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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Thinking Through Ethics:
The Processes of Ethical Decision-making by
Novice and Expert American Sign Language Interpreters

A dissertation proposal submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Education

in

Teaching and Learning

by

Mary Elizabeth Mendoza

Committee in charge:

Professor Tom Humphries, Chair
Professor Alan Daly
Professor Carol Padden

2010

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The dissertation of Mary Elizabeth Mendoza is approved, and is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically.

Chair

University of California, San Diego

2010

DEDICATION

To my family who has always
supported life-long learning.

To my friends and colleagues for their patience
and excitement about this research.

To my cohort, Deborah Napoli and Zoltan Sarda,
for your wisdom, patience and humor.

To my professors, Paula Levin, Alan Daly, Claire Ramsey,
Jim Levin, and Alison Wishard. Without your guidance and wisdom
this research could not have come to fruition.

And finally, to my committee, Tom Humphries, Carol Padden
and Alan Daly. There are not enough words to express my gratitude.

EPIGRAPH

Intelligence plus character...that is the goal of true education.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

No mud, no lotus.

Buddhist Proverb

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National Association of Judicial Interpreters and Translators

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Thinking Through Ethics:
The Processes of Ethical Decision-making by
Novice and Expert American Sign Language Interpreters

by

Mary Elizabeth Mendoza

Doctor of Education in Teaching and Learning

University of California, San Diego, 2010

Professor Tom Humphries, Chair

In the course of their work, sign language interpreters are faced with ethical dilemmas that require prioritizing competing moral beliefs and views on professional practice. There are several decision-making models, however, little research has been done on how sign language interpreters learn to identify and make ethical decisions. Through surveys and interviews on ethical decision-making, this study investigates how expert and novice interpreters discuss their ethical decision-making processes and prioritize prima facie duties, also called meta-ethical principles (Ross 2001). The survey participants included 225 novice interpreters who have three or fewer years experience as a nationally certified interpreter, and 168 expert interpreters who have ten or more years as a certified interpreter. Three novice and three expert interpreters were chosen to participate in the face-to-face interviews. The findings

indicate that there are similarities among, and differences between, the two groups. The findings show that both novices and experts similarly prioritize the prima facie duty of 'fidelity' and adhere to the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct's tenet of 'professional conduct.' The variability between the groups indicate that novice interpreters' responses include citing their professional ethical code, rubric decision-making guidelines, and using low-context discourse to analyze individual-focused responses. Expert interpreters, conversely, drew upon tacit knowledge built upon a foundation of Code of Professional Conduct, used high-context discourse to develop a collective-focused response.

Chapter I: Introduction

Throughout the interpreting process, interpreters are allowed access to a large amount of private information, such as medical history and financial information. American Sign Language (ASL) interpreters typically work most assignments without other interpreters (Humphrey, 1999; Metzger, 1999). The communication triad usually consists of the Deaf consumer, hearing consumer and the interpreter. During their work interpreting the communication between the Deaf and hearing consumers, ASL interpreters must make decisions continuously and autonomously (Dean & Pollard, 2001; Gish, 1990; Hoza, 2003). Interpreters are able to control some of logistical decisions, such as where to sit or stand so that both participants can clearly see and hear the interpreter. However, other decisions are ethical in nature, such as if one should report spousal abuse when one participant confides in the interpreter. Because sign language interpreters are the only participants in the discourse triad that are knowledgeable about both languages and cultures (typically English/hearing culture and ASL/Deaf culture), it is incumbent upon them to make an ethical decision that is fair for all parties.

Prior to the professionalization of interpreting, ethical codes for sign language interpreters were non-existent. Friends, family and neighbors, who were not paid and were not held accountable for their actions by any professional code, acted as interpreters for Deaf people. Since there were no laws and no standard of behavior of interpreters, the people who helped Deaf individuals in their daily routines would often take over the discourse and make decisions for Deaf people. At times children even interpreted for their parents' for such crucial situations as legal proceedings, traumatic medical situations and their own parent-teacher conferences.

Just like the children of Deaf adults interpreting for their parents, interpreting students who have just graduated from interpreter education programs do not yet have the exposure of various interpreting situations to make sound ethical decisions, compared to interpreters with over ten years of experience. Therefore, I have included literature on novice-expert differences in order to address how novices develop expertise in ethical decision-making and to discover what the characteristics of expertise are in the field of interpreting.

Literature Review

As an American Sign Language interpreter for 26 years, I have personal experience in making decisions on multiple and complex levels. The decisions that I make during the interpreting process could potentially affect my life and profession, as well as my clients' lives, both Deaf and hearing. Ethical decisions, such as the one referenced above, are the focus of my research and have led me to ask:

1. How do sign language interpreters define an ethical situation and what kind of knowledge is required for interpreters to make ethical decisions?
2. How do expert and novice sign language interpreters differ in making ethical decisions?
3. How do expert and novice sign language interpreters prioritize competing meta-ethical principles when making ethical decisions?

In order to answer the above questions, I explored what is already known about ethical decision-making, expert-novice differences and sign language interpreters. I wished to situate my questions in the research about ethical decision-making in general and research about ethical decision-making among interpreters and other service providing professionals. During my literature search, I have found that the following areas of research relate to sign language interpreters' ethical

decision-making: 1) ethical decision-making models; 2) expert-novice differences; 3) sign language interpreting and ethical codes; and 4) sign language interpreting and decision-making.

In an attempt to narrow the scope of this literature review, I have limited my search to domains related to adult ethical decision-making in human service fields. Although there is ample research in other fields and domains, such as general decision-making in learning and non-human service fields, I did not include them because those areas are not as similar to sign language interpreting. I have also included literature on the historical perspective of sign language interpreting and how moral ideology has played an important role in developing ethical codes for this profession.

Sign language interpreting and ethical codes

Sign language interpreters are privy to a large amount of private information about their clients during the task of interpreting and are bound by the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct (CPC) to ensure that Deaf and hearing clients' private information will be kept confidential. In an attempt to guard clients' private and personal information, the first book on sign language interpreting, *Interpreting for Deaf People* (Quigley, 1965), had as its first tenet in the Code of Ethics: "The interpreter shall be a person of high moral character, honest, conscientious, trustworthy, and of emotional maturity. He shall guard confidential information and not betray confidences which have been entrusted in him" (p. 9). The RID ethical code has been revised several times in its history, reflecting the change in the

perspective regarding morality and the perspectives on interpreters' professional behaviors.

When sign language interpreting was first established as a profession in 1964 (Smith), its founders strived to ensure that interpreters would be of high moral standards. This requirement, however, was not clear if high moral behavior was only expected in the role of interpreting or when interpreters were conducting their lives outside of interpreting. In the original document from the *Workshop on Interpreting for the Deaf* (Quigley, 1965), there is a description of the qualifications of sign language interpreters. The characteristics an interpreter is expected to possess are:

1. A proficiency in manual and/or oral communication.
2. A high moral character.
3. A professional attitude which will insure ethical conduct.
4. An understanding of Deaf people.
5. An education sufficient to embrace the problems of life and a sophistication to cope with its variations.
6. Special skills for specific situations (pp. 1-2).

In order to understand the reasoning behind these qualifying characteristics, one must understand the history of professional sign language interpreting. Prior to the establishment of the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) in 1964, family, friends, neighbors and/or clergy acted as interpreters for Deaf people. There was no formal training at the time and ethical implications of one's behavior were not considered. After the RID was established, interpreting transformed over time through four different models (Gish, 1991) with the first called the Helper Model, the model prior to the establishment of RID and the profession of interpreting, stemming from when family and friends functioned as interpreters. After the establishment of RID and the profession of interpreting in 1964, the Helper Model was no longer the

desired model for interpreters. Realizing that 'helping' a Deaf person did not satisfy the prima facie duties of supporting clients' autonomy, respect for consumers and protection of the weak, the model for interpreting transformed into the opposite of the Helper Model to the Conduit Model. The Conduit Model, which continued through the 1970's, viewed interpreters as 'invisible' and similar to a telephone in their roles and behaviors. The interpreter was not allowed to interact with either client, even when a question was directed to the interpreter. The model changed again in the 1980's to the Communication Facilitator, which allowed interpreters to have interactions with both clients while maintaining their role as interpreters. The linguistic component of interpreting with the Facilitator Model did not allow the interpreter to make any cultural adjustments to enhance the understanding of the Deaf and hearing parties. The current model is the Bicultural/Bilingual Model that adds linguistic and cultural adjustments to the interpretation, and allows interpreters to interact with both clients. During each phase of interpreting models, the RID ethical codes changed to reflect the current ideology of how interpreters' roles incorporate prima facie duties. The current NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct has seven main tenets with each tenet listing two to ten illustrative behaviors. Below are the seven tenets:

1. Interpreters adhere to standards of confidential communication.
2. Interpreters possess the professional skills and knowledge required for the specific interpreting situation.
3. Interpreters conduct themselves in a manner appropriate to the specific interpreting situation.
4. Interpreters demonstrate respect for consumers.
5. Interpreters demonstrate respect for colleagues, interns, and students of the profession.
6. Interpreters maintain ethical business practices.
7. Interpreters engage in professional development.

Several other sign language interpreter organizations have ethical codes that their members must follow. The World Association of Sign Language Interpreters (2008) lists several sign language interpreters' ethical codes. Finnish, Australian, Kenyan, Irish, Canadian and Philippine Sign Language Interpreters' Code of Ethics all include themes of confidentiality, business practices, appropriate compensation, interpreting accuracy, respect for consumers, discretion in accepting jobs, and impartiality. These concepts are foundational for making ethical decisions because they all include, but are not limited to, meta-ethical themes of do no harm, autonomy for consumer, justice and equality, and protection of the vulnerable (Humphrey, 1999). Sign language interpreters are not the only interpreters that are charged with following an ethical code. The National Association of Judicial Interpreters and Translators also has a Code of Ethics that includes eight canons:

1. Accuracy
2. Impartiality and conflicts of interest
3. Confidentiality
4. Limitations of practice
5. Protocol and demeanor
6. Maintenance and improvement of skills and knowledge
7. Accurate representation of credentials
8. Impediments to compliance (2008).

All judicial interpreters are expected to follow this ethical code in their work. Canons one and six focus on interpretation skills, but the remaining canons require ethical consideration when making decisions. This is just one example of many ethical codes that implore interpreters to call upon their own values and morals to make ethical decisions.

Many other professionals rely on their code of ethics, or code of professional conduct, to guide them when faced with an ethical decision. These codes are not

only viewed as a guide when used in professional practice, but can have serious repercussions if they are not followed. Barnett (2007) states that the code of ethics for psychologists “does not hold all the answers or provide all needed guidance for psychologists facing ethically challenging situations” (p. 8). They must rely on their values and count on their character in order to analyze the situation to determine where professional ethical codes can aid in the decision-making process.

Ethical Decision-Making Models

When individuals are faced with ethical decisions, they rely on their morals and values to guide them. They must prioritize their values and decide which value takes priority, as well as balance their rights against the rights of others (Hersh, 1979). Fritzsche and Oz (2007) posit that “[a] series of clusters of values together form a person’s value system consisting of a value hierarchy or priority structure based upon the relative importance of the individual’s values” (p. 336). These individual values, combined with the social-cultural context, are used to develop a decision that is perceived as morally correct by the individual.

Historically, the definitions of morals, values and ethics have been used as the standard for measuring ethical decision-making. Kohlberg (1971) states that a “moral principle is a universal code of choosing, a rule of choosing which we want all people to adopt in all situations” (p. 58). While morals are difficult to define in absolute terms, they are said to be the foundation for ethical codes that guide professionals in day-to-day ethical decision-making (Rachels, 2006). Ross (2001) posits that morals are also the basis for meta-ethical principles on which ethical codes are developed. These meta-ethical principles, also called prima facie duties, include do no harm

(non-maleficence), do good (beneficence), fidelity (to keep one's promises and contracts and not to engage in deception), reparation (repair the injuries that one has done to others), gratitude, justice and equality, protection of the weak and vulnerable, responsible caring, self-improvement, and informed consent (Humphrey, 1999; Ross, 2001; Humphrey, et al., 2004). These meta-ethical principles are the foundation for all ethical codes, including the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf's Code of Professional Conduct (2008). To understand and adhere to ethical codes, members of any group must understand the meta-ethical principles and use those meta-ethical principles to make solid ethical decisions.

There are several researchers who have studied ethical decision-making (Rest, 1982; Rallis and McMullen, 2000; Canadian Psychological Association, 2008). These researchers propose models that contain common steps to take for making a sound decision, such as assessing the situation, gathering facts, weighing options, taking an action and evaluating the consequences (see Table 1). Over time, researchers have added steps to each model. Rallis and McMullen (2000) have added assessing the effects of the decision made and the Canadian Psychological Association's model have included reflecting on the decision taken as an additional final step. These models all show similar steps to making an ethical decision, but they do not actually show what individuals are thinking when they make decisions, what information they gather or how they gather that information. The models are focused on outcomes only and not the individuals' actual cognitive processes while making decisions. There is a lack of literature that actually focuses on individual's thinking processes during the decision-making task.

There are several factors that affect the decision-making process. Church, Gaa, Khalid Nainar and Shehata (2005) posit that two factors affect the ethical decision-making process—individual factors and situational factors. Church et al. describe individual ethics as “the individuals’ decisions about ethical issues (and subsequent actions) are purely a function of their self-interest” (p. 363). They define situational ethics as situations that force an individual to make a decision that will have either a positive or negative affect on another person (p. 364). Knapp and Vandecreek (2007) also state that ethical codes are not the only resources professionals can use when making an ethical decision.

If a professional is faced with a situation that has competing meta-ethical principles, such as respect for autonomy and do no harm, professionals are expected to draw on their own values and personal ethics and apply those to the situation at hand. Even though there are several ethical and decision-making models in the literature, the research again shows no studies of how individuals actually process the information to make those decisions.

Table 1: Comparison of Decision-Making Models

	Rest (1982)	Rallis & McMullen (2000)	Canadian Psychological Association (2007)
Assess the Situation	Interpret the situation	Establish outcomes for which one is responsible	Identify those potentially affected
Identify Ethical Factors	Find the morally right course of action	Identify important questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identify ethically relevant issues and practices - Consider how personal biases, stresses, or self-interest might influence the decision
Gather Facts	Gather the facts and weigh the options of the situation, then ... (below)	Collect and manage data	Development of alternative courses of action
Weigh Options	... decide what to do.	Analyze the data and interpret information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Analysis of likely risks and benefits of each course of action - Choice of course of action
Take an Action	Action that is taken	Take action based on knowledge	Action
Evaluate Effects		Assess the effects of actions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Evaluation of the results - Assumption of responsibility for consequences of action
Reflection			Appropriate action, to prevent future occurrences of the dilemma

Expert-Novice Differences

The research on experts and novices attempts to describe how professionals, who have been in any given field for a period of time, differ in complex cognitive tasks than professionals who are new to that same field. There have been several studies on expert-novice differences, particularly in the field of education. According to Leinhardt (1989), teaching expertise is typified by "speed of action, forward-

directed solutions, accuracy, enriched representations, and elaborations of knowledge rich in depth and organizational quality” (p. 73). Novice teachers, on the other hand, are “characterized by fragmented lesson structures with long transitions between lesson segments, by frequent confusion caused by missent signals, and by an ambiguous system of goals that often appear to be abandoned rather than achieved” (Leinhardt, 1989, p. 73). Bereiter and Scardamalia (1986) define categories that distinguish experts from novices using a scale ranging from very low to very high levels of attainment. They state four categories that are ways that novices become experts: complexity of skills, amount of knowledge, knowledge structure, and problem representation. Novices, by definition, have a basic foundation of skills and knowledge that have a “shallow structure” (p. 12), which are a few ideas and not a lot of connections between ideas, and are not adept at solving “novel problems in one’s own domain” (p. 13).

Processes have a more complex structure for the expert than the novice, who is only able to identify simple aspects of the larger process. According to Bereiter and Scardamalia (1986), the expert is better at using their extensive knowledge of the subject to structure either the problem or process in a few broad categories, with smaller categories that have more complex connections to the larger categories. They then present the problem in a more complex way than the novice. The novice is a more limited knowledge base than the expert and is only able to assess the problem in a limited way.

The research studies on decision-making between expert and novice teachers show that novice teachers made decisions based on the process of teaching and did not deter from the curriculum, while expert teachers made decisions based on the

students' perspective of the learning process to ensure student understanding and enhance student motivation (Byra & Sherman, 1991; Henry, 1994; Westerman, 1991; Leinhardt, 1989). Palacio-Cayetano, Schmier, Dexter and Stevens (2002) assert that novice teachers were focused on neutral issues, such as computers and hardware, while expert teachers were more focused on learning tools for students and making connections in the learning process. Livingston & Borko (1989) posit that more experienced teachers draw upon the vast reserves of knowledge and experience as they engage in planning, implementing and reflecting on their teaching practices.

Other studies argue that expert teachers made more reflective comments than novice teachers when discussing their decision-making processes (Stough & Palmer, 2001). The prominent difference between expert and novice teachers is that the expert's knowledge "is extraordinarily well organized, and this organization centers around a relatively smaller number of 'big ideas,' such as fundamental concepts, principles, theories, or themes" (Niemi, 1997, P. 240). The novice's knowledge, on the other hand, is limited and not well organized, which results in a simplistic representation of the process. St. Germain and Quinn (2005) posit that experts also possess tacit, or instinctual, knowledge that allows them to take the right amount of time to think through decisions before they make them and that novice educational leaders make decisions too quickly.

Hofstede (2001) constructs an argument where some cultures, whether that is an office culture or a community culture, are either individualistic or collectivistic. Hofstede describes individualism and collectivism as "the relationship between the individual and the collectivity that prevails in a given society" (p. 209). The interpreting and Deaf communities could be defined as a collective culture, where the

thought processes for decisions include the affects on the community as a whole. For example, if an interpreter accepts a prestigious assignment for which she is not yet qualified, such as interpreting for the President of the United States, and she dresses poorly and does not do a good job, that decision affects how she is perceived in relation to both interpreters and the Deaf community. Since novices are just beginning to understand the knowledge that they have learned, and that knowledge is not structured in a way that facilitates decision-making, they are possibly making decisions based on what will immediately affect them and not include how those decisions affect others. While experts, who have strong foundations of knowledge, acquired over a period of time, are able to make decisions that not only affect them, but others in the community as well. A multi-dimensional communication theory posited by Parsons and Shils (1951) in their general theory of action state that there is five pattern variables for making decisions:

1. Affectivity versus affective neutrality
2. Self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation
3. Universalism versus particularism
4. Ascription versus achievement
5. Specificity versus diffuseness

Novices tend to make decisions based how they feel (number 1) that decision will affect them (number 2) in a narrow sense (number 3) by following the rules (number 4) of a specific situation (number 5). Whereas experts tend to make decisions based not on their own feelings, but by objectively assessing a situation (number 1) and how that decision could affect everyone not only in the situation but also in the community (number 2 and 3) and how it can be achieved (number 4) and applied to other situations (number 5).

At the individual level, since no two people are alike, perceptions are different and there is little or no intersubjectivity between interlocutors. Intersubjectivity, according to Wertsch (1985), "exists when interlocutors share some aspect of their situation definitions" (p. 159). When communication between two people does not include shared knowledge of the topic, people tend to talk in a low-context language. Hall (1976) defines high-context and low-context language as:

A high-context communication or message is one in which most of the information is either in the physical or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. A low-context language communication is just the opposite: i.e., the mass of the information is vested in the implicit code (p. 91).

When there is no intersubjectivity, individuals, e.g., novices, tend to communicate in a low-context language (Hall, 1976), while individuals with a shared understanding of the subject, or experts, communicate in a high-context language.

Sign Language Interpreting and Decision-Making

In this review of sign language interpreting and ethical decision-making, I have found no studies on expert-novice differences in sign language interpreters, but there are decision-making models that are available to assist in ethical decision-making processes. Interpreter organizations expect professionals to behave in an ethical manner and to follow their respective organizations' ethical codes while making a multitude of decisions (Antia & Kreimeyer, 2001; Dean & Pollard, 2001). Yet few researchers have developed theories and models of decision-making focusing specifically on sign language interpreters. Scheibe (1984) was the first person to develop a decision-making model specifically for interpreters. She developed the

"Creative Problem Solving Model—A Repeatable Process," a circular model, which was expanded on by Gish (1990) who added 'outlining the steps of the solution' to the process of interpreter decision-making. In 1995, Humphrey and Alcorn developed a third model with ten steps in the decision-making process. This model added the concept of meta-ethical principals, interpreter's emotions and consulting with colleagues, if necessary. Table 2 shows Hoza's (2003) comparison of these models. The assumption that these models make is that interpreters actually follow these steps deliberately each and every time they make decisions. The models assume that interpreters will define the problem accurately, collect facts in the situation, take action and reflect on their actions. What are lacking are the interpreters' accounts of their decision-making processes.

Hoza (2003) borrows from these models and attempts to compare how "seasoned or trusted interpreters differ from those who are less seasoned or trusted" in decision-making processes (p. 35). His "Comprehensive Model of Ethical Decision-Making For Interpreters" is a five-step process comprised of a yes-no response that includes right-vs-wrong and right-vs-right decisions but like other models fails to expand with empirical information about how decisions are made. Hoza hypothesizes that newer interpreters will adhere closely to what at the time was called the Code of Ethics (now called the Code of Professional Conduct) and seasoned interpreters are more confident in their decision-making processes and will use the Code of Ethics as a guide but will not follow it to the letter.

