Deaf World from the framework of disability. Interestingly, nowhere in his presentation do we find one's physical characteristic as a requirement for membership of the ethnic group. Are CODAs part of that ethnic group?

Padden and Humphries explain that “Unlike groups that simply share a class, a profession, or some other casual interest, ethnic groups share a more fundamental human feature such as a religion or a language. Ethnic groups often agitate for statehood or some kind of political self-determination” (114). Using this definition as our frame, CODAs could qualify as bon fide members of Deaf World, if they chose. Like millions of deaf people, CODAs may choose to not be part of Deaf World. The membership is voluntary, and if the world welcomes them, they will claim membership. Of course, there is this long history of hearing domination, and CODAs share the same physical characteristic as the dominator. As Cohen explains, CODAs share a spoken language with the dominator. They can live in both worlds, hearing and Deaf, without effort; while many Deaf people struggle in the hearing world. There is this perception of having an advantage, privilege that comes with having access to the spoken language. The rationale for the AAAD no-hearing-players-allowed rule illuminates this worry; indeed, Deaf people worry that hearing players would take over the game.

We cannot really blame Deaf world, because to admit or recognize hearing people for membership would mean dilution or dissolution of the world with the hearing people infiltrating in it. Deaf World sets itself apart from the hearing world where integrating deaf people, making deafness invisible, and eradicating ASL and Deaf culture are the primary goals, as described in chapter 14, “The Hearing Agenda II: Eradicating the Deaf-World” in *A Journey into the Deaf-World*. Lane, Hoffmeister, and Bahan explain the efforts of implanting deaf children as a way to eliminate Deaf World. Looking at the history of – the dirty origins of – the Deaf community, we can appreciate the resistance to the hearing world. As James O. Goldsborough says in his “There's a Force, and There's

Resistance” article, “Resistance is necessary against concentrated power” (December 4, 2003).

The concentrated power is the hearing world which is perceived as a threat to the survival of Deaf world, as illuminated in Bienvenu’s chapter. In *The Mask of Benevolence* and *When the Mind Hears*, Harlan Lane picks on the concentrated power and places the blame for the ailments, psychological and physical, of Deaf people on hearing people. Deaf Studies as a field has been set up to examine and challenge the discourse about deaf as disability, celebrating Deaf world, ASL, and the community as a linguistic minority. The work of William Stokoe which first identified ASL as a language in 1965, has been a cause for pride and the ethnicity debate. Videos and books have been drafted aiming to get deaf people to acknowledge and develop their Deaf identities. *An Introduction to American Deaf Culture* (1985-1988) developed by Betty Colonomos and MJ Bienvenu consists of exercises for identity-building exercises. The first few pages (and frames in the video) have exercises beginning with the person telling his name, his residential school, birthplace, and family (hearing or deaf). The goal of the entire book is to get people to liberate themselves from the hearing world, affirm their Deaf identities, and become engaged in Deaf world. That incantation sort of thing: “Me, Paige Franklin, deaf school, Atlanta School for the Deaf, later mainstreamed, Atlanta, Ga, hearing family, but grandparents and dad can sign! Mom, where? I don’t know, last I saw her was when I was 3 so, it’s just me and grandparents and dad. Grandparents can sign ok, dad a bit better...” And so it goes.

It is not so simple, however. We have Brenda Brueggemann who is one of the most respected scholars in Disability Studies. With the May Unity for Gallaudet 2006

protest suspended for graduation, which I attended, acting Board of Trustees chair Brueggemann got on the podium and spoke for three minutes, congratulating the graduates. The graduating seniors in front of me looked at each other in puzzlement, “I thought she was deaf?” “Hard of hearing?” “She’s talking orally, how come?” and pointing at her, “Why?” That she spoke was enlightening, especially since the protest was about the selection of Fernandes, someone who was perceived to have done very little to promote ASL and Deaf culture on campus. Especially surrealistic was that she had replaced a culturally Deaf and ASL proficient chair, Baldwin, who quit in the wake of the protest.

She enjoys a successful career at the Ohio State University as Associate Professor of English, coordinator of the Department of ASL, and coordinator of the disability studies minor. She is also a prolific writer and presenter. She has published and presented papers related to deafness, disability studies, women studies, and history. In *Lend Me Your Ear*, she focuses on rhetorical constructions of all things related to deafness, including the rhetoric of deafness, ASL, and culture, the rhetoric of deaf and literacy and disability, and the rhetoric of pathology (audiology) and authority. Her aim for the book is to explore the debates within “three principal arenas: within Deaf communities and strongholds of Deaf culture, at locations like Gallaudet University; within education; and within science – primarily within medical science” (6). The book also explores how these debates contribute to the rhetorical constructions of deafness, education, medication, and/or culture, and failing to give “attention to, communicat[e] with, or regard for d/Deaf person themselves” (6). Illuminating hearing people's failure to listen or regard d/Deaf people, Brueggemann claims, “they have tended not to listen,

