CAROL: Thank you all so much for joining us and for joining this Ccd virtual book discussion and author talk on to be a problem, a black woman's survival and the Racist Disability rights movement by Dara Baldwin.
Thank you so much. To all of you. We hope this conversation will be a good start to your day. Thank you to the CCD Board board and the Board's Anti-racism Committee for your support and organizing of this event. Excuse me, and I must especially thank you to our moderator, Carlene, ponder and to Dara Baldwin for writing this book and sharing your time and thoughts with us today.
I'm gonna start with our land acknowledgement.
Excuse me, in line with CCD's mission and values. Ccd. Acknowledges that our headquarters in Washington, DC. Sits on the traditional and ancestral lands of the Nocachonk or Anacostans and neighbors, the ancestral lands of the Piscataway and Pamunke peoples we gratefully acknowledge the native peoples on whose ancestral homelands we gather, as well as the native communities who make their home here today.
we are grateful for their past and continued stewardship of this land. We acknowledge the United Nations Declaration on the rights of indigenous people, and are committed to learning from and supporting indigenous members of our community.
I'm just going to provide an extremely brief space setting. We're gathering. And I really wanted this event to happen so that we could formally acknowledge Ccd's role in the events that Dara lays out in her book. Ccd. Is a part of, and has been a leader of, the disability, rights movement and racism has been a part of that movement. Since the very beginning, we have begun work to address it, but that is a very long journey. So we are owning our racism in the movement and our activities, and reflecting and starting or continuing a conversation on how we change and begin to heal and grow stronger. And I think that's it. So that's my hope for today. I'm going to pass it off to a few of my cohorts for logistics and an introduction, and then join you again later. Thank you all very much.

Brittany Owens, she/her, The Arc US: Thanks, Carol. Hi, everyone thanks for joining our conversation today. My name is Brittany Owens. I use she her pronouns. I'm the senior associate of policy and advocacy at the Arcus. I am a black woman, and my hair is in a bun. Today. I am a Ccd Board member, and I'm also the co-chair for Ccd's Anti-racism Committee for some logistics for today. Just so, you know, we do have Asl and cart available.

We encourage you to turn your captions on, and you can use the chat to message me if you are having technical difficulties, how today's chat will work? Is that any messages that you send will go directly to the host and co-host of today's meeting, and at the end of the conversation there will be time for questions and answers, and now I will turn it over to Galila to have a brief introduction of our speaker and our moderator for today. Thank you.

Gelila Selassie (she/her): Thank you, Britney. I'm Galila Selassie. My pronouns are she her and I'm a senior attorney at justice and aging, and I'm a black woman with dreadlocks. I'm also on the Ccd. Anti-racism Committee and one of the LTSS. Coaches as well and very happy to be here today with our wonderful speakers.

I will introduce the esteemed Carlene Ponder, who, I hope many of you know, or you should know, wonderful person, currently serves as the founding director of the autism. Justice Center, an initiative of the Autism Society of America.

Carlene is an attorney and civil rights advocates working at the intersection of disability race, and the criminal justice system. She started her legal career with the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights, and served as an appellate attorney with the Social Security Administration and the disability Adjudication Division.

During that time Carlene joined other grassroots, advocates to advance initiatives in her local community and the State of Maryland to address a spate of police, a slate of police shootings involving people experiencing a mental health crisis prior to joining the Autism Society. Carlene served as Director of Disability Rights for the arc of the United States, and Carlene received her law degree from the University of Illinois, and a bachelor's from the University of Michigan.

and our speaker. Dara Baldwin.

Baldwin is a debut author with a book to be a problem, a black woman's survival in the Racist Disability Rights movement Published by Beacon Press and released in July 20s 24. Dara, an activist and scholar with over 20 years of experience in policy and social justice work and housing and transportation equity, criminal justice, and many other issues, she formerly held positions including serving as director of National policy for the Center For Disability Rights and senior policy analyst at the National Disability Rights network, Baldwin has a Bachelor of Arts and political science, pi, alpha alpha honors graduate and masters of public

administration from Rutgers University. Baldwin also currently runs her own equity consulting firm, dimadrina LLC and teaching disability justice, equity and policy at Georgetown university.