Table 2: Comparison of Sign Language Interpreters' Decision-Making Models (Hoza, 2003)

Scheibe (1984)	Gish (1990)	Humphrey & Alcorn (1995)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The situation: where are we in relation to where we want to be? 2. Fact-finding: who, what, when, where, why 3. Problem definition: zeroing in on the problem 4. Solution findings: brainstorming, deferred judgment 5. Evaluate ideas: criteria, listing 6. Implementation: commitment, target date 7. Follow-up: effective? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Describe the problem clearly: what is happening? What to change? 2. Find out all the facts you can about the problem (who, what) 3. Think of possible solutions: ways to change the situation (don't evaluate) 4. Think of the pros and cons of each possible solution (evaluate) 5. Choose a solutions to try (best choice) 6. Outline the steps of the solution 7. Try the solution (accept responsibility) 8. Evaluate what happened 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Collect all information and facts possible 2. Identify goals and relevant meta-ethical principles 3. Note all possible options 4. Identify all potential beneficial and negative results 5. Review foundational goals and principles 6. Identify any emotions that may bias or influence judgment 7. Consult with colleagues as necessary 8. Rank options 9. Take action 10. Review and evaluate action taken

The task of interpreting involves much more than transmitting one language to another. Solow (1981) sums up interpreting as "interpreters' attempt to equalize a communication-related situation so that the Deaf and hearing participants involved have access to much the same input and output or can take advantage of the same resources" (p. 1). Given the complex mental processing that interpreting requires, adding an ethical dilemma on top of the linguistic demands takes attention away from the task of interpreting. Dean and Pollard (2001) have expanded on Karasek's (1979) Demand-Control Theory and developed what they call the Demand-Control Schema Theory. Karasek (1979) developed a job strain model that compared the demands of a job and the controls that the employee has to act on those demands.

Jobs with high demands and low controls produce more stress on the job than a low demand and high control job. Dean and Pollard (2001) posit that interpreting is a high-demand, yet low-control occupation. They characterized the demands of interpreting into four areas:

- Environmental: specific to the setting (i.e., professional roles, terminology, physical surroundings)
- Interpersonal: specific to the interaction of the consumers and interpreter (i.e., culture, goals)
- Paralinguistic: specific to the expressive skills of the Deaf/hearing consumers (i.e., style, pace, volume)
- Intrapersonal: specific to the interpreter (thoughts, feelings, physical reactions) (p. 5)

Dean and Pollard suggest that interpreters do have control in certain areas and can make decisions that can have either a positive or negative outcome. In short, the decisions we make have a short-term or long-term consequence that we can control. This is the current theory of decision-making and one that has been used for developing the national interpreter exam and for educating future interpreters. However, the Dean and Pollard study is, again, theoretical and not based on probing interpreters on their thinking while making decisions, only on a theory of decision-making.

Chapter II: Research Methodology

Overview

The purpose of this study was to investigate and understand the strategies and behaviors that expert and novice sign language interpreters reported using when making ethical decisions that occurred during their work. There are several models of decision-making in the field of sign language interpreting (Dean & Pollard, 2001; Gish, 1990; Hoza, 2003), but I have found no studies where interpreters explain their decision-making processes. Using quantitative and qualitative data analysis, this mixed methods study compared how expert and novice interpreters identify ethical dilemmas and explained their strategies and decision-making processes of their ethical decisions.

The study included analyses of documents used in the sign language interpreting field, survey answers and interview responses. These analyses followed Ross' (2002) theory of prima facie duties and people's tendencies to choose a right action to initiate "a certain change in the state of affairs irrespective of motive..." (p. 6). Ross posits that a prima facie duty might present itself as a moral situation on the surface, but when studied more closely a prima facie duty "...is an objective fact involved in the nature of the situation, or more strictly in an element of its nature, though not, as duty proper does, arising from its *whole* nature" (p. 20, emphasis in original text). One must analyze each situation for its elements to distinguish if one or more elements are, in fact, of moral or ethical nature. One must also prioritize prima facie duties in order to make the decision that will benefit all parties involved. Ross claims that if there is a conflict of duties, or more than one prima facie duty involved in the situation, the decision-maker must have a tacit understanding that one prima

facie duty, for example fidelity, would have priority over another, such as benevolence, to ensure the ensuing act has a morally beneficial outcome for all involved.

Ross also provides a foundational argument on prima facie duties and the importance of mental maturity. He states that individuals do not readily recognize moral situations until they "have reached a certain degree of maturity" (p. 12). Individuals who have studied the situation, and who have attained a certain level of maturation, can apply the prima facie duties into their decision-making. Decision-making maturity can occur throughout one's life, or from generation to generation. The gap in Ross' theory is that it does not provide a model for decision-making, but provides a foundation for analyzing how individuals prioritize prima facie duties to make ethical decisions.

This research has possible implications for interpreter training and assistance for those interpreters who need support in making ethical decisions and is guided by the overarching research question: How do novice interpreters develop expertise in making ethical decisions? The overall research question has the following sub-questions embedded in it:

1. How do sign language interpreters define an ethical situation and what kind of knowledge is required for interpreters to make ethical decisions?
2. How do expert and novice sign language interpreters differ in making ethical decisions?
3. How do expert and novice sign language interpreters prioritize competing meta-ethical principles when making ethical decisions?

Research Methods

The first phase of the study determined how interpreters identified an ethical dilemma and the specific strategies on which novice and expert interpreters based

their ethical decision-making. The second phase was an examination of how interpreters make sense of (perceived and explained) their decision-making processes, including what kinds of knowledge they draw upon, how they justified certain strategies over others, and how these strategies supported and constrained their decision-making outcomes.

Participants

Sign language interpreters are constantly faced with a multitude of decisions before, during, and after each assignment. The focus of this study is on how novice and expert interpreters make ethical decisions; therefore, the focus is on those two specific groups of interpreters. Novices were defined as those interpreters with a specific certification that has only been offered in the last four years, the National Interpreter Certification-Certified (NIC-Certified), which ensured that interpreters would fall into the novice group of being nationally certified for fewer than four years. The expert group included interpreters who possess the Comprehensive Skills Certificate (CSC). The CSC was a national certification offered by the RID until 1987 when a new certification system was developed and replaced the CSC. This certification was chosen specifically for the time frame it was offered, which would ensure the years of experience for the expert group. Both certifications are, or had been, developed, administered and maintained by the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID), the national certifying body for sign language interpreters.

Because the research questions seek to explore ethical decision-making of sign language interpreters who have specific years of experience, only those interpreters in the expert and novice categories were used in the selection of the

participants. Both categories of interpreters were nationally certified interpreters under the RID with novice interpreters identified as having three or fewer years working as a nationally certified interpreter, and expert interpreters identified as having more than ten years experience as a nationally certified interpreter. There are other levels of experience between these two categories, such as interpreters who have between three to ten years of experience with different certifications, but I chose these two categories to represent the level of expertise that I studied.

The potential participants for the study included a total of 1,403 certified interpreters from both groups. Of the 1,403 potential participants, 225 novices and 168 experts responded to the survey, with three novice interpreters and three expert interpreters who participated in the interview. All participants were over the age of 18, voluntarily participated in the online survey, and indicated whether or not they were willing to be interviewed. Approximately six interpreters who volunteered to be interviewed participated in individual interviews conducted by webcam.

Study Design

Using a multiple-embedded case study design, (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; Yin, 2003) three primary data collection methods was used for this project: review of documents used in the field of sign language interpreting (Miles & Huberman, 1994), descriptive surveys of responses from the two categories of interpreters (Fowler, 2009; Mertens, 2005), and key informant interviews (Patton, 1990).

Documents that are used by the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID) in the evaluation of interpreters were reviewed and analyzed to compare if interpreters' decision-making actually followed the RID's professional recommendations. These

documents included the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct (Appendix A), RID's NIC Interview Evaluation Rubric Anchors (Appendix B), and other documents that outline the criteria of the National Interpreter Certification exam. Sign language interpreters use both the NIC Interview Evaluation Rubric Anchors and the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct to study and prepare for the national interpreter exam.

A survey instrument was developed and used that was comprised of two distinct sections: demographics and five ethical scenarios (Appendix C). Demographic questions included gender, age range, certifications obtained, years working as an interpreter, and years working as a nationally certified interpreter to ensure that experts and novices were analyzed according to years working as a *certified* interpreter. The demographic information allowed an avenue to easily divide the interpreters into groups. The ethical scenarios were purposefully selected to represent four areas of the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct: Impartiality, Confidentiality, Professional Conduct and Business Practices.

The survey methods that were used both ascertained the general ethical decision-making processes of sign language interpreters and generated a sample of potential interviewees. RID is the only national registry of sign language interpreters and has approximately 12,000 members, both certified and non-certified, and has a public database that was used to identify specific certified members. Because RID develops, administers and maintains national certification, only RID members in good standing (pay annual dues and maintain educational requirements) are deemed "certified." Through this public database, 830 interpreters were identified as having NIC-Certified certification, with no other certifications, guaranteeing that those interpreters have only been certified for three or fewer years. This group was labeled

as the novice group. A next group of 573 interpreters was found to have a Comprehensive Skills Certificate (CSC) and were identified as the expert group. The total of 1,403 interpreters for both groups were sent an email invitation to complete the survey. Using a purposeful, criterion sampling technique (Patton, 1990), I first deliberately limited the total sample of respondents to the two groups of certified interpreters as mentioned above.

After the interpreters consented to participate in the study, they were guided to an online survey that took approximately 30 minutes. Once they completed the survey, respondents indicated whether they were willing to participate in a follow up interview. From those survey respondents that agreed to participate in the interview, three novice and three expert interpreters were chosen to be interviewed. Two interpreters in each group were chosen because they demonstrated typical responses in their category. Novices typically responded by following the rubric structure in the RID Interview Evaluation Rubric Anchors and the Demand-Control Schema Theory (Dean & Pollard, 2001), as well as citing specific tenets that are outlined in the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct (CPC). Expert interpreters, on the other hand, responded with what decisions they would make without citing the CPC. One novice and one expert interpreter were chosen to be interviewed because their answers were atypical of their category. One expert interpreter responded with specific tenet citations that were typical of the novice group. Conversely, one novice interpreter responded similarly to how the expert interpreters responded, by having a more tacit knowledge of situations and not following the exact tenets of the CPC. I wanted to investigate why these interpreters responded how they did and if there were other factors that influenced their decision-making processes.

Data Collection

The first phase of this study included a qualitative document analysis to determine strategies and study suggestions for training interpreters. The documents that were analyzed included the RID's suggested study guides for their national exam and scoring rubric. These documents included the National Association of the Deaf and Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf's (NAD-RID) Code of Professional Conduct, NAD-RID National Interpreter Certification (NIC) Examination Test Outline: Tasks and Knowledge and Skill Statements, NAD-RID National Interpreter Certification (NIC) Interview Examination Suggested Reference Materials and NIC Interview Examination Rubric Anchors. Documents from the NAD-RID testing process (as listed above) were analyzed for common themes, applications and gaps of information as they apply to ethical decision-making using a process outlined by Miles and Huberman (1994).

The second phase was an online survey following the process outlined by Fowler (2003), designed to collect demographic information, such as gender, ethnicity, age, academic degrees and number of years working as an interpreter (Appendix C). In addition, five ethical dilemmas were included that exist in the practice of interpreting (Cartwright, 1999; Humphrey, 1995). Ethical dilemmas included in the survey reflected the constructs found in the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct (CPC), which included business/billing practices, professional conduct and relating to consumers, perceptions of bias, confidentiality and a control question that was non-ethical in nature. Each of the participants from the stratified sample of certified were sent an electronic mailing invitation to participate in the survey. The email consisted of an introductory message that included a willingness to consent, survey instructions, and an electronic link to SurveyMonkey. Once the

survey was opened, participants saw a page that once again reiterated the voluntary nature of the research and a second request for informed consent. If at this point an individual who previously provided informed consent opted out of the study, his or her name was removed from the network roster and existing data on that individual were immediately deleted. Anonymity was established by having a unique identifier code that replaced participants' names and email addresses.

Data Reduction

The 393 participants' (225 novices and 168 experts) survey responses were analyzed in HyperRESEARCH, a qualitative software tool for data analysis that is designed for reducing and analyzing text data. Each of the two groups' responded to five ethical scenarios, which was then coded in HyperRESEARCH, then analyzed and coded separately, within groups, and across groups.

Initially, the first analysis was conducted through establishing a list of *a priori* codes from Ross' prima facie duties, also called meta-ethical principles. Coding followed meta-ethical principles, also called prima facie duties, (Humphrey, 1999; Ross, 2002; Humphrey, et al., 2004) to determine how interpreters make ethical decisions. I chose Ross' prima facie duties because all professional ethical codes are related to prima facie duties and vice versa. These concepts embody the basic morals and beliefs of most professional organizations. These codes included:

1. Do no harm (non-maleficence)
2. Do good (beneficence)
3. Fidelity (to keep one's promises and contracts and not to engage in deception)
4. Reparation (repair the injuries that one has done to others)

5. Gratitude
6. Justice and equality
7. Self-improvement

Through analysis, a list of emerging codes was also developed and refined through an evolving deductive process. Some of these codes were specific to the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct, such as, quoting verbiage, specific tenets, or following the NIC evaluation rubric. I added other codes that were emerged from patterns identified not as prima facie duties, but interesting nonetheless. These included feelings of conflict, perceived bias in relationships, not being qualified, demanding payment, and not mixing personal and professional relationships. Other codes were based on theories, such as, espoused and enacted theories of action and use of metaphor. The remaining codes were developed to ascertain if the interpreter correctly identified the ethical situation, or if the interpreter stated that the situation was not ethical when, in fact, it was ethical. The last code, "other", was chosen when the participant responded with a statement or exclamation that did not fit into the above categories.

Descriptive statistics were also used to describe characteristics common to the sample (Mertens, 2005) and quantitatively analyze survey results and informed the larger study. Demographic information, such as gender, age, ethnicity and academic degrees earned, was input into SPSS, a statistical program, to quantify the percentages of the survey participants. Along with the demographic information, data from the first survey question was entered into SPSS, as well. This question asked how frequently interpreters encounter ethical dilemmas in the course of their work: daily, once a week or more, one to three times a month, a couple of times a year,

once in the last two years or never. A crosstabs analysis was conducted on experts and novices and perceived frequency of encountering ethical dilemmas to compare how, or if, they were different.

The third phase consisted of interviewing three novice and three expert interpreters, in order to examine their perceptions, explanations, and justifications about their behaviors and strategies used in ethical situations. The individual interviews were conducted by webcam and were semi-structured interviews, meaning that the same topics were covered for each participant, but the order of the questions was sometimes changed according to individual responses (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Patton's (1990) question typology was employed in designing the interview questions. In this typology, questions are designed to elicit information on the opinions, values and feelings of the participants that relate to their behaviors and experiences, their knowledge of a given situation, how they perceive the world around them, and any particular themes that emerged.

Interview participants were selected according to how they answered the survey and how representative they were of their group. During analysis of the survey, patterns emerged within groups and interviewees were chosen based on those patterns. Participants were asked a series of open-ended questions (see Appendix E) that included eliciting background information as an interpreter, and a discussion of their responses to the survey questions and a range of others' answers to the same question. I also asked them to draw upon their own experience to describe an ethical situation that occurred while they were interpreting and what they did to address and resolve that issue. The interview ended with a recommendation to

a new interpreter trainer to teach interpreting students about ethical issues and to help them make ethical decisions.

Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed, then analyzed, following the process as outlined by Miles and Huberman (1994), who suggest that any contact with a participant be documented in a specific way. They developed a "Contact Summary Form" that I modified to an Interview Summary Form to fit my research study. Interviews were compared across groups of expert and novice interpreters to discover any similarities or differences. Interview summary sheets, which were modified from Miles & Huberman (1994), were used to document characteristics and themes of the interviews and served as a tool to aid in the reflection of the interviews, as well as illuminate both convergent and divergent themes. The essence of the interview summary form included interesting observations during the interview and general reflections of themes and questions that arose from the interview. The first pass analysis served to observe common themes in the responses between the three expert and three novice interpreters. The second and third passes procured a more detailed analysis of patterns among each group and across groups.

Chapter III: Findings- Demographic Background

Findings of Survey Participants

Analysis of demographic information of the 423 survey participants indicated that the participants were representative of the larger membership of the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID). Data from participants who self-reported on gender, ethnicity, age and certifications was tabulated. Some participants opted not to provide information on their gender, ethnicity and age and those are reflected in the “Did Not Report” (DNR) rows in each table. Of the total survey participants (n=423), 362 were female, 59 were male, one reported as transgender and one did not report gender. For ethnicity, 23 people declined to report but did report gender. Not surprising, the overwhelming majority of participants were Caucasian women, which reflects the overall population of the RID membership (Table 3).

Table 3: Participants’ Self-Reports on Ethnicity

	Caucasian	African American	Latino	Asian/Pacific Islander	Am. Indian	Mixed Race	Other	Total
Female	307	7	8	2	2	16	1	343
Male	52	0	2	1	0	0	1	56
Other	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
DNR								23
Total	360	7	10	3	2	16	2	423

Of the approximately 14,000 national RID members who reported their gender and ethnicity, most are primarily women (87%), with the majority of those members self-reporting as White (78%). The remaining groups who reported ethnicity included 4% African American, 3% Hispanic, 2% Asian/Pacific Islander, 1%

American Indian/Alaskan Native and 1% other ethnicities. The remaining members did not report ethnicity.

Although age was not a determining factor for participating, it was still collected. The participants' ages varied with 26% between the ages of 18 and 29, 19% between the ages of 30 and 39, and 16% between the ages of 40 and 49. The majority of participants, 38% were 50 years old or older, with one percent of the survey participants declining to report their age. The last group of participants is indicative of the years of experience they have and it makes sense that this group of expert interpreters would be older than 50 years of age. The youngest group of 18-29 year old participants illustrates the novice group of people who have graduated from either a two-year or four-year interpreter education program and started immediately working as a professional interpreter. The second and third groups could possibly be explained as people starting their second careers as professional sign language interpreters.

The remaining data will focus solely on the novice and expert groups (n=393) who answered the demographic data. Novices are defined as interpreters who have been certified for 3 or fewer years, and were awarded the NIC-Certified certification from the RID. Experts are defined as those interpreters who were awarded the CSC certification from the RID and have been certified for more than ten years. Table 4 shows that 57% of the participants in the first three groups have worked three years or fewer as professional, pre-certified interpreters, compared to the 43% of the 393 interpreters that have worked three years or fewer as nationally certified interpreters.

Table 4: Comparison of Years Worked and Years Certified

	Years Certified			
		3 or fewer	10 or more	Total
Years Worked	3 or fewer	35	0	35
	4-6	92	0	92
	7-9	34	0	34
	10 or more	64	168	232
	DNR			0
	Total	225	168	393

It is probable that participants would have worked between four to six years post graduation as pre-certified interpreters before they gained the experience and skills necessary to pass the NAD-RID National Interpreter Certification exam and therefore, some interpreters will not start the potentially five-year process of becoming certified until they feel they have the skills necessary to successfully pass the exam.

Out of the total 393 survey participants, 225 novice interpreters have the NIC-Certified certification and 168 expert interpreters have earned at least the Comprehensive Skills Certificate, which is the original RID certification offered until 1987. Most of the participants in the expert group have earned an academic degree (Table 5). Of the 168 expert interpreters, 146 have earned at least an Associate's degree or higher. The majority of those participants have earned a 4-year degree or higher and more than half (57%) have earned a graduate degree. On the other hand, the majority of novices have earned either an Associate's or a Bachelor's degree, which is in line with the length of time spent taking classes in their interpreter education programs, and the new degree requirements set forth by the RID. By the year 2012, any candidate for certification that stands for an exam will be

Table 5: Participants' Self-Reports on Academic Degrees

Years Certified		None	Associate	Bachelor	Master	Doctorate	Other	Total
	3 or fewer	36	56	99	24	0	5	220
	10 or more	21	9	45	75	16	1	167
	DNR							6
	Total	57	65	144	99	16	6	393

required to have a Bachelor's degree, with the only exception for Deaf interpreters, who will have to have a Bachelor's degree by the year 2016.

After asking participants questions on gender, ethnicity, age and academic degrees, they were asked how often they experienced certain areas in ethical dilemmas. The ethical areas were deliberately limited to four: confidentiality, impartiality, professional conduct and business practices. Confidentiality in the field of sign language interpreting is keeping all assignment related information protected and restricted to only those participants in the interpreting situation. The interpreter should never give assignment related information freely, but should keep the discussion or written information secret and protected. Impartiality is defined as the interpreter being neutral and unbiased during their work, regardless of how strongly the interpreter supports or opposes the topic of discussion, or how the interpreter feels about either participant in the dialogue. Interpreters should not skew their interpretation and align themselves with either the hearing or Deaf consumers. Impartiality also includes providing services regardless of the consumers' age, gender, race, ethnicity and/or religion. The ethical area of professional conduct refers to interpreters possessing necessary updated skills, and using discretion to accept

and perform a certain interpreting task. Business practices are guidelines for interpreters to honor commitments, charge fair and reasonable wages for their services and to perform pro bono work.

The areas listed above are outlined in the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct (NAD-RID CPC) as tenets 1, 2, 3, and 6, respectively, and are prominent themes in the NAD-RID National Interpreter Certification interview portion. The NAD-RID NIC Interview Rubric Anchors gives a structured outline of the desired responses to interview questions from candidates and states that the "candidate's response will describe clearly and comprehensively the problem or conflict between the situation and the interpreter code of ethics, policies, procedures, and/or laws, as applicable" (see Appendix B). With this in mind, participants were asked how often they perceived that these ethical dilemmas occurred in their work: daily, once a week or more, 1-3 times a month, a couple of times a year, once in the last 2 years, or never. The objective was to observe how often novices perceived ethical dilemmas occurring in their work compared to how often experts perceived them.

For confidentiality, more novices than experts responded that they were involved in situations where confidentiality could potentially be breached (Figure 1). In fact, more novices than experts responded in every frequency category except for 'once in the last 2 years.' Novices seem to perceive that confidentiality issues are more prevalent in their work than experts. Conversely, experts either perceived that confidentiality issues are not as prevalent, or that they can better assess situations where the ethical issue of confidentiality arises. Of the 207 novices, 183 (88%) responded that they are confronted with confidentiality issues at least a couple of times a year. Compared to experts, 116 out of the 153 participants (76%) responded

with confidentiality challenges in their work. This finding is still high, but not as high as the novices. It seems clear that confidentiality issues are a frequent occurrence in the professional lives of interpreters, whether novice or expert. The difference between novices and experts could be explained by experts having more experience in establishing personal and professional boundaries in their interactions with consumers, which will be discussed more in depth in a later chapter.