not to lend their ears” (6). So with her sexy title, she asks that her hearing readers lend her their ears, to listen to the person of credibility and authority over things related to deafness. Also included are three interludes that include discuss her identity as a deaf person passing as hearing, her speech and speaking skills, and her life in the in-between worlds of the deaf and hearing. This is where Brueggemann gets personal in her narratives, and we get to glimpse in her battle for identity in terms of the binary oppositions: she has to either be deaf or hearing; she cannot be both, pick one. She is happiest when she can be everything, saying when she is with her family, she does not “have to be either-or, but can certainly be both-and: hearing and deaf, mother and scholar, motivated and tired, good and bad” (xii).

Brueggemann’s deafhood journey makes for an interesting discussion, as she claims to be deaf (not culturally Deaf, just “deaf” to denote her hearing status and its associated meanings, including lip reading, selective hearing, and so forth), but does not communicate in ASL. She relies on lip reading and her residential hearing for communication. She works and lives in a predominately hearing environment and her family is all hearing. The only contact with anything related to deafness is through occasional contact with d/Deaf people in professional settings, including conferences and conventions, editing or writing a book or a chapter or an article, and interviews. She has a few acquaintances or professional relationships with those who are d/Deaf.

On the surface, it seems as if Brueggemann is not in Deaf World, whether by choice or by default. However, for a person who is sometimes deaf, sometimes hearing, and sometimes hard of hearing, depending on the context, on how she feels, and on whom she interacts with, her narratives about the frustrations and heartaches that come

with being deaf reflects very much the life as a deaf person, regardless if her readers are culturally Deaf or not. A sampling:

[It] was of my own choosing that one afternoon after I had finished a full day of attending school and then cheerleading a junior high school football game afterward, I faked being grounded to avoid the victory celebration at the drugstore scene – to avoid Cokes and ice cream with ten other eighth-graders crammed into a tiny booth, quipping and joking as I faked interest and understanding, laughing on cue when others did (240).

How can deaf people not relate to Brueggemann's experience? Her deafness impacted on her social life in such big way that she is compelled to adjust and cope with it as only deaf readers can fully understand. It is her experience with deafness that binds her with Deaf World. However, how Deaf World receives her varies, depending on how her scholarship and herself as 'i's and I's are read and by whom. Culturally Deaf people would not view her as someone they could bond with given their Deaf values. On the other hand, other members of Deaf World would find her experience quite useful and bond with her. Even if she could commiserate with her fellow d/Deaf people, she would have to rely on an interpreter to do so with whoever uses ASL to communicate. That alone negates her interaction with some deaf people, despite the fact that she was born deaf like Fernandes (1).

Brueggemann is a success story, as she can talk orally, something that very few d/Deaf people are able to accomplish, and she readily recognizes this: in her "Are You Deaf or Hearing?" interlude, she describes her hearing as the kind - at a point, profoundly deaf – that bars her from hearing many voices. Moreover, in order to learn how to speak

and lip read, she relied on watching people's lips and feeling their throats, just like any other deaf children. How had she successfully learned to speak and lip read, when many others had failed miserably? She does not know exactly why. There is no scientific explanation. But, this "ability to pass as hearing" has contributed to the complicated confluence of Brueggemann's identities: because Brueggemann grew up oral in an all-hearing environment, that became a big part of her identity makeup, making it difficult for her to become Deaf while retaining her oral self. Becoming Deaf would have meant giving up her oral upbringing, and consequently, her family and friends. Indeed, for her, Deaf World is quite unsympathetic about preserving one's identity as an oral deaf, compelling her to "pick." In spite of her struggles as a deaf person, something we all can share, the society, the way it is constructed, based on what is and is not (binary oppositions), has withered up her efforts at learning ASL. She ends her book with, "Yes, finally, I am just me. Stuck between. And feeling successful there," as a deaf, hard of hearing, and hearing person.

Brueggeman, a successful integrationist having overcome her disability, poses a threat for the narrative of Deaf World. She reinforces the grand narrative of integrating, and this includes speaking the spoken language without relying on interpreters, maximizing her speaking and lip reading and hearing capabilities, becoming involved in all things hearing, thus making the Deaf community and ASL unnecessary. Also, the fact that she is Associate Professor of English – a language that a majority deaf children and adults struggle with and dream of proficiency in – reinforces the belief that one's speaking ability translates into proficiency in a language. She teaches non-signing hearing students. She speaks for herself in public. She takes questions in public without

interpreters. She functions as a hearing person. See, one may say, if deaf people would just integrate, they would be fine. Look at Brenda Brueggemann! She has the ethos necessary to appeal to the hearing world, and what she says in her deaf scholarship carries a lot of weight. She also has the pathos, eliciting praise and sympathy and promises for more respect for deaf people who integrate.