So, thank you, both, again, and, I will turn it over to you.

CARLEAN: Just as a quick visual description, Black woman, I have glasses, and today, I am very proud of this fro that I'm walking! Because it has grown out. Carlean Ponder,: And also really thrilled to be sitting here with my comred in the field, Darrah Baldwin, thank you so much for showing up to be present for this book tack and I have to say, every time I hear the title read -- were you trying to be provocative there, to Be a problem, a Black Woman survival in the race and disability rights movement.

First of all, peace and blessings everyone and I want to say.

DARA: (Continuing), thank you for all of you who are on this call, thank you to Carlean for moderating this and to Brittany and Galila for being part of this, especially, thank you to the chair, and thank you, CCD for having this conversation and being provocative, listen, I am a writer, I am a person, a Black woman, and, again, sorry let me do descriptions. I use, she, her pronouns, and I am a Black woman with short hair; and so, I come from -- to you from D.C. Piscataway, and Anacostia stolen land, so no, I was being honest.
And, if you read the book, which I hope you have and if you do go and you haven't, please read the introduction where the explains the title To, Be, a Problem and I wanted to write a memoire, a men manifesto, about my experience working in this community; and, I am a -- journal every day, and years ago I wrote To Be, a problem, I had read WED DuBois souls of Black folks, and when it came to the title it was already there; and then the subpart of it, was explaining, what happened to me, and, yes, I've had people give me pushback about using the word racist, why would you do that?

And my reply to them, is No. 1, it's my story, I'll title it anyway I wish, and No. 2, why are you concerned about the word and not about the issues, and the -- and the things that happened, to make me want to use that description?

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Carlean: We would expect nothing less than Dara to give her truth.

Yes.

What can you tell us, maybe in three points, what were you hoping to accomplish by writing and publishing the book?

DARA: Yeah, sure that's in the book as well. Number 1, to tell the story, many of us BIPOC folks, but specifically Black people, and -- and really Indigenous folks, our stories are always suppressed. Or or erased and not told, and, if we do get the opportunity to tell people, we are considered angry, out of control. [SNAPS] and a word I don't like to use, but called "crazy" and so I wanted to be able to tell my story. I am blessed to speak on a lot of panels, and do public speaking around the world. I spoke at the United Nations, and, I will tell this story, and people would be shocked and surprised. And, people would say others need to know this, so that was a way to get it out; and then, I also -- in my work, in what I do, I am a Black Liberationist and abolitionist, I am a social justice activist at my core. The city I grew up in Newark, New Jersey, we are a political city. A AmiriiBaraka world renowned known poet, of social justice, of change, (writer of "The dutchman", and when I write, I write to make change, I write in a space of hope, and I didn't want to just tell this story and say the bad things, that is why, you find hope, throughout the book. Talking about how we can do things different. But also the last part of the book, the conclusion, giving some suggestions, and recommendations, for change. And then again, I'm blessed as you see the book the many people who wrote what's called "blurbs", they were my readers, several of them -- actually, encouraged me to write this book. They said sit down and write it.
They helped me write it. They read it, and then, gave, you know, their descriptions of the book. And, you know, -- I was put in a place to do that.

And, so, that's why I did it. But I wanted people to know what was going on and that I'm just a piece, I'm just one part of this and that there's a bigger story.

CARLEAN: Thank you, Dara. The book talks about CCD, the body that we're speaking to today, as an entity, that has a problem addressing the intersection of

race, racism, and disability in particular. Is this reflective of CCD, as an entity? Or is it really the leadership and priorities of the nonprofits that make up the CCD?