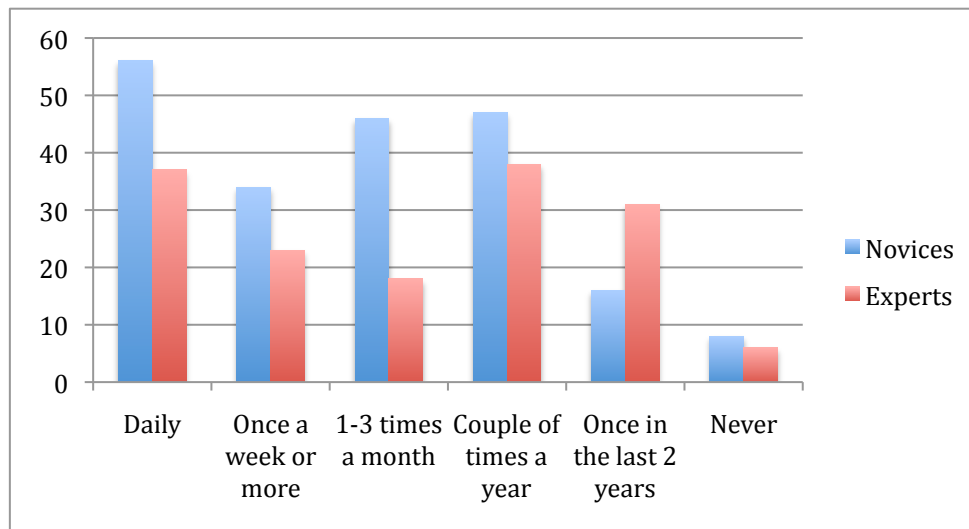


Figure 1: Ethical Areas: Confidentiality

The next ethical category was impartiality, or the ability to interpret free of bias toward either the consumer and/or the content of the message being conveyed. Again, novices perceived that they are being challenged more than the experts (Figure 2). In every category, more novices than experts reported being in situations where their impartiality is being tested. Of the 205 novices, 180 (88%) reported that they encounter interpreting situations at least a couple of times a year where they struggle to remain impartial in their interpreting work. In addition, 127 of the 153 experts (80%) reported that they, too, face issues of impartiality during their work.

These findings seem to indicate that both novices and experts are hyper-aware of their own feelings and perceptions towards consumers and the information that they are interpreting. It could also be that they struggle to establish personal and professional boundaries that will enable them to interpret in an impartial manner.

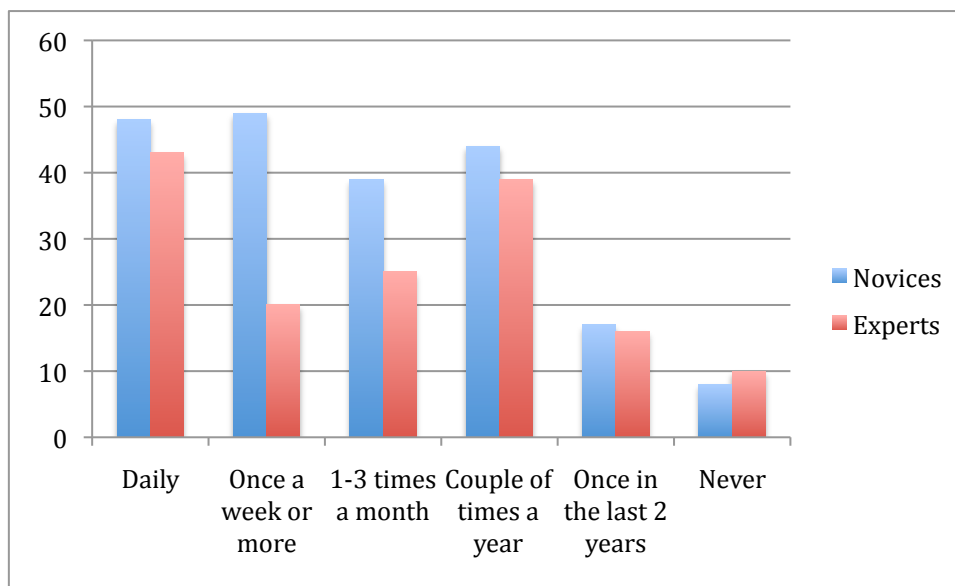


Figure 2: Ethical Areas: Impartiality

The third ethical category was professional conduct, which is defined by the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct as interpreters presenting themselves in a manner that is appropriate for the situation and avoiding conflicting roles (see Appendix A). In this category, 158 of the 203 (78%) novices responded that they experience issues of professional conduct in their work at least a couple of times a year, compared to 99 of the 151 (66%) expert interpreters (Figure 3). The percentage of experts reporting here when compared with their responses across categories seems to show they experience professional conduct issues less than other issues. This could be explained by the years of experience they have and routines they have established over the years of working as a professional interpreter. Novices

are possibly still trying to figure out how to conduct themselves in various new situations and could perceive each situation as a challenge of professional conduct as defined by the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct. It could be explained that novices just do not have the experience of interpreting in different situations and settings as their more experienced peers and view this new situation as a challenge, whereas experts have been exposed to many different situations and gained knowledge and skills that cause them to perceive professional conduct differently from novices.

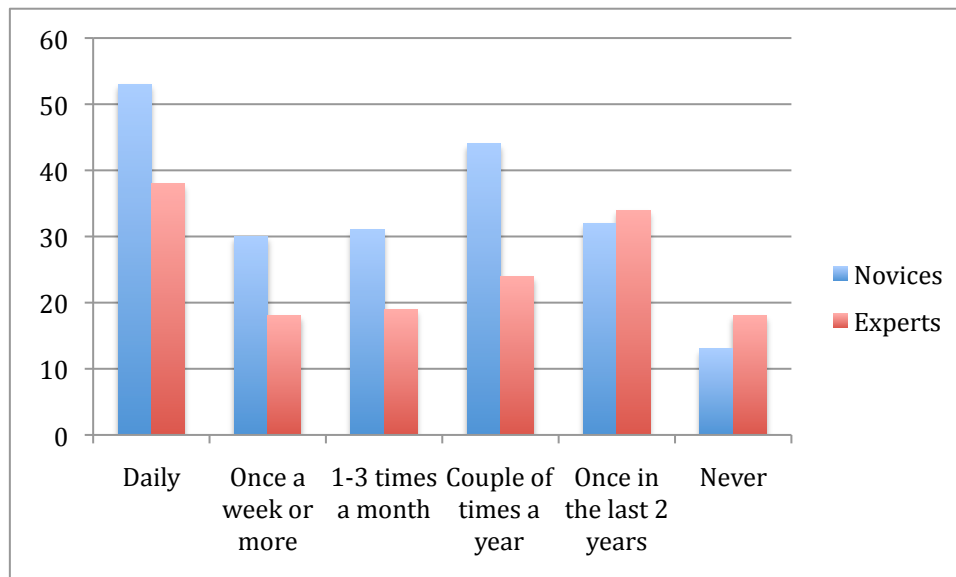


Figure 3: Ethical Areas: Professional Conduct

The last ethical category was business practices, which includes charging fair and reasonable fees, accurately representing one's qualifications and certifications, and providing pro bono work (Appendix A). Of the 205 novices, 145 (71%) responded that they face challenges in business practices at least a couple of times a year, while 97 of the 152 (64%) expert interpreters (Figure 4). Again, there are fewer

experts stating that they encountered ethical dilemmas regarding business practices. Overall, fewer interpreters in both the expert and novice groups responded that they experienced business practices dilemmas, but there were still more novices than experts who stated that this ethical area was one that they encountered.

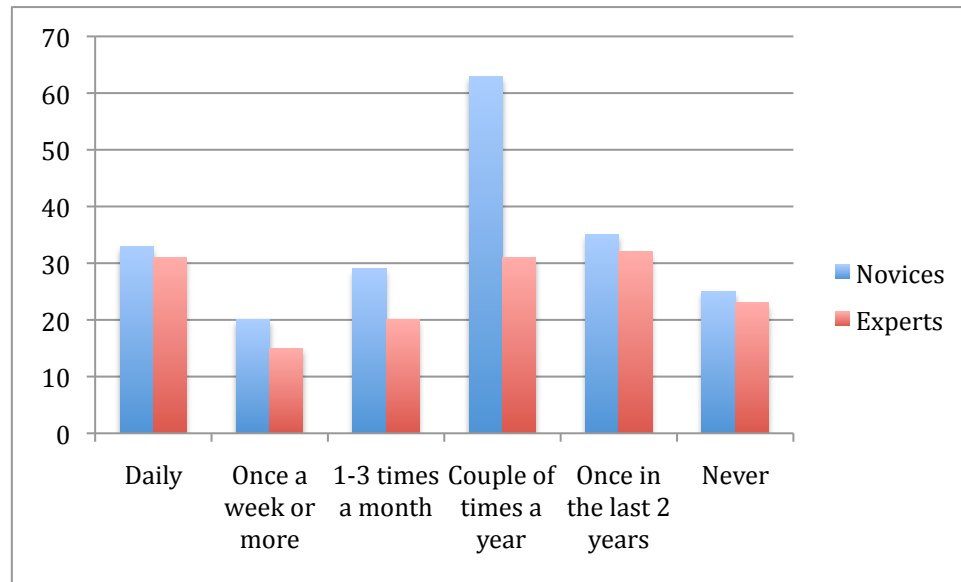


Figure 4: Ethical Areas: Business Practices

In all four categories, novices reported that they encounter all four ethical areas more frequently than expert interpreters. For confidentiality, the novice and expert percentages were 88% to 76%, respectively; impartiality percentages were 88% to 80%; professional conduct percentages were 78% to 66%; and business practices percentages were 71% to 64%. These data show that there is a difference in how frequently novices and experts perceive ethical dilemmas occurring in their work.

Findings of Interview Participants

From the 393 survey responses, three novices and three experts were asked and agreed to participate in the interview portion of the research. Each of the interview participants was assigned a pseudonym that corresponded with their group: novices' names all start with 'N' and experts' all start with 'E.' There were two novice females, one (Nora) in her 20's and the other (Noreen) in her 40's, and one novice male (Nick) who was in his 20's. The experts consisted of three females, one each in her 40's, 50's and 60's. Table 6 shows the breakdown of the years they worked as sign language interpreters, years nationally certified, their certifications and academic degrees. All but two have a Bachelor degree with Noreen stating during the interview that she is currently enrolled in a university to earn her Bachelor's degree.

Table 6: Demographics of Interview Participants

Name	Age	Years Worked	Years Certified	Certification	Academic Degree
Noreen	40-49	4-6	<3	NIC-Certified	Associate
Nora	18-29	4-6	<3	NIC-Certified	Bachelor
Nick	18-29	4-6	<3	NIC-Certified	Bachelor
Emma	40-49	10+	10+	CSC, SC:L	Master
Erica	50-59	10+	10+	CSC	Bachelor
Eloise	60+	10+	10+	CSC, CI, CT, SC:L, NIC-Certified	None

Two of the interview participants were from New York, two from southern states, one from Washington, D.C. and one from California. The three experts were all community/freelance interpreters, with two having earned RID's Specialist

Certificate: Legal, specializing in the legal setting. The novices worked in various settings: one worked in the post-secondary setting, another as a staff interpreter in the mental health setting and the third owned an interpreting agency. Because of this diversity of experience in the novices, their perspectives on the ethical situations were varied but their answers still contained similar patterns, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Chapter IV: Findings- Survey

To reiterate before discussing further findings, my research questions addressed:

1. How do sign language interpreters define an ethical situation and what kind of knowledge is required for interpreters to make ethical decisions?
2. How do expert and novice sign language interpreters differ in making ethical decisions?
3. How do expert and novice sign language interpreters prioritize competing meta-ethical principles when making ethical decisions?

As discussed in the previous chapter, the data were collected in two separate phases through a survey and an interview. The survey included basic demographic information, discussed in Chapter II, and five ethical scenarios, discussed below. In this section, the findings related to each question will be discussed followed by how those findings help answer the above research questions. Of the

The participants were asked to choose which ethical area fit the scenario and explain how they would resolve the ethical issue. Not all participants answered every question in the survey. The survey participants were asked to make a declarative statement of the ethical nature of the situation given in the survey. They were given a choice of four ethical areas: confidentiality, impartiality, professional conduct and business practices. These ethical areas were chosen specifically for their prominence in the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct. For each of the five scenarios the participants were asked to choose which of the four ethical areas applied to the scenario. For most of the scenarios, people chose more than one ethical area, but for the majority of the responses, there was a more definitive choice made by the participants. Each scenario ended with the prompt:

Is this an ethical issue? If so, under what category?

- Confidentiality: Interpreters adhere to standards of confidential communication.
- Impartiality: Interpreters render the message faithfully by conveying the content and spirit of what is being communicated.
- Professional Conduct: Interpreters conduct themselves in a manner appropriate to the specific interpreting situation.
- Business Practices: Interpreters are expected to conduct their business in a professional manner.

What would you do in this situation and why?

Findings of Scenario 1

The first question asked about an issue surrounding confidentiality, the first and most recognizable ethical tenets in the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct, which states that interpreters hold a position of trust and that all job-related information shall remain confidential. The scenario was a common one for classroom interpreters, and included overlapping issues of the interpreter having dual roles as the friend and the child's interpreter:

Scenario #1:

You work as an interpreter/classroom assistant for a Deaf student in a classroom of 34 students. Part of your role is to interpret; part of your role is to work with all of the students in support of the teacher—grading papers, helping with learning activities, etc.

You have known the Deaf student for several years and know his parents quite well. As a matter of fact, you socialize with them outside of work. This student has begun displaying some behavioral problems at school, acting out, skipping class and acting rude to you and to the teacher. The parents have asked you how their child is doing in school.

Of the 225 total participants, 218 novices answered the first question. Of that 218, 113 (52%) responded that confidentiality was the prominent ethical issue in the

first scenario. The remaining three ethical categories had coded responses far lower than confidentiality:

- 54 (25%) for professional conduct
- 26 (12%) for impartiality
- 25 (11%) for business practices

Since ethical areas often overlap, one could argue for several of these choices, given certain variables of the individuals involved, however, again there was one clear issue in each scenario. A typical novice response to the first ethical scenario was, "This one falls under confidentiality. I would encourage the parents to talk to the teacher about how the student is doing in class..." A typical response from a novice participant who also chose another ethical areas was, "Yes, this is an ethical issue. It falls under the confidentiality, and the professional conduct category. Causing both of the categories to conflict. Being that the position the interpreter is in, they are not only obligated to keep the confidentiality of the consumer (student AND instructor) but must fit the role of a primary educator as well."

Experts responded similarly to the novices with:

- 87 (45%) for confidentiality
- 56 (29%) for professional conduct
- 30 (16%) for impartiality
- 20 (10%) for business practices

A typical response from an expert interpreter was, "Yes, it is a confidentiality issue. The interpreter should not engage the parent in that type of conversation, but rather nicely suggest that the parent contact the classroom teacher to set up a conference time." An expert who responded with both confidentiality and professional conduct had a response characteristic of other survey participants. This person stated, "Yes, it's an ethical issue, primarily confidentiality. What happens in an

interpreting situation is confidential between the parties involved...Professional Conduct: the interpreter should remain in their professional role, not the personal role as friend of the parent or student." Of the 20 responses for business practices, 13 responded with the scenario involving all four of the ethical categories, with six people choosing all but impartiality and only one choosing solely business practices. The category of business practices is an incorrect response to this particular scenario as business practices focuses on payment and doing pro bono work, not blurred boundaries or confidentiality issues.

One striking observation is that 201 novices and 131 experts responses were coded separately for 'fidelity,' demonstrating that their primary commitment was to follow their professional guidelines and perform their work with adherence to the commitment to their work. Ross (2001) defines fidelity as being faithful to one's contracts or promises and interpreters who state that they would adhere to their roles as communication facilitators and not cross over into other roles, such as friends or another professional capacity, would be considered to have fidelity in their jobs. This was in contrast to three of the four other scenarios. Some novices reported "I would inform the parents that I would prefer to keep the interpreting role/educational role separate from the friendship and if they would like any information regarding their child to please talk to the school directly and I would be more than happy to interpret the resulting conversation." One expert interpreter responded, "Rather than answer the parent's questions, I would redirect the parent to the teacher. Under the first tenet of the CPC, I am allowed to share information with the educational team on an as-needed basis. The teacher is the appropriate person to answer any question." Another expert stated, "Whatever the case, the

interpreter is part of the educational team and needs to support their role as a team member...Ultimately, as with any service professional, I would maintain boundaries between professional responsibilities and personal interest with the family." One novice indicated that she would not answer the parents' questions, but direct the questions to the teacher. "I feel commenting on the matter would be crossing into matters that do not pertain to my position." Another novice interpreter replied, "An interpreter should know not to discuss this as this is the teachers responsibility."

Experts, too, were coded frequently for fidelity with 131 codes. Experts tended to continue to direct the questions to the teacher, or claim that they would maintain appropriate professional and personal boundaries, or not discuss the child's behavior with the parents, stating that the classroom teacher was the correct person with whom the parents should speak. Typical responses from experts were, "I would bring my concerns to the classroom teacher about the behaviors," "This answer belongs to the teacher, not the interpreter," "I would direct the parent to talk about this issue with the teacher," and "Continue to refer the parents to the school teacher since that is most appropriate."

Another *prima facie* duty that had interesting findings was that of reparation, where there were 25 novice responses coded for reparation and only four codes in the experts' responses. Reparation, according to Ross, is when a person commits a wrongdoing and has to make the situation right again. Novices typically would want to extricate themselves from the situation. "Without having more details of this scenario I would most likely pull myself from the assignment to prevent future problems so that there is no real nor perceived conflict of interest." Novices also replied that they would suggest that the parents discuss the child's behavioral issues

with the teacher. One novice replied, "it would be best for them to set a meeting with the team or teacher to discuss any questions they have concerning the boy's productivity in the class room." Another novice mentioned clarifying roles with the parent, saying, "I would try to educate my friends about my role as a school employee." The four expert responses that were coded for reparation mentioned that they would establish clearer boundaries with the Deaf child's parents as a way of repairing potential damage to the parent-interpreter relationship. One expert interpreter would establish clearer boundaries in the work setting and replied, "Furthermore, I would clarify my roles in the position with my supervisors at work -- in what manner am I to assist the teachers in the classroom. Where does that line end? I would be very clear in this job to THEM what my role is as an interpreter so that I'm not lead into the middle of this either." The same interpreter also mentioned more strict boundaries between the personal and professional aspects of her life. "Continue to socialize with the parents, but maintain professional boundaries with them and this is one area that is NOT discussed with them on a personal level." She went on to say that she would sacrifice her personal relationship with this Deaf parent to continue working. She said, "...I'd back off the friendship for a while in the interest of professional conduct and confidentiality."

Both groups of participants frequently replied that they would not mix their personal and professional lives in the second scenario. The code, "Not Mix," was the emerging code for not mixing one's personal and professional lives. This was the more predominant response for novices, with 34 participants responding that they would not accept the assignment if they are friends with the Deaf parents' child. One novice stated, "You have already stepped outside of professional conduct by

befriending a student's parents," while another said, "I would not be that student's interpreter if I were her/his parents' social friend." There were ten experts who responded that they would not mix personal and professional areas of their lives. Those who did include in their answers that they would not mix the two strongly stated, "I would never be in this situation. I would not socialize with the consumer's family while working with the consumer. If I were close friends with this family, I would not take the job in the first place." Another expert replied, "To begin with, I would not accept this assignment since I am socially involved with the parents. It would have been an automatically unethical choice to work with someone's child and compromise his privacy."

Another interesting observation that emerged through analysis of the survey responses was that of policies and procedures superseding the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct. There are certain settings where the CPC is not the predominant document that interpreters follow when needing to make a decision. When interpreters are working in an educational setting, for example, they may feel obligated to adhere to that site's policies and procedures in lieu of the CPC. Expert interpreters responded 14 times that interpreters must follow the policies of the school site, but novices did not mention school site policies at all. One expert stated, "You as a school employee can't just ignore it," "It depends very much on the expectations of the school district...Ultimately, as with any service professional, I would maintain boundaries between professional responsibilities and personal interest with the family."

When interpreters stated that they would do something other than what was the expected norm, this was coded as 'espoused and enacted theory of action' and

will be discussed further in a future section. For example, one interpreter stated, "While it would be nice to live in an ethical bubble and say that I could not disclose any information to the parents that would not be true." While most interpreters responded according to the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct, this interpreter reported that she would probably tell the parents about their child's behavior.

'Other' was coded when a participant wrote a comment that was interesting but did not emerge as a pattern in other interpreters' responses. This code raised questions about the interpreters' responses. There were 14 experts and zero novices that were coded for 'Other.' One expert said, "This is an ethical conundrum and shows the interpreter does not practice with consideration for Professional Conduct or ethical business practices." Because interpreters potentially find themselves in unpredictable situations, it doesn't mean that they are not able to follow the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct. They must make choices that prioritize meta-ethical principles. Another interpreter replied, "If the parents asked me this question outside of the school parameters, I would direct them to have a meeting with the school team." If the interpreter were to be asked in the school environment, then the interpreter would be allowed to tell the parents about their child's behavior?

Analysis of these findings answers the research question of how novice and expert interpreters prioritize meta-ethical principles. Both groups of interpreters were coded for the prima facie duty of fidelity, which was prioritized higher than any other meta-ethical principle. Both groups also correctly identified the ethical dilemma of confidentiality in the scenario. Novice interpreters, more than expert interpreters, responded that they would adhere to the Code of Professional Conduct and avoid conflicting roles, not mix their professional and personal lives, and if they are in a

situation where these boundaries are blurred, they will extricate themselves from the situation to avoid professional conflict, even at the expense of their personal lives.