This brings us to the discussion of veils as reality and metaphor. Trinh characterizes veil as metaphor as something signified, defined, by a larger society, and when removed, it can have “liberating” effects. On the other hand, “the act of veiling” may be liberating as well (Trinh 930). The acts of unveiling and veiling make me think of what Bosmajian says, “While names, words and language can be and are used to inspire us, to motivate us to humane acts, to liberate us, they can also be used to dehumanize human beings and to ‘justify’ their suppression and even their extermination” (quoted in Bienvenu 320). The removal of the veil may give us what we perceive as reality, but this removal could be a different sort of veil, still, because what we perceive as reality is that, just a perception, our interpretation, individually or collectively. As Trinh explains, “It all depends on the context in which such an act [of unveiling or veiling] is carried out, or more precisely, on how and where [we] see dominance” (930). This corresponds closely to the concept of surface vs. reality: on the surface, as the media saw it, the Gallaudet and deaf communities rejected Fernandes solely because she was not deaf-enough; but in reality, the complexity of Fernandes’s relationship with those communities included the perception of her as unfriendly toward Deaf World.

As with veil as metaphor, perception lies not in deciding the status of something based on the behavior or facade of persons or things involved, but in deciding about

something based on the grand narrative of signification of something, for example, the deaf community as disabled, a community of people needing government assistance, law protection, medical intervention, auditory and speech therapies, and so forth. This influences how hearing communities talk about deaf people and how deaf communities talk about themselves and each other. For instance, within the deaf community, we have those in Deaf World asserting that they are a linguistic minority, an ethnic group, deserving of distinct recognition as members of Deaf culture with ASL. We also have those who do not have a strong claim in Deaf World or the hearing world, but identify themselves as d/Deaf, live as a d/Deaf, may have some mastery in ASL and may have an oral history, and know that by definition, they are disabled beings, but do not feel or act disabled. We also have those who have a strong claim in the hearing world, reject Deaf World and ASL, may communicate in signed and voiced English, or orally only, promote integration, and accept themselves as disabled and work on making themselves more able-bodied. Of course, we have a large group of hearing people who experience changes in hearing acuity and may seek hi-tech help, but because their hearing loss is not an essential point in their lives, just a medical inconvenience, they do not seek the deaf community and continue to live as hearing people as always before. They and their loved ones may learn some signs to make communication visual, but they typically do it purely out of perception of easing communication struggles, nothing more. Those conversations are informed by the metaphor of deafness as disability. Deaf World opposes to that metaphor, of course, but people who grew up hearing and lose it later in life consider themselves disabled. Some oral deaf people agree with that metaphor and actively work to integrate themselves in the hearing world. Some self-identified as d/Deaf understand

that for political reasons they are disabled, but do not feel disabled except in situations where their deafness and communication struggles come into a glaring light.

Early in this chapter, Fernandes was quoted in her interview with Boswell that every deaf person is a member of the Deaf community. This is made possible only when one's subjectivity as a deaf or hard of hearing person (this should be self-identified) is respected in the sense of deafhood, where the journey for a deaf identity is personal and individual. The journey is complicated, however, with the Deaf community wrestling collectively with its identity. What are the costs for redefining Deaf World to include people like Woodcock, Sayers, Conley, White, and Brueggemann? CODAs? What about culturally Deaf? What should the aims of the community be? What are the roles, collectively and individually?

Much of the wrestling lies in what Homi K. Bhabha describes as “the borderline work of culture [which] demands an encounter with 'newness' that is not part of the continuum of past and present. It creates a sense of the new as an insurgent act of cultural translation” (7). We witnessed this during and after the Unity for Gallaudet protest as activists of all walks of life gathered together to talk about what an inclusive university meant. This inevitably led to discussions about what Deafness and ASL meant, and they posed challenges to the traditional way of conceptualizing Deaf World as described in *A Journey into the Deaf-World*. In the traditional quest for cultural independence from the hearing world, it embraced the Deaf values, norms, which have alienated many of the deaf members who did not fit the mold perfectly. And as more deaf members have cochlear implants and oral education, the traditional measurements for membership have to revise themselves to include the “newness” of the reality of Deaf

World. As Fernandes said to Boswell, Deaf culture is here to stay. It has stood the test of time, and it will this time and in the future.

As this chapter has shown, the conversations about individual and collective identities have been messy, painful, and highly political. Foster's assessment in her "Dismissed" article overlooks the complexity of the Unity for Gallaudet protest. To be sure, Fernandes was not the right leader for the university, as she embraced a definition of an inclusive university that the community did not want. Communicating that disagreement, unfortunately, came out all wrong, as the activists were diving headfirst into the thorny mire of identity politics and came out bloodied, but having a much clearer idea of what they wanted.

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