DARA: I think it's a combination of both. -- Carol was -- really great in their introduction when they said, CCD was founded in the -- if you don't know, right? -- late 70s. Founded by mostly white folks. And, stayed that way, as Leadership. The organization, to me, is -- you know, run by people, people do it. So, there was a combination; and the book, as you see, doesn't just talk about right, CCD, it talks about the nonprofit industrial complex. And it talks about, you know -- in my life, I came from corporate world, and left, and went into nonprofit thinking it would be better. And it's not. It's actually a little worse, if you ask me.

And we're sitting in a space and time right now, if many of you don't know, you know, -- things are going on cutter of -- color of change, a Black, person, treating Black people in a way that is not in the social justice realm, I think the nonprofit industrial complex has concerns that it has never addressed about overworking and saying it's altruism, look at the work you're doing. And so because you're doing that work, you shouldn't complain about not being paid, for your skill sets and your education; and not getting time off when you should, and, all of those things, so, I think it's a symptom, right? For CCD, but I do think that CCD, as an entity, and how it was set up, was definitely -- again, remember, I left CCD in 2019, but still very close to many of you, and know the stories, and still worked, around -- still work around CCD, members. But, when I was there, and these things were happening, to me, I had no way of filing a complaint. Having someone listen to me, I was told not only, verbally but I have the e-mails -- where I was told, we don't have a process for any racism, but if something happened to someone, around, you know, their disability -- they could, right?
Which was interesting, because at the time I was in CCD, there were few to no disabled policy-makers so I was, like, why do you have a process for disabled members when there are none here? But okay. And you didn't have a process for people, right -- if there was a sexual orientation question, or problem. None of those things were set up and so that right there lets you know that you are set up in a space of white supremacy.

Carlean: And you're talking about the way that CCD sort of ran its meetings, and, perhaps some of the dynamics around, got to talk, or who got to say what, and some of the issues that were decided by task forces, you want to elaborate a

little bit on? Some of what led, I guess, to that -- to you noticing there was no complaint process?

DARA: Yeah, so when I came to CC DSHGS -- as you said, going into a meeting, the education task force is one of them, I was the only person of color in the room; and, you know -- that affects the policy so, you know, education for disability rights in general, why we created disability justice, but, you know, looks at maybe two or three issues when don't affect Black and brown children, and I would bring up, the issues about school to prison pipeline, . Corporal punishment. Right? Safety of -- disenfranchised children in the System, and I was distinctly told, "Those are not our children", right? We're not going to do that work.

That's you. Why do you constantly have to bring up race in every meeting you're in, you bring up race? And that's an afront to me, right? My organization, that I work for, paid its membership dues to be here, I have every right to sit at this table, as you do, and I have every right to bring up issues, so when that reply was given to me, and let me say again, not only verbally, but in e-mails, right? I was, literally, told, the so-called school-to-prison pipeline, and I started in 2009, right? -- at that point there were 30 years of evidence-based research that we be a school-to-prison pipeline, right? Let me be clear, we had an actual civil rights department in the Department of Education, working on school-to-prison-pipeline, and, I had no recourse, right? I went to the Chair, they said well, we don't -- that's not our problem. You do whatever the chair -- cochairs of that committee does.

And that was the end of the conversation. Years later.... You would think some stuff would change, even during one of the most racist -- election processes, that we've had in 2016, when I brought up the racism that was happening -- it wasn't just happening in the election; you know, CCD had allowed an organization, that actually still there, Respectability the name respect -- if you understand and know the politics behind Respectability, that should have never happened. Questions should have been asked about that organization's name. And then that organization's leader. And, yes, I know I'm being recorded and you-all many of you, who knew her, and know what she was -- she attended one meeting for the Leadership Conference, and they told her don't come back. She attended one meeting, for the OSF Education and they told her don't come back, but CCD allowed this person who was very much a racist -- to not only stay in the organization; but become a leader. They led the employment task force, and so, I

had to sit as a Black Woman, and explain. And when I lodged the complaint I was told, well, they're not that racist as if there's a measurement of racism and why can't you deal with it on your own?