Findings from Scenario 2

The second scenario involved the interpreter having a brother as a police officer and focused on the ethical issue of impartiality and included the issue of perceived bias. Impartiality is under the tenet of "Professionalism" in the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct and is the ability to interpret without bias towards either the hearing or the Deaf consumer. This tenet also includes requesting support if needed and providing resources and referral regarding interpreting services.

Scenario #2

You are a certified interpreter and your brother is a police officer. One night he calls you and begs you to do him a favor and come in and interpret for a Deaf man they just picked up for allegedly committing a crime. Your brother tells you that they have called everyone on the list and no one is available.

Novices did not favor one response over another as much in this scenario:

63 (36%) codes for impartiality
57 (32%) business practices
43 (25%) for professional conduct
13 (7%) for confidentiality

The expert group of interpreters was evenly split between impartiality and professional conduct with 41 (32%) codes for each category. Business practices had 35 (27%) and confidentiality 12 (9%) codes. Both groups were clear that the scenario was not focusing on confidentiality, but they were not decisive on which of the other three categories the scenario focused.

Because of the prevalence of interpreters from both groups stating that they would not accept this assignment because they felt that they were not qualified to interpret in a legal setting without the Specialist Certificate: Legal (SC:L) certification, a code of 'not qualified' was added to the list of emerging codes. Of the novices, 45 replied that they would not accept this assignment because they were not qualified and only 18 of the experts replied with the same reasoning. One novice emphatically responded, "I don't hold the specialized certification to work in legal situations. PERIOD." Another answered, "I do not currently hold the SC:L certificate, only the NIC, and have no experience interpreting in legal situations. It would, therefore, be inappropriate for me to interpret for a Deaf person accused of committing a crime." One novice stated that having the complication of your brother as the police officer was not a mitigating factor, only the certification requirements. She said, "As a rule, I refuse any and all legal assignments as I do not possess the specialist certificate in legal interpreting. It doesn't matter if the person asking me is a family member of not, I would not accept this assignment."

Most expert interpreters felt qualified and competent to interpret in this setting, regardless of the conflict with the brother. They stated that their expertise in handling a legal situation would allow them to be neutral and confident. One expert stated, "A certified interpreter who follows the code of conduct could interpret in this situation and stay impartial. I would do the appointment if I felt I was qualified to be there." Some of the experts merely replied that legal interpreting was not an area in which they work and knowing the ramifications of working in legal setting without the experience could have serious consequences for all parties involved. One person reported, "I would explain what I know about legal interpretation and the

vulnerability and likely inadmissibility of the evidence if his sister interprets." Most experts stated that they would accept the assignment if there were another police officer leading the interrogation and the brother was not involved. One expert interpreter said, "For me it would not be an ethical issue if someone other than the brother conducted the questioning, etc." They responded fewer times (18) that they would not accept an assignment interpreting in the legal setting. One expert interpreter stated, "I don't feel qualified as a legal interpreter. I DO have a brother who is a police officer. I still wouldn't do it." Another replied, "Because I have little or no experience in the legal setting and no formal training in legal interpreting, I would decline."

In addition to declining the assignment due to not having the proper skill or credentials, many interpreters stated that they would assist their brother by providing resources to find another, more qualified interpreter to interpret the interrogation. The code of the prima facie duty of "Do Good" was applied to responses when interpreters stated that they would provide a list of interpreters, or call an interpreting agency. Of the responses, 77 novices and 48 experts stated that they would help the police department locate another interpreter. Novices replied, "I might lend assistance to finding an appropriate interpreter for the situation," "I would offer assistance in contacting a replacement interpreter," and "Suggest other agencies or interpreters that could meet the police department need." Experts had similar answers and responded, "I would provide whatever lists or names of other qualified interpreters. Since they "just picked him up" there is time within the legal guidelines for them to hold him until a qualified interpreter could be located," "and offer to help find a more appropriate interpreter," and "I believe I would tell my brother I'd be

glad to help look for interpreter resources they might not know about. And if the issue was that they didn't want to have to go to an interpreting agency, I'd commiserate briefly with him, that yes, that does cost more, but then reinforce that getting a qualified, impartial interpreter is the most important thing."

In contrast to offering assistance in finding a qualified interpreter, five novices stated that they would proceed to interpret because they felt bad about the Deaf person not having access to communication or being mistreated while incarcerated. One novice replied, "I have heard of situations where Deaf people can be abused/neglected because of a lack of interpreter in police situations. Therefore, in this scenario, I would offer to come in to interpret brief explanation from the police to the Deaf person." Another novice said, "Currently, I'm working with an organization that defends people against disability discrimination, and I know how serious it is when Deaf people don't have interpreters for interrogations. Even with the potential ethical blunders I could make, I doubt that I would create a situation worse than having no interpreter at all, so I would go." Novices were aware that if the interrogation occurred with an unqualified interpreter that the case could be potentially thrown out of court. Regardless, these five would interpret. Some expert interpreters, also, stated that they would interpret, but only for a finite amount of time, in order for a qualified interpreter to arrive. One expert interpreter explained:

However, in a less urban area where in all likelihood no other qualified interpreters will be found in a timely manner, the interpreter could agree to interpret stating the caveat that if s/he finds during the interpretation that s/he is becoming biased or overly emotionally involved that s/he reserves the right to stop interpreting at any time during the interaction. Agreeing to interpret in this situation would be a last resort to ensure that the Deaf suspect has as timely services as possible.

The striking observation about the responses to this scenario was the discussion about payment. This was the first time the issue of being paid appeared in the participants' answers, for both novice and experts. Novices responded more about establishing payment agreements and worried about not being paid by the police department than experts. There were 47 novices that expressly demanded payment so that they would be perceived as doing a professional job. One novice commented, "You should be able to professionally interpret for this situation as long as you have the appropriate billing and contact information so that you can keep it professional." The interpreter did not identify the conflict of interest ethical issue at all and strictly focused on payment. Another novice replied, "You will have to get paid for the job because you are a professional and not doing it as a 'favor,' charge your normal fee plus emergency pay as you would any other job." Several others made similar comments such as, "As long as I am reimbursed for the interpreting," "I would charge the Police department in an appropriate business fashion," and "Interpreting is a paid profession, not a free favor whenever it's convenient."

Nine of the expert interpreters inferred that the phrase 'begs you to do him a favor' as providing pro bono service, which is one of the requirements in the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct. One expert noted, "The favor part would mean it would be a pro-bono if I choose to accept the assignment, which all interpreters do once in a while anyway." Other experts responded, "If my brother, the police officer, is asking me to do this gratis I would decline," "I would not go as a volunteer interpreter," and "I would not provide a pro bono service in this instance." The experts agreed that providing pro bono services are appropriate in some situations,

but definitely not in a legal setting, particularly if there is a perception of bias with you interpreting for your brother, the police officer.

The other surprising finding was that 42 novices and 43 experts reported that interpreting for your brother interrogating a suspected criminal was not unethical if one can maintain professionalism and expect payment as a professional. Novices attempted to clarify their conflicting roles as interpreters and family by saying, "If my brother were involved in the questioning, it would be a conflict for me to interpret because he might expect more of me than another interpreter. I would accept an assignment like this only if he were not involved. If that happened, then I could conduct myself professionally without having to consider the relationship." This novice interpreter contradicted herself by stating that she would accept only if her brother were not doing the interrogating, but would do it anyway if he were interrogating a suspect. Another novice seemed to not be able to identify her role as interpreter by saying, "Am I doing the job for my brother or the Deaf client? If I accepted the job, it would be to assist in facilitating communication alone." As an inexperienced interpreter, she was still not clear how to describe her role, which is to interpret between both people, not just one, and to facilitate communication.

One expert interpreter commented, "I do not see this as an ethical problem since I am a certified interpreter and should conduct myself as such and will keep all information confidential." Another clarified that, "This is not an ethical issue, so long as I conduct myself professionally and maintain my impartiality. I would also be sure to bill the police department for my services as a normal course of business. So long as it was not my brother conducting the interview with the accused, I see no conflict." One more expert focused solely on the issue of confidentiality and not the

perception of bias when she stated, "If I am a certified interpreter, then I SHOULD be able to go and interpret with impartiality and appropriate conduct. If my brother understands my role, then confidentiality should not become an issue."

The code, 'other,' was coded several times for both novices and experts in the second question. One novice stated that she would "ask him to first call the emergency service and either use the ER interpreter and/or request me as an interpreter." This novice apparently does not understand the significant difference in required knowledge and skill between interpreting for medical appointments and police interrogations. She seems to believe that the last-minute request of the appointment equates the two settings. Other novice interpreters responded that if they adhered to professional boundaries, then they would be perceived as professionals. One novice stated, "As long as the boundaries of business practices are discussed before and I am capable of drawing the line separating myself and my brother then I am fine." This same novice explained that if her brother, the police officer, had "physically roughed up the accused and now it was my brother who was questioning him then I may have some conflict of interest based on not being able to remain impartial." This novice apparently does not understand that impartiality, as it relates to the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct, signifies that "[interpreters] avoid situations that result in conflicting roles or perceived or actual conflicts of interest." Interpreting for your brother, who happens to be interrogating an accused suspect, would be perceived as a conflict of interest, not your feelings about how the police officer "roughed up the accused."

The Code of Professional Conduct also states that "[i]nterpreters accept assignments using discretion with regard to skill, communication mode, setting, and

consumer needs. Interpreters possess knowledge of American Deaf culture and Deafness-related resources." Novices who have only 1-3 years of experience as a professional interpreter, typically do not have the required experience to interpret in a legal setting. One novice replied, "I'm wondering that if the brother followed departmental procedure to call an agency or certified interpreter from an approved list, why the sister's name was not on the list if she truly was considered qualified to do the assignment?" When answering the survey question, this interpreter did not answer which ethical area this scenario involved, only if the sister had been called or not. It was apparent that the concern was only who on the list was called to interpret and not if there was perceived bias or even if she were qualified to interpret in this high-stakes assignment.

In summary, a large number of novices (45) would not accept the assignment based on qualifications, which answers what kind of knowledge is required for interpreters to make ethical decisions. Knowledge about one's skill level is required to assess a situation to determine if one is qualified. Only a few experts (18) said that they were not qualified to interpret in a legal setting, based on not having the Specialist Certificate: Legal (SC:L) from RID and the potential for a mistrial. Interpreters in both groups stated that they would not accept the assignment if their brother interrogated the suspect, but would accept it if another police officer conducted the interrogation. Approximately an even number of novices and experts (42/43) responded that the situation was not ethical in nature and if they could maintain neutrality, then they would be qualified to perform the assignment. Another surprising finding was the expectation of payment, with approximately twice as many

novices demanding payment as a way of being perceived as a professional interpreter.

Findings from Scenario 3

Scenario three was situated in an educational setting, similar to the first one; however, the focus of this scenario was professional conduct. The NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct labeled this ethical area as 'Conduct' and states that "[i]nterpreters are expected to present themselves appropriately in demeanor and appearance..."

Scenario #3

You interpret in an educational setting with 20 students (5 of whom are Deaf), a hearing teacher and a Deaf teaching assistant. The teacher has a habit of asking you questions concerning the progress of the Deaf students. You keep directing the questions towards the teaching assistant but it is clear the teacher still doesn't understand your role as the interpreter. Further, you feel she is not showing proper respect toward the Deaf teaching assistant.

Novice interpreters were fairly decisive with:

127 (41%) for professional conduct
 80 (26%) for impartiality
 75 (25%) for business practices
 23 (8%) for confidentiality

Confidentiality had only 23 codes (8%), which indicated that the novice group felt confident that this scenario did not deal with breaching confidentiality as much as the other categories. One novice replied, "This connects with professional conduct. It is important to clearly state the role of the interpreter and to show support and respect to the teaching assistant." Another novice answered strongly by stating, "This involves professional conduct. I would request a meeting with the teacher's

supervisor to clarify the roles of all involved. An outside interpreter would be needed for the meeting.” This novice interpreter indicated that she would not attempt to resolve the conflict with the teacher herself, but jump directly to the teacher’s supervisor. A third novice responded, “I would explain my role as the language/cultural mediator, most likely bringing the teacher informative literature from RID explaining my responsibilities. I would answer all questions pertaining to the interpreting, and how the students are responding to sign language and using an interpreter.” This interpreter used vocabulary indicative of recent schooling by saying ‘language/cultural mediator’ and also would avail herself to be a linguistic resource for the teacher, rather than respond by saying that she, herself, would be the resource based on her experience and knowledge.

Experts were coded:

73 (58%) professional conduct
 22 (18%) business practices
 17 (14%) impartiality
 13 (10%) confidentiality

Professional conduct was far higher than the other three categories. One expert noted, “As a professional interpreter, the interpreter could meet with the teacher privately and congenially and professionally explain the role of the interpreter and note that the interpreter can assess and inform the teacher of the students’ attention to and understanding of the interpretations, but is prevented from expressing opinions regarding the students’ progress due to role.” Another expert interpreter replied, “I think this is an issue of professional conduct. I need to explain my role to the teacher. I would certainly want to enlist the help of the Deaf teaching assistant in doing this, perhaps even asking the Deaf TA to take the lead in our

meeting with the teacher.” Unlike the novices, none of the expert interpreters who responded with professional conduct suggested that they meet with the principal, or the teacher’s superior, before meeting with the teacher herself. Only two experts included meeting with a supervisor in their replies. One expert responded, “I would have to ask for a meeting with the teacher and the teaching assistant to discuss roles and boundaries of our job descriptions. If the confusion persists, a supervising teacher or assistant principal could also be brought into the discussions.”

Similar to the first scenario, interpreters in both groups responded overwhelmingly with the *prima facie* duty of fidelity to their roles as interpreters. Fidelity is maintaining honesty in and adhering to one’s contracts. There were 191 novice responses that were coded for fidelity. Novices felt strongly that they needed to continue to interpret the questions from the teacher and redirect the teacher to the Deaf teaching assistant, who happened to be the expert on the topic being addressed. Typical novice responses were, “I’m doing my job-referring the questions to the Deaf assistant and rendering the message,” “I would privately meet with the teacher and explain my role as an interpreter and how it relates to her as a teacher and her teaching assistant,” and “I would talk with the teacher one-on-one and remind her of my role.”

Experts also had a high number of codes for fidelity with 130. Just like the novices, experts replied that they would continue to interpret the teacher’s questions, maintaining their role as the interpreter, and continue to encourage the teacher to talk to the Deaf teaching assistant. Typical expert responses were, “I would just continue to reinforce the re-directing of questions to the appropriate parties,” “I would explain my role and discomfort in responding to questions regarding students

that the assistant has direct access to and knowledge of," and "The interpreter should continue to direct the teacher to the appropriate resources to inform the teacher of how the Deaf students are doing."

The next pattern of responses that was coded often was that of 'responsible caring.' The typical response by the experts included being concerned about their colleagues, particularly the Deaf teaching assistant, with only 28 novice responses and an overwhelming 69 expert responses coded for 'responsible caring.' Typical novice responses were, "This approach would be a non-threatening way of educating the hearing teacher of expectations when working with Deaf students, especially since they may not have had the experience before," "I would professionally and kindly explain to the teacher my role as the interpreter," and "Tell the teacher I am not there to report the students' progress. [It would b]e nice and go to lunch with the teacher and explain things more clearly, encourage her to realize her role as boss of the class!" Experts were more predominant in their answers regarding their colleagues. Typical expert answers were, "Many times the interpreter is a public relations liaison," "I would explain my role to her as clearly and as diplomatically as I could, trying hard to understand her motives for her actions," "This request needs to be couched in positive, non-accusatory terms, and to show a desire to assure that everyone understands the interpreter's role," and "It is important to respect all the parties involved."

Some interpreters from both groups perceived this scenario as not ethical in nature. Of the novice interpreters, 14 responses were coded for 'not ethical,' with 17 experts reporting that the scenario was not ethical. Typical novice responses were, "There is no ethical issue here." As an interpreter, it is part of your job to explain

your role to all parties," "No ethical issue here - just a need for clear communication between the teacher, assistant and yourself of clearly defined roles and expectations on how you three will work together in the classroom," and "This isn't an ethical issue from my standpoint, but the teacher isn't acting professionally." Experts had similar responses, saying, "No ethics involved on the interpreter's part. I'd either talk to the teacher's assistant (TA) to help educate the teacher," and "Not an ethical issue as much as a cross-cultural issue."

In the code category of 'other,' one novice said that she would "perhaps, talk to the principal and get a local Deaf speaker from the local state NAD organization and someone from the state chapter of RID to come to the school and talk to the staff. Make it a mandatory meeting on 'how to interact' with Deaf people and what role an interpreter has." This novice would go beyond the role of the interpreter by providing resources and advocate for the Deaf assistant, rather than attempt to resolve the issue herself. Another novice responded similarly:

If the teacher is not responsive to any of these methods I would then involve the administrator in the building to define the roles of the team. I would suggest to the administrator the need for an in-service for working with interpreters and colleagues who are Deaf. I would provide information for both the teacher and the administrator to contact the Dept. of the Deaf and Hard of Hearing, the school for the Deaf, Deaf Advocacy groups, Deaf Clubs, and the national and local chapters of NAD and RID for assistance and questions.

In summary, an overwhelming number of responses were coded for 'fidelity' with 191 novices and 130 experts claiming that they would stay within their prescribed role of interpreting and redirect the teacher's questions to the appropriate person. This evidence corresponds with the first scenario and the prevalence of the

code, 'fidelity,' substantiating the claim that both novice and expert interpreters prioritize 'fidelity' in their decision-making processes. Both groups of interpreters also stated that they would clarify their role in a respectful manner so as not to offend the teacher. Only a few interpreters stated that the scenario was not ethical in nature because they would just continue to interpret the questions between the hearing teacher and the Deaf teaching assistant, again following the meta-ethical principle of 'fidelity.'

Findings from Scenario 4

The fourth scenario was one that was not necessarily ethical in nature, but a situation that dealt more with lighting and environmental issues and was added as a control for interpreters to identify that this was not ethical in nature but logistical. Interpreter, in the course of their work, will be faced with interpreting in the dark, movies with no captions, or loud noises, which hinder the interpreting process.

Scenario #4

You are interpreting a professional development workshop where a video will be shown. The hearing presenter turns off all of the lights in order to improve the video clarity, but the Deaf participant now cannot see you when you interpret.

Even though this area does not directly relate to the Code of Professional Conduct, how one handled the situation could be perceived as a conduct issue. The novices chose:

- 73 (69%) professional conduct
- 18 (17%) business practices
- 15 (14%) impartiality
- 0 (0%) confidentiality

One novice stated, "The first thing that I might do in this situation is ask the presenter if we could leave one light on for the client to be able to see the interpreter. Additionally, I would check to see if we could pause for a moment to check for captions on the video. By bringing these options to the presenter's attention they will become more aware of the communication access needs of all workshop attendees." Most novices stated that they would defer to the Deaf adult in the scenario for guidance. As one novice noted, "I'd ask the consumer what they wanted to do, then, if the consumer agrees, politely ask a light be left on for the interpreter." Several novices reported that they would prepare for the assignment before starting so as to avoid being in the position to interrupt the speaker. One novice indicated, "This would require having met with the instructor before hand. If working with a Deaf person who likes to take care of these things themselves [sic], I would interpret for that person with the instructor before hand."

Experts had similar patterns with the novice interpreters. Expert responses were coded 64 (70%) for professional conduct, with 24 (26%) coded for business practices and four (4%) for impartiality. Again, there were no codes for confidentiality. One expert interpreter answered, "This happens all the time... First, I'd check with the Deaf consumer, and ask what they want to do, and then either interpret their response, or am instructed to ameliorate the situation by asking for lighting..." Another interpreter replied that she would try to prepare for the assignment as much as possible. "It is my role to control the physical set up as much as possible to maximize communication."

Novices and experts were evenly divided on many codes, such as this scenario not being an ethical issue, with 38 responses for both groups. One novice stated, "No

ethical, just logistical." Another responded, "This situation is in regarding to logistics and education of the consumer. This isn't necessarily an ethical issue, it is just a communication issue." Typical expert responses were, "not an ethical issue but an access issue," "To me this is not an ethical issue usually, but rather one of process and etiquette and finessing," and "I do not see this as an ethical issue, but rather one of logistics and procedure." Both novices and experts recognized this scenario as one that "happens all the time" and just needed to be addressed, and handled tactfully, giving respect to both consumers.

Twice as many novices quoted the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct in their responses, with 21 novices who responded with phrases such as, "can not render the message faithfully," "in which I am functioning in a manner that is appropriate to the situation," "breaching professional conduct according to the CPC," and "Assess consumer needs and the interpreting situation before and during the assignment and make adjustments as needed." Typical expert responses included, "Rendering the message faithfully," and "conducting self in a manner appropriate to the specific situation." One expert who responded had four tenet citations in her response:

Tenet 2.2-assess the interpreting situation before and during the assignment make adjustments as needed...Under Conduct, 3.3, I am to consult with appropriate persons regarding the interpreting situation and at that time, determine logistics. Tenet 4.4 directs the interpreter to support the full interaction and independence of consumers, so following the Deaf participant's lead is highly appropriate. If I believe conditions still do not exist that allow effective communication, I will check in with the Deaf participant to see what his perspective is and what he wants or doesn't want to do (Tenet 6.3).

Another code that had noticeably different results was the code for 'respect for colleagues,' which is taking one's colleagues feelings into the decision-making process. Novices, again, had more than twice the number of codes, with 57, than experts who had 24. One novice stated:

If in this situation, I would ask the Deaf consumer(s) if they would like to mention that a lack of light prohibits their involvement in the workshop/video and I could interpret for them or would they prefer I take the initiative to educate the presenter by informing them that by turning the lights off prevents full participation from the Deaf consumers because they can't see the interpreter.