Carlean: Okay, well, I think that gives us a lot more detail.
Thank you, and also leads very nicely into my next question, which is, your book addresses, issues that have a deep impact on the Black community in particular. Such aspolice brutality and you just talked about the school to prison pipeline, now, police brutality occurs against disabled people predominantly, Black disabled people. But it has not typically been framed, as an ADA issue. .

Q: I've heard, some people, voice concern over mission creep, when I say mission creep (in air quotes), meaning that an organization is moving outside of let's say it's core values, core commitments or work product. Work area. What is your response to this? .

DARA: Yes, and I've heard this as well.

My response to it is: .

A: If you are involved in civil rights, and in -- right? -- which always equals social justice, civil means all people, social means all people; and, Disability Rights organizations, you know, the whole concept behind disability rights is that your disability that marginalization is more important than any other marginalization and that therein lies the problem; that -- that's why the policy work, can include race. Can include immigration status. Sexual orientation; and so, addressing policy issues, as if disability is the only thing, is also, steeped in white supremacy, is also interesting why Disability Rights organizations then will claim we're doing intersectionality, and I say you can't be doing intersectionality, if what you just said, Carlean, if I'm coming to you to say we're going to work on policing, but we're going to center Black Disabled People's killing, As you're policing campaign, and you come back to me and say well, that has nothing to do with disability, then you're not doing intersectionality and still coming from a white supremacy space; and that is harmful, to the work, again, as I mentioned, that is also where I came up with the term "multimarginalization." Is because people live multimarginalized lives; and, again, you're still coming from a space of 1976. We are now, in, you know, The 21st century. And so we can't come at the

work in that way. And it doesn't mean that.... The other races, or multi -- or marginalized community aren't also harmed by policing but the way in which you do social justice work, the way in which you do liberation work -- is to remove the barriers of the most marginalized community and in this world -- that is Black and mostly Indigenous disabled people, if you remove their barriers, you remove everyone else's, it's kind of the same concept of universal design. Right?

And finally: Also in disability rights, and CCD -- and we -- I've had many conversations about this -- coming from a space of victimization which is a white supremacist thought that I'm being victimized by the police, which also sets up that well, if we just train them a little better, they'll treat us better. Is also not embracing the actual central problem of this country, which is, enslavement and racism, which is the -- the actual foundation of law enforcement and policing, in this country; you must come from a space of criminalization. That the only reason we have a legal entity in this country, is to criminalize people who are not white; Anglo-Saxon protestant but white, regardless if you're white and disabled, and so when you come from that space, which is the mission of disability rights -- which, centers your disability is first. And foremost, and only. You will never address like I said, before, and remove the barriers of all people. .

Carlean: Okay, and then, you know, that sort of -- that sort of begs the question of.... How priorities get set. How issues of importance, are decided. You know, by the individual organizations who make up CCD and by CCD, itself, one of the things that you point out, as a problem, in your book, is, that the public policy work, the public policy sections of the organizations who make up CCD, tend to be led by white women, I think, perhaps, middle-aged, white women typically nondisabled as well. And how does -- how do you see this?

as impacting understanding what you just said about what intersectionality means?

DARA: Sure, ask I'll add another adjective, upper middle class and wealth -- so that was the make-up of CCD's leadership and actual members. And, again, who is able to sit at the table? Right? That is Shirley Chisholm, said if you're not at the table, bring your own chair, and I don't want to to be ableist, roll on up there and so if they're not there, the conversation is not going to happen and so that is what happened in CCD for many years. And, probably still goes on -- right? It's

still dominated by that community. And so, that is harmful to like I said -- education policy, we worked on inclusion of students in school. Restraint and seclusion, maybe a little bit of higher ed and making sure disability centers were doing what they needed. Not to say those aren't important issues but they are but, again, in a BIPOC, disabled person's life is more than that, right? You know, when you talk about voting rights, voting all the conversation is around, access to the polls, that is important.

But let's talk about the voter suppression; and, again, -- and the answer, I got -- which is completely true -- that's not our people. That's not happening right? There are no police in our schools, that is true. There are no police in upper middle class white communities, right? Yeah, your polls are open, you have no problem, they're not doing gerrymandering, where most of your community lives -- is staying so that's there, and then when the -- the way in which policies were chosen, it was the Chair of the Committee, usually the chair of the committee was -- you know, it was their expertise; so, they got to choose what policies we worked on, at least -- and then we -- some of us, at least in the rights task force -- the task force I started chairing, S I changed that process, and, again, us working in social justice, it's a democracy, you don't get to choose, and I go back to the employment task force, right? I also think I never -- I worked in coalitions all of my life even when I wasn't in this work as a volunteer. And I've never even now, right? In doing Black lives matter, where we don't sit at the table with the enemy, I will go and talk to them and have conversations meaning to us, law enforcement, I'll have conversations but you're not going to be at meetings about strategy, and it always was interesting, CCD's employment task force was chaired by two organizations that we are trying to stop, subminimum wage with, but they're chairing it. It doesn't make any sense to me.

And so when you have that -- right? -- those are the kinds of things that are interesting about, when I say in the book, direct great force, CCD is, like, we're in charge and we're going to do this and when you block people out, right? Not only allowing organizations who have offices in the DMV. First it was just D.C. and I would be, like, yeah, but some of those groups are over in Virginia, so they may say, oh, the DMV, right? It's exclusive and you're being exclusive, I mean, the name consortium is an -- that's a exclusive name, when they were talking about name change I was, like, that's -- you change citizens, to constituents? That you think that was the only problem with your name and you changed for because you're still working for disabled people you're not working with. I was, like, oh, that's a whole lot of name, I can change a whole lot of words in your title but you

choose not to. So that's not how we do work, that is not how you do community work, that is not in disability justice. The tenth principle, collective liberation -- that is not coming from a collective space. Doing a membership survey -- and asking your members, what are the most important issues to you, in education? What are the most important issues to you in employment? In those coming to the forefront, for CCD; not having a bunch of people, in the D.C. beltway, which is exclusive anyway -- deciding, what and how, and when we work on issues.
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Carlean: And Dara has led me to my next -- and I'm telling you we did not rehearse this flow, but Dara has led me to my next question and because you just mentioned exclusivity and being inside the DMV, being inside the Beltway and your book also talks about, tension within CCD, its member organizations. And attention around the idea of letting in or working with -- grassroots leaders. Grassroots organizers, can you say more about that type of tension?

A: DARA: And, again, it's about the exclusivity. This is Dara speaking again, again, I don't see this changing a lot either, right? Where, you set up meetings with Congress, and, only D.C.-led organizations, policy staff is allowed to attend. And I have this conversation -- and let me say this CCD -- this is a D.C. issue, this is, again, a nonprofit issue, this is a -- we call it a legacy civil rights organizations -- NAACP, right? -- lawyers committee. This is their issue too. And I've had this conversation with someone who says to me, "Well, who are the professionals that are going? And who are the nonprofessionals going?" And my reply to them, because I'm a community, I'm an activist -- is every person in this room is a professional. I don't know what you're talking about. Right? Because, those closest to the problem, are closest to the solution, so this is their life.
You don't get to choose that. So I don't know, what you mean by that word, those words, professional, nonprofessional. Now do you mean policy-makers? Right? Or -- and that's different. The only difference between me, and the person who is unhoused, you know, I have a job. I have the benefits, they don't.
But they can still speak, or sign, they can still articulate what they need done, they can still read policy or understand it. Give me information to do it. Every person you work with, is a professional. And to come from that space that you think, because you're here in D.C. and you have this good job, and you are doing this that you're better than those people who are actually living this, No. 1, that is never going to happen. That's not true. And No. 2: That they -- you just didn't