Other novices replied, "I would first consult with the Deaf consumer, then consumer or I can make the request known to the teacher," and "This is out of respect of the Deaf consumer, and I would follow their lead in this regard." Experts, too, expressed their concern to respect the Deaf consumer. One expert noted, "I would check in with the Deaf participant to see what they would like to do." Experts, as opposed to novices, also included the hearing consumer. One expert wrote, "I would acknowledge the hearing person's desire to have the video be clear for all participants."

The code for 'other' had interesting results for novices. There were several novices that responded with typical answers for those new to the field. One novice stated she would have to speak up to have the lights turned on and "consequently draw some attention to myself." Interpreters typically sit in front of the room and have quite a lot of attention already and to speak up for lighting is common for a visual language that depends on being able to see the other person. To either interpret what the Deaf person signs, or speaking up for one's self is standard practice and should not be considered drawing attention to one's self. This novice is

apparently not yet comfortable in the role of interpreter when she completed this survey. Another novice stated that she would defer to the Deaf consumer and “then I would file a complaint with the appropriate people,” while another stated, “I would also ask the Deaf consumer if they are comfortable with tactile interpreting which could be a way of circumventing any type of issue.” These options are not standard practices in the field of interpreting. Interpreters are expected to resolve problems with the parties involved and not jump to filing a complaint as the first step to resolving a conflict. The second response of tactile interpreting is only used for Deaf-Blind individuals, and is a learned skill that not every Deaf person possesses.

Two novices replied that, not interpreting for the Deaf person, they would speak in first person, as if voicing for the Deaf consumer. They responded, “I would first sign, ‘Can you see me?’ If they said, ‘No’ then I would voice, ‘I can’t see the interpreter,’ then I would ask if there could be a light on so that I can be seen,” “Interpreter will have to speak up and voice the lighting concern of the Deaf participant and/or voice the obvious disruption to fully accomplish her/his job of relaying the information presented,” and “at that point, I would stop the show immediately and verbalize the issue ‘I can’t see my interpreter!’” They stated that they would do this with respect towards the Deaf consumer, however, they stated that they would verbalize their concerns without allowing the Deaf consumer to empower herself to request lighting. One novice explicitly stated, “Sometimes the client may be hesitant and I’ll take the bull by the horns with the presenter and mention that it is impossible for the Deaf client to see the visual language interpretation of what the presenter is saying about what is being shown if there isn’t a light on.”

Experts, had ten responses coded for 'other,' including one who stated plainly, "Sadly, though, I have seen this very situation repeated many, many times and the participant often chooses to take a rest or snooze, then claim lack of access when they don't have the needed info later on." Another replied that "If I can't be seen, then I'm not being professional," with another expert interpreter drawing on a leading expert in the field from the 1990's, Sandra Gish. This expert responded, "According to Gish, interpreters have within our role and function in doing our job, the right to exert leadership in task functions of groups." These expert interpreters seem to understand that the scenario was not ethical, but part of the role of the interpreter, including adjusting lighting to ensure that the interpreter is easily understood. One interpreter explained the concept concisely:

I think some interpreters feel that talking to the participants about the issue involves an ethical issue of impartiality; however, I don't think that's the case. I think it's a professional decision. Certainly other fields (e.g., doctors) don't consider altering the environment an 'ethical decision', it's just part of doing business.

In summary, Even though the numbers were few (38 and 38) novices and experts were evenly split in deciding that this scenario was not ethical. Novices responded that they would be more respectful in their interactions with the hearing presenter to resolve the problem. Twice as many novices responded with quotes from the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct, indicating that they would draw from these tenets in their attempt to provide lighting so that they Deaf consumer would access to the information. Novices also replied that they would interact with both the Deaf and hearing consumers with respect with 57 codes for this category, as compared to the expert interpreters with 24 codes.

Findings from Scenario 5

The last scenario involved interpreting for a meeting between a Deaf social worker and the hearing parent of a Deaf child, which focused on the ethical area of business practices. This scenario apparently triggered anger in many of the participants towards the team interpreter in the scenario.

Scenario #5

You and another interpreter have been booked to interpret a 1 1/2 hour appointment between a Deaf social worker and the hearing parent of a Deaf child. You will both bill for the two-hour minimum.

Without telling you, your team interpreter contacts the Deaf social worker in advance of the appointment. The interpreter explains that he is really busy with another volunteer project and hopes the meeting finishes early if at all possible. The social worker thanks your partner for the call and promises to do what she can to keep things on schedule.

You show up at the appointment, unaware of this earlier conversation. The two of you interpret the appointment that wraps up after only 35 minutes. The social worker thanks your partner and tells him he can go but that she would like you to stay the remaining 30-45 minutes to interpret several telephone calls.

The 153 novices answering this last question responded:

85 (55%) for business practices
 64 (42%) for professional conduct
 4 (3%) for impartiality
 0 (0%) for confidentiality

The novices replied that the team interpreter was displaying poor business practices, with one stating, "If the other interpreter still bills for the 2-hour minimum, this is a violation of business practices." Others declared, "If I was booked for the client for two hours, I would expect to stay for the two hours and would expect my

team interpreter to stay as well," "This is an ethical issue because both interpreters are getting paid for the full assignment but the other interpreter is leaving," "Since I'm being paid for the time. I would also hope that my colleague would bill appropriately for only partial time since he/she conversed with the Social worker prior to the job. My colleague should not bill for the full time," "For the interpreter to bill the agency for time spent on a volunteer project seems like stealing to me," and "If you book for a 2-hour minimum-then you work for the time contracted."

The experts also responded that it was poor business practices to accept an assignment for which one cannot stay for the entire time committed. One expert responded, "The interpreter who called the social worker should not have accepted the assignment if they could not stay the entire time requested." Another replied, "Taking pay for time when one is not present and is not performing the job is patently dishonest and unethical." Others stated, "You have billed for the two-hour minimum so you do have an obligation to continue to interpret," "...and fiduciary honesty and responsibility to the point of fraud in billing for work not done," "The other interpreter had no business mandating the length of the meeting due to a previous commitment and should not have accepted the assignment if they had a time constraint," and "There are others present who may also be those paying the bill. They are likely to question someone leaving early yet billing the full time."

Since this scenario was the only one in which there were a team of interpreter working together, feelings about one's team was included in the responses, and the emerging code of "feelings about team" was added. Almost twice as many novices (122) compared to experts (65) indicated that they were adamant about not working with that interpreter again stating, "I would also no longer accept teaming

assignments with the other interpreter,” “For the interpreter I would have a polite conversation confronting them about the situation. After that if I still feel uncomfortable I would probably chose not to team with that interpreter again,” and “VERY VERY VERY unprofessional (conduct) and that other interpreter also is displaying poor business practices...If a freelance interpreter, I guess I would just choose never to work with them again.”

Experts, too, were adamant about working with that interpreter in the future. Some responses were, “I probably would be cautious about accepting work with that team in the future,” “For the other interpreter, there is an ethical issue of agreeing to interpret for a certain time period and pressuring the consumers to limit their time using the interpreter,” and “If you work with this team interpreter again, it might be advisable to decline the assignment.” The most powerful statement by one of the experts addressed the professional conduct of the interpreter in regards to working with his team interpreter. The expert stated, “This discussion was conducted outside of the knowledge of the co-interpreter—a professional conduct violation. The interpreter should be shot.” This strong reaction was probably written as an ironic joke, but the fact that this interpreter responded thusly in a professional survey warrants consideration.

One striking observation was that 15 of the expert interpreters stated that this scenario was not ethical in nature and that it was “not necessarily an ethical issue--but a professional issue.” Most stated that they would stay for the time allotted since they are “booked for the hour and a half, and therefore have no objection to making phone calls after the appointment.” Many experts said, “This kind of thing actually happens ALL the time in this field. I almost expect it or something like it.” Some experts felt that the

practice of reciprocity, or *quid quo pro*, was expected among interpreters. One expert wrote,

In either case, if it's someone I work with regularly, they would then kind of 'owe' me...and if another job came up where we worked together and the session was over but the Deaf consumer had questions for the speaker or some such thing, I would take the reciprocity that way and excuse myself and let them stay later the next time.

Another interpreter responded in concordance with this expert, saying, "Since I have been in this situation on both sides, I understand that working as a team requires both give and take. There are so few interpreters that what I give today will come around in my benefit eventually."

Other responses were coded for the *prima facie* duty of 'reparation,' which Ross (2001) defines as a duty that is "resting on a wrongful act" (p. 21). The wrongful act from the interpreters' perspective was that of the team interpreter making arrangements with the Deaf social worker and leaving early without the team interpreter's knowledge of the aforementioned conversation. There were 93 novices and 53 experts coded for reparation, responding that they would take action with the team interpreter to ensure that the situation would not occur in the future. Typical novices were "I would have confronted the other interpreter to see how we could have solve this problem if it comes up again in the future," "However, if I did become aware of this, I would take the other interpreter aside and ask him/her why he/she failed to disclose to me at the start of the assignment that he/she would have to leave early," and "...and then I would request a debriefing meeting with the interpreter that I teamed with to discuss possible solutions for future jobs. I would

share my concerns and possible solutions so this would not happen again to me or to other interpreters.”

Experts also expressed their concerns about talking to their team about his unethical business practices. Some expert responses were, “I would certainly discuss this with the team interpreter and might contact the agency that scheduled us,” “So afterward, I would have a conversation with the other interpreter to discuss this situation to hopefully avoid it in the future. If an agency was involved, I would discuss it with them,” “the other interpreter and I would have an immediate private discussion,” and “If this is something that interpreter is in the habit of doing, I might bring it to the attention of the referral service.”

Most of the interpreters, particularly novices, stated that they would stay and interpret phone calls because that is part of their job and they are there “to serve the client.” Novices replied, “I would stay the remaining time as I am billing for that time although it was not the job request,” “If I was booked for the client for two hours, I would expect to stay for the two hours and would expect my team interpreter to stay as well,” and “I would continue to interpret for the remainder of the job so that I can fulfill my obligations.” Experts had similar responses and stated, “Since I am being paid for two hours I would probably stay to interpret the phone calls up to the two hour time for which I was hired,” “The interpreter has been booked for the 1 1/2 hours and should stay and complete the phone calls,” and “...as for continuing the appt and working for the remaining 30-45 minutes, i think the interpreter would be expected to stay and complete the work; especially since the appointment was booked for 1 1/2 hours originally.”

In the code of 'other,' novice interpreters viewed the additional duties of interpreting phone calls as not within the scope of that assignment. One novice stated, "I was hired to interpret the meeting between the social worker and the patient's parent. If the phone calls were NOT related to such a meeting I would respectfully decline and explain that I was there to interpret the meeting and at its conclusion I must go." Another novice interpreter had a similar reply, "If I was told the job would be a specific kind of appointment and that the job would end when the appointment was over and that I would have a team for the entire time, then I would consider being asked to stay to interpret alone in a different setting for more than a few minutes as a separate job." These novice interpreters seemingly perceived the type of assignment, that of interpreting a meeting, as different than being hired for a two-hour time frame to interpret where one was needed. Most interpreters would view the interpreting request as a time frame in which to interpret any and all communication that was requested by the Deaf client and not a particular situation within the time frame.

Experts seemed to not be bothered by a change of plans in the assignment by saying, "According to my skill level this would not be a problem for the remainder of the time." Two of the experts included technology in their responses and said, "Too much technology out there now to expect an interpreter to 'stay & make phone calls'. Certainly IF they were a Deaf Professional they would not ask," and an emphatic, "come-on !!!!! The Deaf Social Worker has a videophone & VRS [Video Relay Service]. This is 2009!!!!!!!!!" This interpreter apparently did not take into account the confidential issues that come up in the daily course of a social worker's job, or the specialized vocabulary used by any one individual.

One surprising finding was the novices' responses of charging an additional two-hour minimum for the additional duties of interpreting phone calls, which is not standard practice in the interpreting profession. One novice said, "If the person wants to hire me for an additional assignment, I would charge more." Others stated, "I would politely tell the consumer 'I'm sorry but I was scheduled to interpret only for the (Name of family) meeting itself. I would be glad to interpret calls related to the case/meeting though since I am still on the clock but if the calls aren't related then that would be a completely different interpreting assignment,'" and "I would consider being asked to stay to interpret alone in a different setting for more than a few minutes as a separate job and would inform the social worker that I would bill separately for the extra time which would include another 2 hour minimum and possibly a last minute/emergency fee."

The expert interpreters did not make statements regarding charging more money for staying and performing 'extra' duties, but focused their attention on the team interpreter, stating that the professional behavior of that person was not ethical. One interpreter stated that she would charge her regular rate "and discuss ethical billing and ethical booking. I've got enough years in the field that I can do that. I would suggest strongly that the other interpreter only bill for time she was available. And I would not recommend that interpreter for any other jobs." Not one expert interpreter stated that she would not work with that team interpreter again, but said that they would report that interpreter to the hiring agency. "As a practice, when I submit invoices to an agency for assignments that have been teamed, I always indicate if my team arrives late and/or leaves early. In this situation I would include a short note about what transpired at the end of the assignment." Although

not standard practice to write about the actions of team interpreters on one's invoice, it is worth noting that interpreters can and do document others' behaviors.

In summary, both novices and experts say they would stay and interpret for the agreed time frame of the assignment, with more novices (97) than experts (63) following the prima facie duty of fidelity, again corresponding with scenarios one and three. This provides strong evidence that interpreters, regardless of expertise, prioritize the meta-ethical principle of 'fidelity' in their ethical decision-making. Some interpreters were concerned about the team interpreter making arrangements to leave early with his team performing the remaining duties alone, while others stated that this arrangement was a common occurrence. The salient message from the responses in the last scenario was that if interpreters do not inform their team interpreters, in advance, of their plans to leave early, novices say they will not work with them again. Experts, on the other hand, are evenly split on not working with that interpreter again, or expecting reciprocity, and being allowed to leave early the next time the interpreters are scheduled to work together.

Summary of Survey Findings

The first key observation showed that novice interpreters were able to define ethical situations similarly to experts, but only when the ethical issue was a main tenet of the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct (CPC) and one with which they have rehearsed answering for the National Interpreter Certification. For example, when the situation was one where the ethical issue involved the act of interpreting, such as scenarios one and three in the educational setting, both groups replied that they would prioritize the meta-ethical principle of fidelity over other meta-ethical

principles. Prima facie duties, or meta-ethical principles, as Ross defines (2001) are ways of characterizing a decision-making act that has “an appearance which a moral situation presents at first sight... [yet] is an objective fact involved in the nature of the situation, or more strictly in an element of its nature, though not as duty proper does, arising from the *whole* nature” (emphasis in the original, p. 20). Both novices and experts claimed that they would continue in their role as interpreters and redirect the questions to the proper authority, a concept that is explicitly defined in the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct (CPC). Tenet 4.4 of the CPC states that interpreters should, “[f]acilitate communication access and equality, and support the full interaction and independence of consumers” (see Appendix A). Questions one and three focused on situations that were familiar to both groups of interpreters and elicited responses that were delineated in an ethical code that every professional, nationally certified interpreter studies and follows in their daily work. It is not surprising that both groups would have similar answers to questions that directly relate to the major tenets of the professional ethical code. Situations where the ethical issue is embedded in the scenario, and related to the sub-tenets of the CPC, was where the novices and experts differed. Questions two and five involved ethical issues that were not explicitly connected to the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct and showed differences between novice and expert interpreters. The second question asked about impartiality and avoiding perceived conflicts of interest, which is not one of the main tenets of the CPC, but under the third tenet, Conduct (3.8). Both novice and experts had a low number of responses (14 and 17, respectively) stating that to proceed to interpret for one’s brother in a police interrogation would not be ethical and permitted; however, twice as many novices than experts explained that if

they were paid, it would be ethically appropriate. Experts' rationale was that they could maintain their professionalism, regardless if they were interpreting for their brother.

The noticeable similarity between both groups was the prevalence of the code for the meta-ethical code of 'fidelity.' Both novice and expert interpreters expressed a strong commitment to staying within their role as interpreters and abiding by time commitments. Both groups stated that they would not risk deviating from their prescribed role to answer questions meant for someone else and work for the billed timeframe. An example of fidelity is in the fifth scenario that asked about business practices and billing for the appropriate time worked. Many of the novices stated that they would never work with that interpreter again, while the experts declared that although the interpreter's actions were unethical, they would discuss the actions with the interpreter to avoid being involved in that situation in the future. Experts also stated that this situation is a common occurrence and would expect reciprocity the next time they worked together.

Chapter V: Findings- Interview

To address the research questions more in depth, I conducted six face-to-face interviews and because the interviewees were situated across the country, they were conducted by webcam. Three novices (pseudonyms start with "N") and three experts (pseudonyms start with "E") were chosen to participate. The purpose of conducting interviews as a method in the data collection was to investigate further how novices and experts differ, if at all, in how they identify and make ethical decisions. For example, would interpreters really follow the Demand-Control Schema Theory that is commonly used to prepare for the NAD-RID NIC exam as they responded in the survey? Or would they state during the interview that they would do something different? Would there be noticeable differences in the responses within groups, and across groups? If so, what would those differences be?

The first noticeable difference between the novice and expert groups was that the novices could not relate to and had no experience in some of the settings in the scenarios. When asked if they had any experience with interpreting in any of the scenarios, Nick stated that he did not have any experience interpreting in the K-12 setting, only in the post-secondary setting. Nora, also, stated that she has limited experience in the K-12 setting, and Noreen stated that when she answered the survey, she did not have much experience interpreting in the educational setting. At the time of the interview, however, she had been working in the K-12 setting more often. The three novices seemed to have limited or specialized experience, either in the post-secondary setting or mental health setting. Noreen recently established her own interpreting agency and runs the business, as well as interprets. Because she is

the owner, she is responsible for covering assignments that other interpreters cannot cover, giving her more of an opportunity to gain knowledge and skill in various areas. The experts had a different view on the sample scenarios. They all replied that the scenarios were "very real" situations with which they had familiarity and that the issues occurred frequently.

The second key observation was that the novices were unable to identify the ethical issue in the survey scenarios. When prompted to clarify their answers, Nick could not identify the ethical issues in several scenarios. He mistakenly ascribed certification to the police officer, instead of the interpreter. After realizing his mistake, he then talked about having connections and the officer "needing work" instead of the interpreter. Nick also confused the first educational setting scenario, which clearly states that the interpreter is working as an interpreter/classroom assistant in a class of 34 students. His experience is limited to the post-secondary setting where interpreters do not work as classroom assistants. He misinterpreted the question as socializing with the student and not with the parents, as his convoluted response indicates. His attempts at identifying the ethical issue appeared to be tangential:

Nick: And I've *only* interpreted a couple of situations that the kid got in trouble but I would not deal with anybody, since I saw the student outside of the school, if there's any, if I saw them outside of school, oh wait...Oh you socialize with them outside of work.

Interviewer: Right, you socialize with their *parents*.

Nick- Oh, with the parents only?...Oh okay, I was thinking...I maybe, like, come in contact at a Deaf helping, fair, or like a deaf festival, or something like that, often, but I don't know them well enough for them to know that I was the interpreter.

Nora, also, assigned the ethical issue to another non-ethical issue. When asked about the police-booking survey question, she compared interpreting for a Deaf person who has just been arrested to interpreting for sports medicine. She stated that she would do it because she would be there and there would be no one else to interpret, prioritizing the meta-ethical principle of 'do good.' Her response was incomplete and not confident:

I don't have that experience of going to a police station and interpreting but relate it to a different situation. If I had that experience, then yeah. One thing that I relate it to is that my husband works in sports medicine. So he's the guy on the football field. He runs out with them when they get hurt. So if one of his parents, or one of his athletes...I would run out there too, if I needed to...umm...you know...

She misidentified the ethical issue of perceived bias and improper professional conduct with one's brother being the police officer and proceeding to interpret a booking, as being unfair "because you got the job because of your brother and that is unfair to every other interpreter out in the community," but did not explain her reasoning. She also stated that it was a 'red flag' that she hypothetically did not receive a phone call from the police station. When prompted to clarify what she meant by 'red flag,' she replied that it was a 'red flag' because "they didn't really call every interpreter on the list, even though they said they did." She did not identify the potential perception of bias that could be used by lawyer in court to cause a mistrial.

Noreen, on the other hand, appeared to be overly confident in her responses yet still could not identify the ethical dilemma. She started with the correct ethical area of business practices in the survey question on the interpreter making arrangements to leave early, but then strongly focused on one aspect of the scenario

where the interpreter obtained the Deaf consumer's contact information from the job details and used that to his advantage:

Here's the thing. The interpreters don't use that contact information, so anything other than 'I can't find your office, or I'm late. I'll be there in five.' Not at any point in time should that information be used to benefit me. Not 'me' the coordinator, but me interpreter. EVER. ... I would never, as the interpreter, use that information for their [sic] own benefit. They should have never contacted that social worker. That would not be a good thing if that was one of my interpreters. I don't blow up on people by any means but I definitely would address the situation. And that's not cool, because they've completely bypassed me. And I sign the check. So you gotta go through me.

She then goes on to say, "Cut the phone call out and we don't have a problem because we got the communication" when, according to the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct, the interpreter in the scenario who leaves early but still bills for the two-hour minimum charge, is breaching the tenet of business practices by charging for work not performed. She did clarify that the interpreters that she employs are comfortable calling the agency to assist in remedying complicated issues.