have the opportunity. I always as I say, I'm a spiritual person so I use the word blessed. There's a reason I was put here.
And I'm not going to let that go away -- not let that opportunity and that blessing be deterred, or harmed. And then, in the book, I discuss, when the fight for the ACA, the Affordable Care Act was happening.... Again, these white nondisabled cis gendered upper middle class -- and wealthy -- women chose to create two separate LISTSERVs, one for the professionals (in air quotes) of the LTSS, and the healthcare task force. And one for the grassroots as if they were different people, and I was, like -- and it wasn't just me, it was a couple of people who said, I don't understand why we have two -- we're talking about the same things oh, but they don't understand, we can't really bring them in on certain conversations, and they like to do things, we don't do that. And I was, like, do what? Like, direct action, and let's all be very clear: That the reason that fight was won, is that on June 22nd, 2017, those people, who do this work, from the ground came in and did direct action and took over Mitch McConnell's office for the whole entire day. And we told people, you are on the Capitol out there, they can't hear you, you need to be inside the building, because I was a part of that group, that helped set that up. And, it is distinctly what (pause), Senator McCain who has passed away but he said that is the one thing that changed my mind, that on that day, and that vote and he went to the table and turned his thumb down and said I'm not voting and that's my Mitch McConnell did not win was because of the direct action. In this work it's, like, a spokes in the wheel, I tell people, If you ride bicycles you see it, all of us are important, the researchers, the legal eagles, the lawyers, right? The policy folks, the legislators, the politicians -- every person in this work has a space. CCD doesn't come from that space. CCD comes from the space that we are important; the rest of you aren't; follow what we tell you to do. .

Carlean: And you be, I mean, I'll just chime in there that's a tension that has long been in these organizations professional sort of nonprofit organizations in the D.C. space. That tension between (in air quotes) being a professional insider and public policy person -- versus an activist because I have the distinction of being both, I'm both an activist and -- and even I get treated, depending on what hat I'm wearing, you know, people will try and denigrate even my credentials and experience, so very real. And then I'm going to -- I'm just going to ask you one last question, before we move it on, and, begin to open it up to questions, because, I do want to make sure that we have plenty of time for Q&A.

Carlean: You also talk about choice of legislative champions in the book; and, that when the disability Rights Community sort of celebrates legislators, you notice a dearth of legislators of color being celebrated, or being invited into the room or considered a partner. In the work. You're talking about your Black, you know, -- Black, Brown Indigenous members of Congress, sort of --.

They weren't. They were not invited into the room. Right? That's what you're talking about?

Carlean: Well, yeah, you talk about it.

DARA: Yeah, correct, so, you know, the year -- again, 2009, so 2010, was the 20th Anniversary of the ADA. Way before COVID, way before 45.
Every department had a party, and we would -- I went and you name it FCC, DOJ HHS, HUD, HUD, all of them and I went, and every event it was all white folks, everybody who spoke on a panel was white, everybody who was honored was white and I was shocked and I was, like, well, did Black and brown folks -- at that time I didn't know, did they have anything to do with this work? And I was told, absolutely not. No, they don't. And I was, like, absolutely not, there's no way, like, -- there is not a liberation movement in this world, that does not have Black folks in it, Indigenous folks in it, Queer folks in it, right? Not only in it but usually leading it and laying the foundation, and so I made it my duty to go find out, you know, I remember at the twenty-fifth Anniversary, at the NCIL conference they had a sheet cake and, you know, -- blue and white I guess the colors of the ADA was flying and on the sheet cake, they had written all of their quote/unquote, Champions in Congress, during the ADA. You know, Steny Hoyer was on there and Tom Harkin was on there. . What is his name, oh, gosh that's a shame. Chris from -- Maryland, he's now in the Senate. Sorry I can't think of his name.

Van Holland.

I'm sorry, van Holland was on there, all of these white mostly cis gendered men, even the white women, didn't get recognition, I was, like, well, wait a minute, John Lewis was in Congress, Major Owens was in Congress, Barbara Jordan -- and Barbara Jordan had a disability, and, she assisted with several of the committees,

to get the ADA through, by that time I had found history and was reading about the ADA and who helped out. . And their names weren't listed. Not only were their names not listed some of those Black folks were still in Congress, D. Davis to this day is the one known to say, right? That there should be no preexisting barriers for people to have healthcare that was his thing when he was a "Black Panther" back in Chicago and did that for the ACA, eve President Obama said, this is Danny Davis's part of the ACA and he wasn't even there, and I was, like, I don't understand, that's the erasure of Black folks in this work. And, again, you know, you have these so-called prominent, you know -- heroines, and, again, I know I'm being recorded and it's not the first, nor the last time -- who say that, Black folks weren't involved in this, Judy Heumann was one of them, you talk to her and she did not admit about brad Lomax and Galloway the things they were doing, was "Black Panther", sitting and chanting, chaining yourself, that is not Judy just found out and did on her own, that is racism when you don't admit it Judy, and me and Judy had conversations while she was alive when we were at contention while she was alive, not only her, Michael Wright who passed on, mark Johnson who is still around, they do this, erase the Black brown folks, Indigenous folks involved in this and so that's where that came from. No they did not include them and even in the work we just talked about. CCD. Those caucuses are not caucuses they go to to talk to, don't go to API equality caucus, that's not caucuses because I was told they don't have power why do we go talk to them, right? So those are the problems, the issues and concerns, when you only celebrate white and -- white legislators as if they are the ones who are doing all of this, and, again, we're in the 21st century and if you look at this Congress now, that is very much changing, very much a part why we have problems in Congress, it's because, the white majority is specifically moving away from being a white majority in Congress; and if CCD doesn't come along and understand this, I don't know where you're going to be. About issues, and how things get moved.

Carlean: Well, with that, I just want to thank Professor Dara Baldwin for this lesson that she delivered today, and we are going to move it into our Q&A phase, the way we're going to do is if you have a question, if you could raise your hand. And come off -- come off -- show your face, if you can do that. I will acknowledge you and you can ask your question at that time; and, before that, I want to give a little bit of space, to CCD, to sort of talk about some of the things that have happened since Dara's time, with the organization, I know that there was a lot of

reflection, in terms of some of the course of actions that to meed to be taken to address these issues, and that can be Carol people from the antiracism committee, Brittany, and Vanya and Gelila are here.

Carol: Thank you, Carlean this is Carol again, Hi, everybody, if it's okay, I'm going -- I want to take one minute to do something that I should have done at the beginning, and that is be transparent, with folks, and give Dara some extra credit that everybody -- some of you know, but not everybody, so, my path -- So I'm currently the CCD Chair I became disabled in my late 20s, I'm much older than that now. I changed careers, to try to figure out how to work in this space. And, I was given an opportunity, to intern at NCIL. This was a very long time ago (chuckling) and it was unpaid. And I could only do that because of my partner at the time. Dara was -- was my mentor, and, for a really long time, I was -- I said to everybody, I'm Dara's intern, for years, so she -- is a leader in this space, and has always been for me. Also, I'm alive because of Black disabled women who were my roommates in the hospital in rehab; and who have seen me at my lowest points and talked to me and gotten me through being a disabled person. I am here because of Dara and all of these Black women. So I just want to name them and bring them in here, and so, I started attending CCD meetings in late 2013, I was present for some of what Dara shares in the book and has shared today. Every single leadership role I have had in CCD, I have taken because I was asked. I was tapped and that is enormous privilege. And I just want to acknowledge that. So I needed to say those things, thank you for hearing me, and thank you, Dara always. (After a pause) so we established CCD established an antiracism work group which later became a formal board committee, in 2020, I was on the board at that time. And thank you, to everybody who has been on the board and who has been part of that. One of the very first things we did, after we -- figured out how to work amidst COVID, active COVID, was to update the CCD mission and vision statement to explicitly state CCD's commitment to a society free from racism, ableism sexism and xenophobia as well as LGBTQ based discrimination and intolerance, I know that's not the best, but there were a lot of people, and we all get started on wordsmithing. This language is included in all of CCD's correspondence. (Electronic tone) and it also, was included in the updated code of participation in CCD to state that members -- all of our members must adhere to that Mission; which allowed us then we built on that, and developed and implemented a confidential process for resolving coparticipation violations including incidents of racism that folks who are members, and participating in