A third difference between novices and experts that could be related to novices not having expertise in discussing ethical dilemmas was the degree of confidence in their responses. The novices were either too confident or not confident at all. Nick's responses initially were not as confident as they were later in the interview. He looked for assurance that he was answering the questions in accordance with my expectations. He commented, "I don't know if I answered your question right" and "... if I knew what you were looking for, I could probably tailor my answers to..." [voice faded away]. However, later in the interview, Nick responded by

describing the Deaf professionals with whom he works, possibly trying to validate his qualifications. He talked specifically about a certain Deaf doctor and a well-known Deaf performer for whom he has interpreted, which are in direct violation of the first NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct tenet of confidentiality. With the closely connected Deaf community, any mention of a Deaf doctor can pinpoint that person and breach the trust Deaf consumers have in their interpreters. Nick accepted assignments for this Deaf doctor even though he stated that he was not qualified. He explained that:

I did medical interpreting from the Deaf doctor aspect, which was the most thrilling time in my life, because I mean, to work for a Deaf doctor, a young interpreter like myself, it's kind of above me, so it's kind of one of those, like, ethical decisions that I kind of mistook, but I felt that my skills were there for the signing portion, but the voicing portion, I don't really sound like a doctor. So that was one of those things, but I learned so much. So that was one of the things that helped me.

He mentioned that even though he did not have the skills and knowledge to interpret for a Deaf doctor, he still accepted it for a learning experience. He recognized the decision he made as ethical in nature, but accepted the assignment anyway, regardless if he could sound like a doctor or not. Novice interpreters will typically take assignments that are above their skill set in order to improve their skills, however, most novices will follow Krashen and Terrell's (1983) *i + 1* theory of language development, which is accepting assignments that are one level above their skill set. Some novices, like Nick and Noreen (below), will accept assignments that are many levels above their skill set but should be declined, according to Tenet 2.0, Professionalism, which states that "Interpreters accept assignments using discretion with regard to skill..."

Noreen, who owns her own interpreting agency, also was overly confident in her interview. When asked how she would proceed on a decision-making task, she responded, "I'm not an average Joe," intimating that she is above average in decision-making and interpreting skills. Noreen mentioned that when she received her certification, she believed that she could present professional development workshops to interpreters. Being a novice in any professional field she did not recognize that more years of experience and validation of her qualifications were required to teach veteran interpreters new skills. She spoke negatively of the legal certification, SC:L, which is offered by the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf (RID). When asked her thoughts about how several novice interpreters responded to the survey, saying that they felt that they were not qualified to interpret for a police-booking, Noreen stated, "Here's the thing about the whole SC:L. If we have to wait until people get an SC:L, we'll have people sitting in prison until the cows come home because no one has an SC:L, at least not in this neck of the woods." She framed her response from an individualistic perspective, and how it would affect her as an individual in her community, and not from a broader frame that would include the entire Deaf and interpreting communities, including the police department's views on interpreters. Her decision to proceed to interpret, even though she is not qualified to interpret in a legal situation, could have serious implications for both the Deaf consumer, the police department, and perceptions about interpreters.

Nora's responses, on the other hand, were peppered throughout the entire interview with "you know," as if trying to elicit validation of her responses. She would falter, pause, and look for reassurance to ensure that her answers were appropriate and acceptable. When asked if she would change her survey answer regarding how

she would approach another interpreter who had displayed inappropriate business practices, she responded:

My answer was that I would, you know, approach the interpreter. I would think that I would, you know, be fair-going enough. I know me, and my personality, I might, you know, I would just accept it, it is what it is, but, you know, I would think that I would say something and that, you know, the right thing to do would be to say something, and to approach it right away. And to not continuing furthering that other interpreter who umm...then you gotta worry about the relationship you just developed with that social worker and try not, maybe not wanting to come off too much of a jerk.

Her responses consistently ended in 'you know' tags, indicating that she was either not comfortable talking about ethical scenarios or not confident that she was telling me the 'correct' answers. One possible explanation could be that she had only been certified for one year at the time she was interviewed, and did not yet have the expertise in discussing ethical issues with confidence.

Experts, on the other hand, were confident in their answers, but not overly confident. They responded appropriately to interview questions and expanded on their answers with narratives. They seemed to enjoy the collegial discussion on ethical decision-making and added their own experiences. Emma never once mentioned for whom she had interpreted and talked about ethical situations in general terms. She stated that she was a staff interpreter for a court system in California and worked as a freelance interpreter in the community. In her interview she included names of key people in the field of interpreting whom we both knew because she knew we had shared understanding, or intersubjectivity, of the interpreting field. When asked about when she received her Comprehensive Skills

Certificate (CSC), she responded with a narrative of how she was provided the opportunity to take the exam:

Actually, [a nationally well-known interpreter] called and said there was a cancellation and said "Hey, do you want to go take it?" I said, "Oh okay." I was interpreting at [Cal State] at the time, and it simply didn't make a difference.

When asked about the last question on the survey that involved an interpreter making arrangements to leave early but still get paid, she replied with confidence, yet non-judgmental. Her reply was framed to include the interpreting community and the onus of the interpreter to inform the agency and the responsibility of the agency to remedy the situation. Her response took into account the possible negative affects on the interpreting agency and the profession:

The last one, with the interpreter who did that? I would feel the obligation to let someone know that the business arrangement that I was made aware of did not happen. And they can follow through with it. But I would also expect them to correct it before I would put that agency in that type of situation again. But it wouldn't be the end of the world either.

Erica, who teaches an ethics class in a New York interpreter education program, responded to the police-booking survey questions in a typical way a teacher would in the classroom. She took the facts of the scenario and presented them in a manner that is meant to educate. Erica's responses addressed the community as a whole, including the interpreters, the Deaf consumer and the police department:

I think what ends up happening is that interpreters don't realize they have a choice to negotiate the terms. I don't have to go and interpret but I can go and provide communication. I can maybe talk with the client and see how serious it is and gauge the situation. Okay this is murder, this is serious, I can't really go in and do any interpreting. It means we need to call someone out of state and explain to the police that you're going to lose your case, if I go in and interpret it now. I mean, you don't want it thrown

out, you want good evidence, so ...you know, there are lots of steps in between.

Another key finding was that experts and novices differed in the structuring of their thinking about their responses. Novices typically had single-layered responses, or diverted the answer from the question. When asked about the police-booking survey question, Nick responded by saying it would be okay to interpret for the police officer who, in the scenario, is the interpreter's brother. Nick states that it would be okay to interpret for him, because "just because it's his brother, I don't think it's a big deal we have connections all over the place." There is no critical analysis of the situation or ramifications of that decision on the parties involved or how that decision will affect the police officer's and Deaf consumer's future dealings with interpreters. Nora replied that because she is certified, she stated that she "assum[ed] that I'm a freelance interpreter, then I'm on whatever list they call." She does not have enough experience and expertise to know that becoming certified does not automatically add your name to lists of qualified interpreters in discrete settings in a given community. Noreen provided a more complex response, including reacting to other interpreters who stated that as long as they were paid, they would accept the assignment. Noreen responded, "First of all the whole pay thing just kind of blows my mind. You know, so long as I get paid so-called constitutes me violating all these other things. But yet I am a professional. Yeah, no." However, as she continued, Noreen commented on how the Deaf suspect would appreciate the decision that the interpreter made, including proceeding to interpret, regardless of being qualified. Her response did not take into account that if the interpreter were not qualified, the case could be thrown out of court.

Ummm... you know, here's the thing and this will probably encompass my entire answer. The criminal will thank the interpreter at a later date for being firm in their decision as their life or freedom could be affected negatively.

In addition to single layer analysis, the three novices mentioned that they think in either black and white thinking patterns, or in a clearly delineated right or wrong thinking. Nora stated that "I had this opinion that this is the way it had to be and if I didn't do this, then, you know, then I'm being unethical, I was a lousy interpreter and someone would send my name to RID and I would be de-certified." She did not yet have the expertise to be able to make a decision within the range of ethicality as defined by the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct. Nick and Noreen labeled their thinking processes as 'black and white.' When asked what his thinking was about the ethical scenarios, Nick said, "I think I remember, I read them and I remember, there wasn't enough for me to really say [pause] black and white." Noreen used the phrase 'black and white' three times during the 45-minute interview. When asked how she established her business as a new interpreter, she explained the conditions of interpreter pay and treatment from the local Deaf center, then bought an existing agency and required interpreters to be certified, or they could not work for her. "That's how I approach things, I'm very black and white and people responded." When asked about her interpreter training, she said, "I'm not afraid of learning something new and I went through a number of humiliating situations where they humbled me, knocked me to my knees, to undo some of my black and white upbringing that I had." When discussing the scenario about the interpreter leaving early after making an agreement with the Deaf consumer, she commented that it was unacceptable to have interpreters make an agreement where one leaves early from

one assignment and the other can leave early from another assignment at a later date. She stated that "I just think that's unprofessional frame of mind to go into something (inaudible) but that's my black and white, idealistic world that I live in sometimes."

When asked about the police-booking question, Emma, who has over 25 years of experience as a certified interpreter, responded with three questions that she would ask first before accepting an assignment in a legal setting. She responded that being paid would never be her first priority, as it had been with the novices, but that the first questions she would ask are:

The first things that I think of first are 1) can I do it professionally? 2) is there enough professional distance? 3) can I assure that whatever I interpret in the police station is not only ethical, but perceived as ethical so that any statement that enter court cannot be torn apart as me being the sister to the cop, or whatever.

Erica, who teaches an ethics class in her local interpreter education program and has over 30 years experience, laughed when she was told that novices demanded payment of interpreting for the police-booking. She went on to say that the profession of interpreting is changing and that the actual definition of professionalism is payment, not skill. She states, "that's the biggest fissure that we see in RID right now, actually, is that definition of professionalism and how it's defined, and people really are defining it by money. Not virtue, not skill, not even skill! Not even that I have this set of abilities. How I'm perceived defines, not what I do ..." She proceeded to analyze beyond the answer to ask questions of why participants responded that they would interpret for the police-booking. When I explained that some participants from rural areas stated that they would interpret

because there were no other interpreters available, she responded that decisions come “down to a principle of ‘do no harm.’ I mean, what's going to be the least harm?” Erica also observed that novice interpreters have a different perception about the profession of sign language interpreting than veteran interpreters. She commented that she calls them “the Ann Taylor set. I’ll buy the suit, I’ll get the briefcase, I’ll have the pager: I’m an interpreter. It really cracks me up and they really do do it! And you’re just going “wow..” and they can’t make decisions, they can’t see the conflict and they can’t really interpret very well. It’s all three.”

Eloise, who works as a freelance interpreter, had a similar response to being paid for the police-booking scenario. When told that novices were demanding payment for their interpreting services, she responded, “Awww, bless their hearts! ... in that particular scenario, they just opened up a can of worms, going to do something like that and making sure they get paid. Doesn’t really confer professional status on a person.” She responded similarly to Erica and Emma that novices believe payment is the avenue to be perceived as professionals by their consumers while they are still developing expertise. Eloise states that through asking questions to get background information of the situation, she would establish a peer relationship with the police officers, which in turn, would situate her position as a fellow professional. She remarked that “[t]hey wouldn’t ask me to go outside of my role. ‘As I understand it, this is how you work?’ ‘Yes it is.’ That would make me feel like I’m being treated as a professional in that situation.” She agreed that being perceived as a professional is much more than dressing in a certain way or demanding payment for services rendered. It is carrying yourself with confidence, asking the appropriate questions for

investigating an assignment and having the skills to successfully interpret between the Deaf and hearing consumers that 'confer' professional status.

Another noteworthy observation between novice and expert interpreters was that they had a different type of discourse when answering questions. Novices typically answered in short, matter-of-fact responses, while experts responded with narratives. A clear example of this was in the first question I asked each interviewee: How long have you worked as an interpreter and how long have you been certified?

The novices gave only simplistic answers in short phrases, and also had to be prodded to answer the second question of what certification they had earned:

Nick:

Interviewer – How long have you been interpreting?

Nick- About 4 years.

Interviewer - Four years? And you have been certified for...

Nick- Will be a year, in about 12 days.

Noreen:

Interviewer: How long have you been interpreting?

Noreen: 5 years

Interviewer: And how long have you been certified?

Noreen: For 3 years.

Nora:

Interviewer: ...How many years have you been certified, how many years have you been working?

Nora: Ummm, I've been certified for a year now. Umm, I graduated in '05, so I've been working since then.

Interviewer: Oh okay, so you were working about three years before you got certified?

Nora: Yes.

The experts, on the other hand, narrated a story of how they received their certifications, including their first exposure to American Sign Language.

Emma:

I got certified in '84 or '85... '84 I got my CSC in '84. I got my CLIP in the early '90s but there was no SC:L. and then I taught at Cal State Northridge for many years, and I wasn't doing much court then and I didn't renew my CLIP, I just let it run out, let the CLIP run out. Then I stopped teaching at Cal State Northridge. It's not an impossible commute, but it was a hard one. I have three kids. So I stopped teaching there and started interpreting, so that's when I went back and I got my SC:L, and that was in...I would have to check...2004?

Erica:

I'm a child of Deaf adults. So my mother's Deaf and I grew up basically doing casual interpreting all my life. Professionally, I was certified in what, 1979? I think around 1979. The reason I got into interpreting was because of the 504 sit in, actually. There was a march and rally in San Francisco. I was in art school in San Francisco. I got called in to volunteer. "Do you mind interpreting this protest?" "No I don't mind." And then ended up going into the ACLU building for 26 days, yeah, and made sure that...there was a very large and active Deaf community in San Francisco and the Bay area that was political. There were a lot of people my age, which was a very different experience for me, so I started making peer relationships with Deaf people, we became friends and sort of one thing led to another and then I ended up doing more interpreting and I ended up getting certified. That was, as you'd say, 'karma.' So I've been interpreting 25 years plus.

Eloise:

I learned sign language in Florida and there were no real programs in Florida and there was a 2-week, what do they call the school? B and B...the Florida school...they call it B and B in St. Augustine every summer and a friend of mine went and then I went with her the next year.

Another difference between novice and expert interpreters was that novices had conflicting answers regarding mixing their personal and professional lives. Nick commented that he doesn't "really have problems ethically, because it just seems natural." Since he works in a post-secondary setting, he provided an example of not flirting with a female Deaf consumer for whom he is interpreting, saying that is 'common sense' so as to not 'bring in problems the next day.' However, later in the

interview, he contradicts himself when he by saying that he went to bars with students from the college.

The last question all six interpreters were asked was:

Imagine that your best friend is a new interpreter trainer and teaching ethics, what is the one thing to make sure she covers in her class to help students interpret ethically? Or to make them ethical interpreters?

The three novices had similar answers that involved studying for the National Interpreter Certification. Nick asked a clarifying question, which was indicative of his lack of expertise in interpreting, "This is not related to, like, the language? Just interpreting, right? Nothing to do with the language right?" He went on to add that having an extra-curricular study group for the National Interpreter Certification would aid in developing interpreters' decision-making skills. He also suggested that if half of the class sessions could be devoted to skill building and the other half could be a panel of certified interpreters who would discuss their experiences in the field. The students could then apply the theories from the class before to the discussion with the experienced interpreters. While this suggestion seems ideal, it is also impractical. To take away half of the classroom time for panel discussion is detrimental to developing basic interpreting skills. It would also be difficult to get busy interpreters to commit to participate in the weekly panel. Nora also suggested having experienced interpreters come to the classroom to talk about "how they have ethically gone against being unethical." She explained that she was taught that if she ever made a decision that did not follow the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct to the letter, she could be brought up on ethics charges and could possibly lose her certification. Noreen immediately responded that she wanted to teach the ethics portion in an

interpreter education program, deflecting the question by giving an example of when she taught a workshop to veteran interpreters. She continued by saying that interpreters should not be afraid to make decisions, even if their decisions could adversely affect their clients. She states:

I would do three things. It's a positive attitude and a mindset of an everyday thing, not just while I'm working. I would say that you would have to force students to make a decision. *Force* them to be uncomfortable and have to decide. I know you want to wet your pants, go ahead, plastic chairs will wipe it off. And then I think that they need to be trained maybe initially on video, and the I think I could be tweaked for the decisions to be obvious and move them, and this takes time, something that ITPs [Interpreter Training Programs] don't want to make time for, and then bring them into setting with seasoned interpreters, who you know as an instructor, who is [sic] good at making decisions, not everyone is, and say you're not here to watch their hands, per se, you're not here to do anything but watch them make decisions. And they should be able to, and they may not on the first time, it may take them a couple of times to see that process happen and recognize where the decisions have to be made. That would be my three things.

Experts, on the other hand, offered suggestions that were more global. For example, Emma stated that "the one thing that I really would like to see is critical thinking. I would like to see some critical thinking." She proceeded to give a narrative about when new interpreters to the legal field, who have limited knowledge of legal processes, such as a defendant's right to have communication access to counsel, will keep "insisting that the interpreters need that in writing because that person has a fifth amendment right to access to counsel" but need to "be really careful when you walk into a courtroom and start telling the judge and other lawyers about the law." She emphatically added, "You have to *think* you guys, *think*" (emphasis in the original). She explained that critical thinking skills include the ability to identify "the

elements are what make the scenario ethical or unethical. Not just, that's number five, so this! And therefore, I see a lot of quick connections that are not thought through."

Eloise had a similar suggestion of teaching critical thinking skills. She stated, "I think one of the first things that I would tell her, but I'm now sure how you could teach this, just I would tell someone, you know you're looking at a situation and you might see at first blush is probably not what's going on. There is probably more behind, you know, here's the explicit, here's the implicit." She, too, is cognizant that new interpreters should not just follow the Code of Professional Conduct without thinking of further ramifications of the decisions that are based on that ethical code.

Erica, who teaches ethics, also had suggestions of not just memorizing the Code of Professional Conduct but truly understanding the intent of the document. She emphasized including the perspective of others in the decision-making process.

"I use the Dalai Lama Ethics in the New Millennium, so you start thinking about compassion for all human beings and what is it to make a compassionate decision? And that requires self-realization and self-awareness and being aware of filters. And it requires a whole kind of thinking of other, not self, but other."

She proceeded to explain that we all have common experiences of suffering, joy, life and death, and that interpreters do not have to be un-human, to the point of machine-like, in their work as interpreters. They are able to be compassionate and include others' perspectives in their decision-making. The second suggestion for a new interpreter trainer to include in her curriculum would be to include Albert Memmi, an author that wrote a book, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, who talks about "how colonization clusters around whoever has the power of the language, the

dominant language. So when you start working that through, you start seeing how disempowerment happens and how you, as the interpreter, can be the colonizer. I think they never see themselves as the colonizer until they start putting those pieces together." Erica, along with the other two experts, has suggested concepts of critical thinking and collective culture, thinking about the needs of others, in the curriculum to teach new interpreters. Novices, on the other hand, suggested individualistic ideas that only serve the specific interpreter, or class of interpreters, such as extra-curricular study groups or a panel of experienced interpreters to discuss their work and decision-making processes.

Summary

The results indicated that novice and expert sign language interpreters make ethical decisions differently based on their expertise. Novices appeared to have difficulty identifying the ethical area in the scenarios, possibly due to lack of expertise and exposure to a given setting. Novices attempted to look for 'black and white' answers in order to easier identify the ethical issue. When novices did attempt to identify the ethical area, the area was explicitly explained in the Code of Professional Conduct as a main tenet. Experts displayed a multi-layered level of analysis. Experts asked probing questions, considered multiple perspectives and illustrated a firm understanding of the ethical consequences.

Novices were concerned about being perceived as professionals through payment, contracts and not mixing their personal and professional lives, while experts tended to make decisions based on a tacit knowledge of relationships with Deaf community members, agencies that employ interpreters, and fellow colleagues.

Novices and experts responded with different discourse styles when answering interview questions. Novices responded in short succinct answers, which is typical of English discourse, while experts responded in narratives that began with a brief background, which is typical of American Sign Language discourse. The difference in discourse styles could be indicative of the comfort level in each language. Novices, who learn ASL as a second language, are more comfortable in their first language and experts, who have had 25 or more years, or are native ASL users, would be comfortable in both languages.

The suggestions for a new teacher, who would be writing curriculum for developing ethical decision-making skills, were different for both groups. Novices answered that they would recommend expert interpreters join the interpreting skills class to discuss their experiences in the field, as well as how they make ethical decisions when faced with ethical dilemmas. None of the experts suggested that working interpreters join the class to assist student interpreters in making decisions. All three of the experts recommended that students learn how to think critically about each situation and act accordingly.

Chapter VI: Discussion

This study was designed to explore how novice and expert sign language interpreters talked about identifying ethical dilemmas and made decisions regarding those same dilemmas, and focused on three main questions:

1. How do sign language interpreters define an ethical situation and what kind of knowledge is required for interpreters to make ethical decisions?
2. How do expert and novice sign language interpreters differ in making ethical decisions?
3. How do expert and novice sign language interpreters prioritize competing meta-ethical principles when making ethical decisions?

The first section of this chapter will begin with a summary of the major findings from the study, which have been analyzed and interpreted based on current research. The second section will expand on these findings and discuss how the similarities and differences between novices and experts occur, based on the theories of Ross (2001), Hoftsede (2001) and Hall (1976). In this study, novice interpreters are those individuals who have three or fewer years experience as a nationally certified interpreter, and expert interpreters are those individuals who have ten or more years of experience as nationally certified interpreters. The findings from the study showed that there were similarities among, and differences between, novice and expert interpreters.

How Do Interpreters Identify Ethical Dilemmas?

The findings indicated that novices and experts define ethical situations similarly in certain contexts and differently in others. When faced with situations that include issues that were clearly and explicitly defined in the main tenet of the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct (CPC), novices and experts responded with similar

answers and were able to identify the ethical issue. When faced with ethical scenarios where the issue were embedded in the tenet, the responses were different. The novices typically did not correctly identify the ethical issue, and the experts were able to identify the ethical issue. The NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct has seven main tenets with each tenet listing two to ten illustrative behaviors:

1. Interpreters adhere to standards of confidential communication.
2. Interpreters possess the professional skills and knowledge required for the specific interpreting situation.
3. Interpreters conduct themselves in a manner appropriate to the specific interpreting situation.
4. Interpreters demonstrate respect for consumers.
5. Interpreters demonstrate respect for colleagues, interns, and students of the profession.
6. Interpreters maintain ethical business practices.
7. Interpreters engage in professional development.

According to novice-expert research, novices' knowledge is limited, which results in simplistic understanding of the analysis of the ethical issues (Niemi, 1997). Bereiter and Scardamalia (1986) also posit that novices, by definition, have a basic foundation of skills and knowledge that have a 'shallow structure' (p, 12). The novice-expert literature can be applied to sign language interpreters and the findings are the same. Novices' shallow structure of the ethical issues restricted them to the main tenets of the CPC and were easy to identify, such as confidentiality, qualifications, conduct, respect for both consumers and colleagues, business practices and keeping abreast in the field of interpreting. Those concepts that are outlined in the illustrative behaviors, such as sharing assignment-related information as needed, providing resources without infringing on consumer's rights and disclosing actual or perceived conflicts of interest, were not as easily identified by the novices. The first and third scenarios, set in the K-12 educational setting, included ethical issues that were contained in the

main seven tenets and were easily identified by both groups. The second and fifth scenarios contained ethical issues embedded in the illustrative behaviors sections of the tenets, and consequently resulted in the novices incorrectly identifying the ethical issue and the experts correctly identifying the ethical issue.

Another example of novices being limited in their ability to identify ethical situations is that experts discussed following site policies and procedures when appropriate and not one novice reported that site policies and procedures supersede the CPC. By working at various sites for their work, expert interpreters have acquired the knowledge that the CPC has no legal bearing on an ethical situation that happens at, for example, a school site. If the interpreter is employed with a school district, they are bound by the school district's policies and procedures, as are other employees. In the first scenario about the Deaf parent asking the interpreter about the child's behavior, experts reported that they would follow the school's policy regarding the role of the interpreter and if the interpreter were part of the educational team, then the interpreter could, in fact, report on the child's behavior. Most novices reported that they would adhere to the CPC tenet of confidentiality and stated that they could not discuss a school situation with the parent.

Differences Between Novices and Experts

The differences between novices and experts were found mainly in business practices and mixing personal and professional lives. According to Bereiter and Scardamalia, (1986), novices have a limited knowledge base than experts and are only able to assess problems in a limited way. Experts, on the other hand, are better at using their extensive knowledge to structure their knowledge in a few broad

categories, or with smaller categories that have more complex connections to larger categories. One example of novices displaying their knowledge in a limited way is from the last scenario, which was about team interpreting for a Deaf social worker and the team makes an agreement with the social worker to leave early. Many of the novices stated that to stay and make phone calls was a separate assignment and should be billed "accordingly," because they were hired for the meeting only. For the social worker to ask the interpreter to interpret a 'different' assignment, the novices would charge an extra two-hour minimum within the same hour and a half time frame. The scenario in the survey was for the same consumer asking the interpreter to perform additional duties within the same context of the request and the same time frame. Expert interpreters were more flexible in their understanding of the interpreting request and were willing to do stay to interpret phone calls because it was viewed as within the same context as the request. This study on sign language interpreters reflects the same findings as research on novice and expert teachers. Research on novice and expert teachers showed that novices made decisions on the process of teaching and did not deter from the curriculum, while experts made decisions based on the students' perspectives of the learning process to ensure student understanding and enhance student motivation (Byra & Sherman, 1991; Henry, 1994; Westerman, 1991; Leinhardt, 1989). Novice interpreters made decisions based on the process of interpreting and did not deter from it, while experts made decisions based on the consumers' perspectives.

Another way that novice interpreters made decisions based on their perception of the process was shown in the mixing of personal and professional lives. Novices were of the belief that they should not socialize with their clients outside of

the work environment. Experts, on the other hand, believed that interacting in the deaf community was not only acceptable but also mandatory. Expert interpreters, who have more than ten years of experience as nationally certified interpreters, learned American Sign Language in the Deaf community and became interpreters after being asked to interpret for their family and friends, as was indicated in the interviews of expert interpreters. The focus on the professionalization of interpreting has only been a phenomenon in the last ten years. Through the establishment of legislation to provide equal access to Deaf individuals, interpreters have been more in demand, with salaries increasing proportionately. While in the 1980's and 1990's people became interpreters as a vocation, individuals at the turn of the century became interpreters for the potential salary earnings. The difference was observed by both the novice and expert interpreters with both groups making explicit statements about the differences between the newer and veteran interpreters. Nick observed that there was a different generation of interpreters now. In his study group, there was a mix of new and veteran interpreters preparing for the national exam and that there were different perspectives on interpreting. He commented that the newer interpreters viewed interpreting as a job as opposed to the veteran interpreters getting into it for interaction in the community. Novices felt strongly about not interacting in the Deaf community, so much that they would sacrifice their friendship with a Deaf individual if they were assigned to interpret for that person. There were no expert interpreters that stated that they would not socialize with the Deaf person in order to lessen the potential for conflict and preserve their job.

Expert interpreters also replied that the scenario of potentially interpreting for one's Deaf friends is inevitable. Most experts agreed that they would advise the Deaf

parent that they were not allowed to discuss the situation with the child regardless of being in the role of friend or professional interpreter. Experts replied that they would either redirect the parent's question to the appropriate person, or just tell the parent that they are not allowed to discuss the issue. By establishing professional boundaries in a confident manner, both individuals build trust in their relationships as friends and as interpreters and consumers.

Experts commented on the change in the field of interpreting. Erica stated, "I think our profession is veering away from the interpreter/automaton to more of a team player." What she is referring to is the interpreting models in the history of the interpreting profession (Gish 1990) as explained in Chapter I (helper, conduit, communication facilitator, and bilingual/bicultural models). Many veteran interpreters, who are still working as interpreters today, started interpreting during the conduit model, which was basically working as a machine. Even as communication facilitators, interpreters were not allowed to expand on information to assist in all individuals understanding the communication. Erica's comment acknowledges the history of interpreting with the realization that it is changing to professional status. As professionals, individuals are expected to work together with similar goals. Eloise, also, made a comment on the difference between learning ASL and interpreting in the 1980's and current educational practices. She mentioned that were she learned sign language, there was no real programs. The only way one learned was from the deaf community. Now there are 73 Associate of Arts and 35 Bachelor of Arts ASL and interpreting programs around the country. One expert responded in the survey that, "I believe this is a profession, not a job, and therefore, we are called upon to use judgment, continuously." If, as this expert commented, novices are not viewing

interpreting as a profession, and only as a job, this implies that novices are not constantly using their judgment in their work.

How Do Interpreters Prioritize Competing Meta-Ethical Principles?

One major finding was the similarity among novice and expert interpreters in identifying ethical dilemmas, which was demonstrated in the code for fidelity. Ross (2001) defines fidelity as being faithful to one's contracts or promises and both groups responded that they would remain in their role as interpreters, even when faced with an ethical dilemma. One of the major criticisms of Ross' work is that his theory of prioritizing prima facie duties had never been tested. In this study, I used those prima facie duties as a framework for coding survey responses and applied them to the research on novice-expert interpreters. I found that both groups prioritized 'fidelity' as the first prima facie duty and 'do good' and 'reparation' as the second and third, respectively (Table 7). The next pair of prima facie duties, 'do no harm' and 'justice and equality,' were inversely listed. The last two prima facie duties were the same for both groups with zero codes.

Table 7: How Novice and Expert Interpreters Prioritize Prima Facie Duties

Novice	Expert
Fidelity	Fidelity
Do Good	Do Good
Reparation	Reparation
Do No Harm	Justice and Equality
Justice and Equality	Do No Harm
Gratitude	Gratitude
Self Improvement	Self Improvement

Another similarity between both groups was the number of times 'professional conduct' was coded. Professional conduct, as defined by the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, is when interpreters "conduct themselves in a manner appropriate to the specific interpreting situation" (Appendix A). This all-encompassing concept was chosen in addition to the other ethical areas that the survey respondents had the option of choosing. Of the five ethical scenarios, one scenario clearly had professional conduct issues involved, but in any given situation, how interpreters conduct themselves in dealing with the demands of their job is important and relevant. Interpreters appeared to choose this category as a way to illustrate that how they would act in their decision is just as important as their what they would choose to do.

The two similarities among sign language interpreters were the code for the prima facie duty, 'fidelity,' and the NAD-RID Code of Professional Conduct's third tenet, 'professional conduct.' The findings indicate that interpreters, regardless of professional status, make an effort to ensure that they faithfully remain in their role while interpreting and adhere to contractual obligations. Both groups responded that they how they approach individuals in the situation, or professional conduct, was an important technique to resolving conflicts during their work.

Miscellaneous Findings

A second major finding in the study was the perception of professional identity between novice and expert interpreters. Maeroff (1988) posits that "Professionals usually have a sense of authority about what they do, and they are recognized as experts in their fields" (p. 475). Interpreters, by the nature of their work, will often work alone, be perceived as experts in their field, and must be

autonomous in their decision-making. When in the interpreting triad, novice interpreters are seen as no different than expert interpreters by the Deaf and hearing consumers. The consumers of interpreting services will assume that the interpreters are the expert in both languages and cultures and the only participant in the interpreting triad that is privy to the level of expertise is the interpreter. Sizer (1984) states that there are three areas, autonomy, money and recognition, that establish professional respect. Of the 225 novice interpreters, 87 (39%) stated that they would interpret if they were paid. In order to be perceived as professionals, novices stated that they would demand payment for their work. As one novice stated, "You will have to get paid for the job because you are a professional and not doing it as a 'favor,' charge your normal fee plus emergency pay as you would any other job." Novice interpreters perceived that by receiving payment in exchange for their work, it would possibly make up for their still developing skills in interpreting. Of the 168 experts, 56 (33%) also responded that they, too would request payment to proceed to interpret. While they codes were similar in number, the rationale between the two groups was different. Novices expressed that they would request payment on conjunction with being perceived as professionals, while experts expressed that they would request payment in a list of general questions about the assignment.

Implications for Theory

The evidence from this study shows differences between novice and expert interpreters, not only in their responses to the survey and interviews, but also in how they frame their responses and subsequent discussion. One of those differences is the level of detail in their responses and the role of context, as it is emerges as an

important function of the communication. With this in mind, Hall's theory of low-context/high-context language was applied to how interpreters talked about their decision-making processes. Hall (1976) describes this phenomena as being high-context or low-context, or as Bernstein (1964) describes it as 'restricted' or 'elaborated' codes. Hall explains that cultures are on a continuum from low to high, with American culture on the lower end, being slightly higher than the Germans, the Scandinavians and the Swiss. An example of a high context culture is China and the Chinese language. One must know the over 3500 year-old history of China, the Chinese people's relationship with other countries that speak Chinese (Korea, Japan, Vietnam), the four tonal pronunciation system and the orthography. To use a Chinese dictionary, one must be knowledgeable of the 214 radicals and where one word or concept would be located (Hall 1976, p. 91-92). When a person speaks Chinese, there are many contextual concepts embedded in each word, which requires the receiver to have intersubjectivity with the speaker. High context cultures and languages are "rooted in the past, slow to change, and highly stable" (p. 93), while low-context languages are the opposite, recently occurring, quickly changing and unstable.

The possibility of moving along the continuum consists in being able to understand the embedded contextual clues in the language. Hall states that there are five rules that govern what one does or does not perceive in discourse. These rules are learned from birth and are mostly unnoticed. The five rules are:

1. The subject or activity
2. The situation
3. One's status in a social system
4. Past experience
5. Culture

Hall describes as one moves from the low to the high end of the continuum, awareness of how one selects context increases. He states, "...what one pays attention to, context, and the information overload are all functionally related" (p. 86). Novice interpreters are not as familiar with the intricacies of the history of the field, political ideologies, linguistic processes, or potential areas of conflict as experts. Hall defines high context communication as "one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message" (p. 91). Emma, who has over 25 years of experience as a nationally certified interpreter, displayed high context language in her description of how she became certified:

Actually, [a nationally well-known interpreter] called and said there was a cancellation and said "Hey, do you want to go take it?" I said, "Oh okay." I was interpreting at [Cal State] at the time, and it simply didn't make a difference.

The well-known male interpreter has been a leading member of the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf on local, regional and national levels. Only an interpreter who has over ten years of experience would know that information and by mentioning his name, it contextualizes Emma as interpreting at a well-known university with a large deaf population and working with a prestigious interpreter. Interpreters new to the field would not recognize his name as one of those founding members of the interpreting field. Emma also mentioned the university where he works, which has one of the largest Deaf student populations in the West coast. Newer interpreters would recognize it as an important place to learn sign language, but not in the context of how this educational institution has contributed immensely to the field of interpreting through research and practice.

Hall also states that “[h]igh-context cultures make greater distinctions between insiders and outsiders” with the “[p]eople raised in high-context systems expect[ing] more of others than do the participants in low-context systems” (p. 113). When responding to both the survey and interview questions, participants discussed the differences between novice and expert interpreters incorporating insider/outsider talk. Eloise, who has over 30 years of experience, mentioned several times the difference between the newer interpreters and the veteran interpreters. She commented that to charge the two-hour minimum twice for the same consumer within the same timeframe was characteristic of a new interpreter. She added, “I think as they get further in to it, I think they’ll loosen up a little bit.” She explained that if they only look at the assignment as a way to earn money, they could lose any future assignments if they took advantage of the situation. Eloise incorporated how her decision now will affect her livelihood in the future, while recognizing that novices typically focus on the decision at hand.

Eloise also observed that newer interpreters were not aware of the expertise of the veteran interpreter with whom they were working. She stated that many of the newer interpreters did not have an understanding of the depth of knowledge and experience as an interpreter and a leader in the interpreting community. She told a story of working with one novice interpreter to whom she suggested should wear a darker color shirt for more contrast with her skin color to enhance the visibility of her signs. The novice interpreter responded that she was a certified interpreter and did not need the feedback. Eloise added that this newer interpreter did not know that she, Eloise, had been on local and national boards and a leader in the interpreting

field. She implied that newer interpreters feel that by virtue of being certified, they are also experts in interpreting.

Novice interpreters typically make decisions from an individualistic point of view, while experts make decisions based on how they affect the collective community as a whole. Hofstede (2001) in his meta-analysis of thinking and social action of 50 countries discusses five dimensions of cultural differences:

1. Power distance
2. Uncertainty avoidance
3. Individualism versus Collectivism
4. Masculinity versus Femininity
5. Long-term versus short-term orientation

I have taken individualism versus collectivism and long-term versus short-term theories and applied them to novice and expert interpreters. As previously mentioned, novices tended to make decisions based on how the results will impact them personally. When the individuals were asked in the interview their general thoughts on the five ethical scenarios, the three novices replied that they did not really have any experience, having an individualistic focus to their response. Noreen replied, "I think they're applicable to that moment in time and then if your experience changes, so do your answers." Her answer includes thoughts of her as an individual and not the community as a whole. Nick's responses were on an individual level, too, just focusing on how the questions related to him. Nora could not even relate to the scenarios because of her limited experience, however, she did recognize the scenarios as those from which she had studied to pass the National Interpreter Certification, again basing her response on an individualistic perspective.

When asked the same question, the three expert interpreters responded with answers that included being part of a community. Emma's response incorporated being in a community where she interacts with both Deaf individuals and interpreters. Eloise replied that the scenarios were "very, very real" and that they caused her to assess her own decisions and how they affect the people involved. She situates her thinking in a collectivist context and realizes that her decisions affect not only the people involved but also the collective whole. Erica immediately replied that "we don't see outside socialization anymore." She explicitly describes the loss of the collective community and a shift to individualist thinking.

Hofstede (2001) posits that societal norms and values shape how cultures are either individualistic or collective in nature. "The relationship between the individual and the collectivity in human society is not only a matter of ways of living together, it is intimately linked with societal norms" (p. 210). Interpreters live in both worlds, the hearing American cultural, which is individualistic, and the Deaf American culture, which is a collective culture. Hofstede (2001) explains that "collective societies usually have ways of creating family-like ties with persons who are not biological relatives but who are socially integrated into one's in-group" (p. 228). The NAD-RID National Interpreter Certification's rubric anchors, which is a study guide to assist candidates in passing the exam, includes in its recommendations to discuss all consumers' perspectives in their responses.

One of the aspects of the NAD-RID National Interpreter Certification's rubric (Appendix B) is to include in one's answer implications for the candidate's response to "contain sufficient discussion of both the short-term and long-term effects that might include cultural, political, and/or sociological implications." Hofstede (2001) includes a

long-term versus short-term dimension to his analysis, which is “related to the choice of focus for people’s efforts: the future or the present” (p. 29). Novice interpreters typically responded with an emphasis on present outcomes. In response to fifth scenario, one novice, Noreen, discussed at length the issue of the interpreter using the contact information to call the social worker and arrange to leave early. She uses the first person pronoun, “I” consistently in her discussion of the scenario, and talks about how the interpreter got the information but not misuse that information. With the emphasis on the short-term affects, she fails to include the long-term affects of the negative perception of interpreters by all parties involved. Her focus is on the present and how the interpreter’s behavior affects her business in the short-term. Nick, also, answered questions constantly using the first person pronoun “I” in his discourse. In his responses, he attempted to give an example relevant to the scenario, but because of his limited knowledge and expertise, he redirected his answers and gave examples that focus on his individual experiences. Instead of directing answer to the first scenario, which included the Deaf parents asking the interpreter questions, he focused on an experience that he had in a college setting while he was in a fraternity. Nora had a similar response and only gave examples from her own experiences and how they relate to her. She did not include in her responses how her decisions would affect the community.

Experts, on the other hand, included consequences on the Deaf community, interpreters, and perceptions of interpreters. When asked about the first scenario of the Deaf parent asking the interpreter about the parent’s child, she included the Deaf community and other interpreters in her response. She focused on the collective culture, not just how her decision would affect her personally. When asking Eloise

when she learned sign language, she told a narrative that included the Deaf community, and interpreters in general. Erica, too, narrated her history and how it fit into the Deaf community, as well as the political feeling of the time. She talked about having “peer relationships with Deaf people” and interpreting ACLU rallies.

Novices and experts showed patterns of explaining their decisions in specific ways. Novice interpreters, when describing their ethical decision-making processes used low-context, individualistic-focused responses. They would explain their decisions, explicitly describing the context and asking if there are understood. Experts used high-context, collectivist-focused responses when talking about their decisions. They assumed intersubjectivity between interlocutors and included others’ perspectives in their decision-making processes. Through gaining experience, novices gain expertise and would theoretically move on the continuum from low-context to high-context and also from individualistic-focused to collectivist-focused decisions.

As novices move along the continuum, they gain expertise and are perceived as professional interpreters who are experts in their field. A typology of this concept is shown in Figure 5. Novice interpreters, as individuals who are new to a profession and learning the history, culture, language, interpreting skills, ethical codes and the rules of conduct, are not yet equipped to make decisions based on complex connections between the concepts that are required as a foundation for becoming an expert interpreter. As novice interpreters move along the continuum, they will also move into the high-context, collectivistic box in the typology.

Figure 5: Typology of Novice and Expert Interpreters' Discourse Narratives

	Individualistic	Collectivistic
High-Context		Expert interpreters
Low-Context	Novice interpreters	

If novices are low-context, individualistic-focused and experts are high-context, collectivistic-focused, then what characteristics of an interpreter would fill the other two boxes? One hypothesis would be that individuals who are native signers, and have interpreted informally for their family members, would have a collective identity, but not formal education as a professional interpreter. They might make decisions that include the collective community of Deaf people and American Sign Language, but would not have the high-context language to describe their decision-making. Individuals in the high-context, individualistic-focused box would hypothetically be professional interpreters who do not have a collective identity. They can talk about the job of interpreting but their decisions would not include the collective community. Figure 6 illustrates the individuals in each category.

Figure 6: Typology of Novice and Expert Interpreters' Discourse Narratives

	Individualistic	Collectivistic
High-Context	<i>Professional interpreters who do not interact in the community</i>	Expert interpreters
Low-Context	Novice interpreters	<i>Native signers who informally interpret</i>

Moving through the categories can happen from low-context, individualistic to high-context, individualistic, then high-context, collective-focused. If the interpreter was not a native signer and started learning ASL as a second language, continued through an interpreter education program, then developed relationships within the Deaf community. The shift could also start at low-context, collectivistic-focused to high-context, collectivistic-focused if the individual were a native signer and graduated from an interpreter education program. Or there could be no movement and the interpreter could remain in any given category.

Chapter VII: Conclusion and Implications

Conclusion

As an interpreter educator who provides students with a foundation for making ethical decisions, I have embarked on a journey to study and analyze the differences between novice and expert interpreters. I was interested in how expert interpreters make ethical decisions in order to help novice interpreters improve their ethical decision-making. I identified novices as those individuals with three or fewer years working as a nationally certified interpreter and experts as those who have ten or more years working as a nationally certified interpreter. The research questions guiding this study were:

1. How do sign language interpreters define an ethical situation and what kind of knowledge is required for interpreters to make ethical decisions?
2. How do expert and novice sign language interpreters differ in making ethical decisions?
3. How do expert and novice sign language interpreters prioritize competing meta-ethical principles when making ethical decisions?

I examined these questions through examining documents used in the field of sign language interpreting, an online survey and interviews. The limitations of the study were that approximately one third of the entire novice and expert groups responded, and this study is indicative of only that population. Although the sample did not include all of the potential individuals, one can generalize the findings to the entire group. One limitation of any research on ethical decision-making is the presentation of hypothetical scenarios in an artificial medium and the responses entrusted and divulged to the researcher. Even with these limitations, foundational

evidence was found that can assist student interpreters in making sound ethical decisions.

Another limitation of this study is in how novices gain expertise in order to become experts in ethical decision-making. Is expertise solely gained through experience over time? Or can one learn expertise through in a classroom? This study did not address how one gains expertise, but focused on how novices and experts differ in identifying ethical dilemmas and the subsequent decisions that they made.

Implications of this Study

There are many layers of implications for this study. The obvious result of this research could add to existing curricula in interpreter education programs. These curricula can support interpreter educators in teaching ethical decision-making skills to students of interpreting while in their education programs. The same information could be used in professional development opportunities for working interpreters who have worked longer than novices, but are not yet experts in decision-making. Since the ethical interview portion of the National Interpreter Certification is weighted heavily in the rating of the three levels of expertise, the findings could also aid novice interpreters in the process of studying for and initially passing it, or assisting working interpreters in advancing to a higher certification level. Now that there is evidence of how expert sign language interpreters make ethical decisions, instructors can use that information to teach novices to follow the same decision-making processes.

Another implication is to explore the possible outcomes for explicitly teaching interpreting students to think collectively when making decisions. If they are explicitly taught to include how their decisions could potentially impact both hearing and Deaf

consumers, as well as the Deaf community and the interpreting profession, would interpreting students become more expert-like in their decision-making? Interpreting students have the overwhelming task of trying to learn a new language and culture, continue to develop and understand their own native language and culture, analyze the theory and application of interpreting, then apply those concepts to ethical decision-making. Many students are not yet enculturated into the Deaf culture and are still making decisions based on their native culture, typically American hearing culture, which is an individualistic culture. Explicitly teaching collective decision-making could possibly assist students in becoming confident ethical decision-making interpreters.

This study collected rich and complex data that can be used to further analyze how interpreters make decisions. Because this study focused on novice and expert ethical decision-making, it did not control for various factors, such as gender, age, or academic degrees. Further research could control for these factors and identify if there are differences in these categories. Another area of study could be how native signers, who grow up in the collective, Deaf culture make ethical decisions. This could include both professionally certified interpreters and those native signers who informally interpret.

Further study could also investigate how interpreters, who have expertise in interpreting, but who are not nationally certified, make ethical decisions. Would they reflect the same patterns as experts, or novices? How do native signers make ethical decisions? Clearly there is a lot of work to do and this research can facilitate and establish the foundation for future research.

Another emerging area of need is the Video Relay Service setting, where interpreters are required to make ethical decisions within seconds of being presented with them. Video interpreters are constrained by Federal Communications Commission (FCC) rules and perceptions of what they call Communication Assistants, as opposed to Interpreters. Video interpreters are expected to abide by the FCC rules and regulations, as opposed to the Code of Professional Conduct. Since this field is relatively new to the interpreting profession, there is a dearth of research that supports video interpreters' ethical decision-making.

Since sign language interpreting is a young profession, the professionalization of interpreting is still developing. As the need for interpreters increases and interpreter education programs graduate more students, there appears to be a chasm between the interpreters who have been working for 20-30 years and the new interpreters who have recently graduated. The newer interpreters perceive interpreting as a 'job,' while the seasoned interpreters perceive interpreting as a vocation. Perhaps future study could investigate and explain this difference.

APPENDICES

Appendix A - NAD-RID CODE OF PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT

<div data-bbox="347 375 496 525" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="347 550 493 690" data-label="Image"> </div> <p data-bbox="363 911 574 999">CODE OF PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT</p> <p data-bbox="310 1486 570 1770">Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf 333 Commerce Street Alexandria, VA 22314 703/838-0030 (V) 703/838-0459 (TTY) 703/838-0454 (Fax) www.rid.org</p>	<p data-bbox="610 268 691 296">Scope</p> <p data-bbox="610 302 1377 489">The National Association of the Deaf (NAD) and the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, Inc. (RID) uphold high standards of professionalism and ethical conduct for interpreters. Embodied in this Code of Professional Conduct (formerly known as the Code of Ethics) are seven tenets setting forth guiding principles, followed by illustrative behaviors.</p> <p data-bbox="610 527 1377 743">The tenets of this Code of Professional Conduct are to be viewed holistically and as a guide to professional behavior. This document provides assistance in complying with the code. The guiding principles offer the basis upon which the tenets are articulated. The illustrative behaviors are not exhaustive, but are indicative of the conduct that may either conform to or violate a specific tenet or the code as a whole.</p> <p data-bbox="610 781 1377 997">When in doubt, the reader should refer to the explicit language of the tenet. If further clarification is needed, questions may be directed to the national office of the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, Inc. This Code of Professional Conduct is sufficient to encompass interpreter roles and responsibilities in every type of situation (e.g., educational, legal, medical). A separate code for each area of interpreting is neither necessary nor advisable.</p> <p data-bbox="610 1035 756 1062">Philosophy</p> <p data-bbox="610 1068 1385 1348">The American Deaf community represents a cultural and linguistic group having the inalienable right to full and equal communication and to participation in all aspects of society. Members of the American Deaf community have the right to informed choice and the highest quality interpreting services. Recognition of the communication rights of America's women, men, and children who are deaf is the foundation of the tenets, principles, and behaviors set forth in this Code of Professional Conduct.</p> <p data-bbox="610 1386 818 1413">Voting Protocol</p> <p data-bbox="610 1419 1377 1572">This Code of Professional Conduct was presented through mail referendum to certified interpreters who are members in good standing with the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, Inc. and the National Association of the Deaf. The vote was to adopt or to reject.</p> <p data-bbox="610 1610 1224 1638">Adoption of this Code of Professional Conduct</p> <p data-bbox="610 1644 1385 1860">Interpreters who are members in good standing with the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, Inc. and the National Association of the Deaf voted to adopt this Code of Professional Conduct, effective Code of Professional Conduct is a working document that is expected to change over time. The aforementioned members may be called upon to vote, as may be needed from time to time, on the tenets of the code.</p>
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The guiding principles and the illustrative behaviors may change periodically to meet the needs and requirements of the RID Ethical Practices System. These sections of the Code of Professional Conduct will not require a vote of the members. However, members are encouraged to recommend changes for future updates.

Function of the Guiding Principles

It is the obligation of every interpreter to exercise judgment, employ critical thinking, apply the benefits of practical experience, and reflect on past actions in the practice of their profession. The guiding principles in this document represent the concepts of confidentiality, linguistic and professional competence, impartiality, professional growth and development, ethical business practices, and the rights of participants in interpreted situations to informed choice. The driving force behind the guiding principles is the

CODE OF PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT

Tenets

1. Interpreters adhere to standards of confidential communication.
2. Interpreters possess the professional skills and knowledge required for the specific interpreting situation.
3. Interpreters conduct themselves in a manner appropriate to the specific interpreting situation.
4. Interpreters demonstrate respect for consumers.
5. Interpreters demonstrate respect for colleagues, interns, and students of the profession.
6. Interpreters maintain ethical business practices.
7. Interpreters engage in professional development.

Applicability

- A. This Code of Professional Conduct applies to certified and associate members of the Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, Inc., Certified members of the National Association of the Deaf, interns, and students of the profession.
- B. Federal, state or other statutes or regulations may supersede this Code of Professional Conduct. When there is a conflict between this code and local, state, or federal laws and regulations, the interpreter obeys the rule of law.
- C. This Code of Professional Conduct applies to interpreted situations that are performed either face-to-face or remotely.

Definitions

For the purpose of this document, the following terms are used:

Colleagues: Other interpreters.

Conflict of Interest: A conflict between the private interests (personal, financial, or professional) and the official or professional responsibilities of an interpreter in a position of



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trust, whether actual or perceived, deriving from a specific interpreting situation.

Consumers: Individuals and entities who are part of the interpreted situation. This includes individuals who are deaf, deaf-blind, hard of hearing, and hearing.

1.0 CONFIDENTIALITY

Tenet: Interpreters adhere to standards of confidential communication.

Guiding Principle: Interpreters hold a position of trust in their role as linguistic and cultural facilitators of communication. Confidentiality is highly valued by consumers and is essential to protecting all involved.

Each interpreting situation (e.g., elementary, secondary, and post-secondary education, legal, medical, mental health) has a standard of confidentiality. Under the reasonable interpreter standard, professional interpreters are expected to know the general requirements and applicability of various levels of confidentiality. Exceptions to confidentiality include, for example, federal and state laws requiring mandatory reporting of abuse or threats of suicide, or responding to subpoenas.

Illustrative Behavior - Interpreters:

1.1 Share assignment-related information only on a confidential and "as-needed" basis (e.g., supervisors, interpreter team members, members of the educational team, hiring entities).

1.2 Manage data, invoices, records, or other situational or consumer-specific information in a manner consistent with maintaining consumer confidentiality (e.g., shredding, locked files).

1.3 Inform consumers when federal or state mandates require disclosure of confidential information.

2.0 PROFESSIONALISM

Tenet: Interpreters possess the professional skills and knowledge required for the specific interpreting situation.

Guiding Principle: Interpreters are expected to stay abreast of evolving language use and trends in the profession of interpreting as well as in the American Deaf community.



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Interpreters accept assignments using discretion with regard to skill, communication mode, setting, and consumer needs. Interpreters possess knowledge of American Deaf culture and deafness-related resources.

Illustrative Behavior - Interpreters:

- 2.1 Provide service delivery regardless of race, color, national origin, gender, religion, age, disability, sexual orientation, or any other factor.
- 2.2 Assess consumer needs and the interpreting situation before and during the assignment and make adjustments as needed.
- 2.3 Render the message faithfully by conveying the content and spirit of what is being communicated, using language most readily understood by consumers, and correcting errors discreetly and expeditiously.
- 2.4 Request support (e.g., certified deaf interpreters, team members, language facilitators) when needed to fully convey the message or to address exceptional communication challenges (e.g. cognitive disabilities, foreign sign language, emerging language ability, or lack of formal instruction or language).
- 2.5 Refrain from providing counsel, advice, or personal opinions.
- 2.6 Judiciously provide information or referral regarding available interpreting or community resources without infringing upon consumers' rights.

3.0 CONDUCT

Tenet: Interpreters conduct themselves in a manner appropriate to the specific interpreting situation.

Guiding Principle: Interpreters are expected to present themselves appropriately in demeanor and appearance. They avoid situations that result in conflicting roles or perceived or actual conflicts of interest.

Illustrative Behavior - Interpreters:

- 3.1 Consult with appropriate persons regarding the interpreting situation to determine issues such as placement and adaptations necessary to interpret effectively.
- 3.2 Decline assignments or withdraw from the interpreting profession when not competent due to physical, mental, or emotional factors.



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3.3 Avoid performing dual or conflicting roles in interdisciplinary (e.g. educational or mental health teams) or other settings.

3.4 Comply with established workplace codes of conduct, notify appropriate personnel if there is a conflict with this Code of Professional Conduct, and actively seek resolution where warranted.

3.5 Conduct and present themselves in an unobtrusive manner and exercise care in choice of attire.

3.6 Refrain from the use of mind-altering substances before or during the performance of duties.

3.7 Disclose to parties involved any actual or perceived conflicts of interest.

3.8 Avoid actual or perceived conflicts of interest that might cause harm or interfere with the effectiveness of interpreting services.

3.9 Refrain from using confidential interpreted information for personal, monetary, or professional gain.

3.10 Refrain from using confidential interpreted information for the benefit of personal or professional affiliations or entities.

4.0 RESPECT FOR CONSUMERS

Tenet: Interpreters demonstrate respect for consumers.

Guiding Principle: Interpreters are expected to honor consumer preferences in selection of interpreters and interpreting dynamics, while recognizing the realities of qualifications, availability, and situation.

Illustrative Behavior - Interpreters:

4.1 Consider consumer requests or needs regarding language preferences, and render the message accordingly (interpreted or transliterated).

4.2 Approach consumers with a professional demeanor at all times.

4.3 Obtain the consent of consumers before bringing an intern to an assignment.

4.4 Facilitate communication access and equality, and support the full interaction and independence of consumers.

<div data-bbox="354 340 522 512" data-label="Image"> </div> <div data-bbox="354 541 522 705" data-label="Image"> </div> <p data-bbox="347 831 558 919">CODE OF PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT</p> <p data-bbox="308 1566 568 1852">Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf 333 Commerce Street Alexandria, VA 22314 703/838-0030 (V) 703/838-0459 (TTY) 703/838-0454 (Fax) www.rid.org</p>	<p data-bbox="610 197 1029 222">5.0 RESPECT FOR COLLEAGUES</p> <p data-bbox="610 260 1364 323">Tenet: Interpreters demonstrate respect for colleagues, interns and students of the profession.</p> <p data-bbox="610 357 1380 483">Guiding Principle: Interpreters are expected to collaborate with colleagues to foster the delivery of effective interpreting services. They also understand that the manner in which they relate to colleagues reflects upon the profession in general.</p> <p data-bbox="610 516 1084 541">Illustrative Behavior - Interpreters:</p> <p data-bbox="610 579 1328 604">5.1 Maintain civility toward colleagues, interns, and students.</p> <p data-bbox="610 642 1373 802">5.2 Work cooperatively with team members through consultation before assignments regarding logistics, providing professional and courteous assistance when asked and monitoring the accuracy of the message while functioning in the role of the support interpreter.</p> <p data-bbox="610 835 1325 995">5.3 Approach colleagues privately to discuss and resolve breaches of ethical or professional conduct through standard conflict resolution methods; file a formal grievance only after such attempts have been unsuccessful or the breaches are harmful or habitual.</p> <p data-bbox="610 1029 1360 1092">5.4 Assist and encourage colleagues by sharing information and serving as mentors when appropriate.</p> <p data-bbox="610 1125 1373 1188">5.5 Obtain the consent of colleagues before bringing an intern to an assignment.</p> <p data-bbox="610 1251 961 1276">6.0 BUSINESS PRACTICES</p> <p data-bbox="610 1314 1263 1339">Tenet: Interpreters maintain ethical business practices.</p> <p data-bbox="610 1377 1364 1570">Guiding Principle: Interpreters are expected to conduct their business in a professional manner whether in private practice or in the employ of an agency or other entity. Professional interpreters are entitled to a living wage based on their qualifications and expertise. Interpreters are also entitled to working conditions conducive to effective service delivery.</p> <p data-bbox="610 1604 1084 1629">Illustrative Behavior - Interpreters:</p> <p data-bbox="610 1667 1315 1764">6.1 Accurately represent qualifications, such as certification, educational background, and experience, and provide documentation when requested.</p> <p data-bbox="610 1797 1370 1860">6.2 Honor professional commitments and terminate assignments only when fair and justifiable grounds exist.</p>
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6.3 Promote conditions that are conducive to effective communication, inform the parties involved if such conditions do not exist, and seek appropriate remedies.

6.4 Inform appropriate parties in a timely manner when delayed or unable to fulfill assignments.

6.5 Reserve the option to decline or discontinue assignments if working conditions are not safe, healthy, or conducive to interpreting.

6.6 Refrain from harassment or coercion before, during, or after the provision of interpreting services.

6.7 Render pro bono services in a fair and reasonable manner.

6.8 Charge fair and reasonable fees for the performance of interpreting services and arrange for payment in a professional and judicious manner.

7.0 PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Tenet: Interpreters engage in professional development.

Guiding Principle: Interpreters are expected to foster and maintain interpreting competence and the stature of the profession through ongoing development of knowledge and skills.

Illustrative Behavior - Interpreters:

7.1 Increase knowledge and strengthen skills through activities such as:

- pursuing higher education;
- attending workshops and conferences;
- seeking mentoring and supervision opportunities;
- participating in community events; and
- engaging in independent studies.

7.2 Keep abreast of laws, policies, rules, and regulations that affect the profession.

Appendix B- NIC Interview Examination Rubric Anchors

	Rating I	Rating II	Rating III	Rating IV
Overarching description	Exhibits a rigid or incorrect analysis of the problem(s) and/or solution(s).	Exhibits superficial and one dimensional analysis of the problem(s) and/or solution(s).	Exhibits a thoughtful and positive approach to the problem(s) and solution(s).	Exhibits integrity, confidence, critical thinking, and focus in analysis of the problem(s) and solution(s).
Domain #1 Identification of problem or conflict	The candidate's response might lack identification of problem or conflict between the situation and the interpreter code of ethics, policies, procedures, and/or laws, as applicable. The candidate's response might provide insufficient discussion of a single perspective.	The candidate's response might lack identification of problem or conflict between the situation and the interpreter code of ethics, policies, procedures, and/or laws, as applicable. The candidate's response might provide insufficient discussion of a single perspective.	The candidate's response will identify and sufficiently describe the problem or conflict between the situation and the interpreter code of ethics, policies, procedures, and/or laws, as applicable. The candidate's response will provide a sufficient discussion of at least two perspectives including, if applicable, the D/deaf consumer's perspective.	The candidate's response will describe clearly and comprehensively the problem or conflict between the situation and the interpreter code of ethics, policies, procedures, and/or laws, as applicable. The candidate's response will provide a substantial discussion of perspectives of involved parties.

	Rating I	Rating II	Rating III	Rating IV
Domain #2 Construction of a decision or solution	The candidate's response might contain a single perspective (e.g., D/deaf or hearing consumer, interpreter, system). The candidate's response might lack a reasonable solution. The candidate's response might contain a solution that is incorrect, inflexible, and/or irrelevant.	The candidate's response might contain a single perspective (e.g., D/deaf or hearing consumer, interpreter, system) with minimal expansion. The candidate's response might present an ineffective solution, or present an effective solution with no explanation.	The candidate's response will contain sufficient discussion of at least two perspectives including, if applicable, the D/deaf consumer's perspective. The candidate's response will present an effective solution(s) to the problem with sufficient explanation.	The candidate's response will provide a substantial discussion of perspectives of involved parties. The candidate's response will present a successful solution(s) using, as applicable, (1) reasoning as influenced by past and present practices and (2) resources.
Domain#3 Construction of a decision or solution	The candidate's response might lack discussion of the potential consequences.	The candidate's response might contain minimal discussion of potential consequences.	The candidate's response will contain sufficient discussion of the short-term effects.	The candidate's response will contain sufficient discussion of both the short-term and long-term effects that might include cultural, political, and/or sociological implications.

Appendix C: Survey questions

Scenario #1:

You work as an interpreter/classroom assistant for a Deaf student in a classroom of 34 students. Part of your role is to interpret; part of your role is to work with all of the students in support of the teacher—grading papers, helping with learning activities, etc.

You have known the Deaf student for several years and know his parents quite well. As a matter of fact, you socialize with them outside of work. This student has begun displaying some behavioral problems at school, acting out, skipping class and acting rude to you and to the teacher. The parents have asked you how their child is doing in school.

Scenario #2:

You are a certified interpreter and your brother is a police officer. One night he calls you and begs you to do him a favor and come in and interpret for a Deaf man they just picked up for allegedly committing a crime. Your brother tells you that they have called everyone on the list and no one is available.

Scenario #3:

You interpret in an educational setting with 20 students (5 of whom are Deaf), a hearing teacher and a Deaf teaching assistant. The teacher has a habit of asking you questions concerning the progress of the Deaf students. You keep directing the questions towards the teaching assistant but it is clear the teacher still doesn't understand your role as the interpreter. Further, you feel she is not showing proper respect toward the Deaf teaching assistant.

Scenario #4:

You are interpreting a professional development workshop where a video will be shown. The hearing presenter turns off all of the lights in order to improve the video clarity, but the Deaf participant now cannot see you when you interpret.

Scenario #5:

You and another interpreter have been booked to interpret a 1½ hour appointment between a Deaf social worker and the hearing parent of a deaf child. You will both bill for the two-hour minimum. Without tell you, your team interpreter contacts the Deaf social worker in advance of the appointment. The interpreter explains that he is really busy with another volunteer project and hopes the meeting will finish early if at all possible. The social worker thanks your partner for the call and promises to do what she can to keep things on schedule. You show up at the appointment, unaware of this earlier conversation. The two of you interpret the appointment that wraps up after only 35 minutes. The social worker thanks your partner and tells him he can go that she would like you to stay the remaining 3-4- minutes to interpret several telephone calls.

Is this an ethical issue? If so, under what category?

- Confidentiality: Interpreters adhere to standards of confidential communication.
- Impartiality: Interpreters render the message faithfully by conveying the content and spirit of what is being communicated.
- Professional Conduct: Interpreters conduct themselves in a manner appropriate to the specific interpreting situation.
- Business Practices: Interpreters are expected to conduct their business in a professional manner.

What would you do in this situation and why?

Appendix D: Email Message

<Date>

Dear <Interpreter>

You are receiving this Email as a certified member of RID to be included as a participant in an ethical decision-making study.

Your participation will require you take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete an online survey. The survey is divided into three sections. The first section is a demographic survey asking general questions about you and your tenure in the field of interpreting. The second and third sections will ask you about ethical dilemmas that you have experienced, how you identified them and what decisions you made to resolve the dilemma. The survey will cover such areas as confidentiality, impartiality, professionalism and ethical business practices.

There are no known risks to participation in this study. Your survey responses will be kept confidential and available only to the research team for analysis purposes. Upon completion of the survey, I will assign a unique ID number and your name will be deleted from the database. Results from the survey will be aggregated to the group level and no names or identifiable information will be used.

Although there is no direct benefit to you for participating in this study, I feel your participation will likely benefit researchers that are trying to understand how ethical decision-making can occur in sign language interpreters.

You do not have to participate in this study if you do not want to. If you agree to be in this study, but later change your mind, you may drop out at any time and all information will be deleted from the database. There are no penalties or consequences of any kind if you decide you do not want to participate.

If you have questions about the study, you may direct those to me, Elizabeth Mendoza at 619.944.5949. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Institutional Review Board at the University of California, San Diego at 858.455.5050.

To complete the online survey, please click on the attached link, after clicking on the link you will be once again asked to provide consent to continue to the survey.

http://www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx?sm=AXH9Z2HGRDPWzXRA8OuuCA_3d_3d

Elizabeth Mendoza
Doctoral Student
University of California, San Diego

Appendix E – Interview Questions

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my research project. It is designed to help me understand how sign language interpreters make ethical decisions.

1. First, I would like you to know:
 - a. How long have you been an interpreter?
 - b. How long have you been a certified interpreter?
2. Describe a recent interpreting situation where you felt you had to make a decision that involved ethical issues related to confidentiality, impartiality, professionalism and/or business practices.
3. What triggered the acknowledgment that this was an ethical dilemma?
4. What made the situation ethically challenging?
5. How did you feel about this ethical issue?
6. Please describe the process you went through in resolving the dilemma.
7. What did you decide to do?
8. Would you change your decision?
9. What training, background, and experience did you draw upon determining a course of action?

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