CCd experience in CCD experience or some of the stories Dara shared. This was very intentional because we wanted to make sure that there was a process, like, a formal process to resolve and address, and discuss. It's only been used once. To my knowledge. But it is there. We moved the requirement to have a D.C. presence. And we changed the policy -- as soon as we could -- to allow unpaid volunteers to be members; so, those are things that the Board could do. Kind of -- it took a bit -- but that we could do and we started talking about antiracism, and encourage cochairs, we've had some trainings but this work, only happens if we're all committed, all the task force cochairs, and members so, I want to ask Brittany, and Gelila if there are things you want to add about the work that we've done too, and thank you.

(a pause).

GELILA: Carol always gave a wonderful synopsis better than I ever could so I don't think I have too much else beyond that. I will say, like, Carol mentioned a lot of this was committee-led and board-led. You know, in terms of implementing this change, and so, again, being in a mostly if not exclusively remote world we've been trying to figure out ways of getting individual member buy-in. I joined CCD in February 2020. So, the world collapsed, a month later, and, I've never had the benefit of the, like, you know, multiple in-person meetings and connections, and things like that. And so I do -- and I also recognize that there's been a lot of turnover in the disability space, CCD, orgs, and -- you know, even among other industries as well. So, we have really want to make sure that there is engagement, I know a lot of cochairs talk about this a lot. I know it comes up in our board meetings and committee meetings and so, one thing that's really important for us to express is, even if it's informal connections, that we can do to elevate CCD members, especially CCD members, who need a bit of a safe space because of their identities and any of the challenges they may be facing. Or even in a positive way, just want to make sure that they are advancing professionally, we're here for that. We have, informal, like, BIPOC and LGBTQ + spaces, for members, to get together. Again, it kind of -- initially wanted to establish formal BIPOC affiliated meeting -- meetings for BIPOC identifying members, semiregularly, and in that sort of fizzled out unfortunately but -- there is always an opportunity to convene, so you're always welcome to e-mail me or Brittany or anybody else on the Committee for those opportunities, to speak. One thing that Carol is very good about also is recognizing that we are an

incredibly turbulent times, and, again, we are coming up on an Election where the racism is just out of control. And regardless of the election results there's still going to be that air of racism that has -- you know, dominated journalism, and our politics, and our work for definitely the last 8 years but definitely longer than that too, just making sure we're taking care of ourselves and that we're all there for each other, that doesn't have to be anything that's specific to our antiracism work but we have to recognize that, many of our members, are being targeted Particularly because of this racism that's being spewed out at debates and on media and on Twitter and everything else so just wanted to really highlight that space, and as things come up, we do try to respond to some of these horrible actions that have happened, big ones, like, George Floyd, or the Kyle rit Rittenhouse verdict or shootings of AAPI women, and various others, we do try to respond to, to show support for our members, . As well as having statements, and recognition, for various identity-awareness-periods throughout the year, like, Hispanic Heritage Month, Black History Month, et cetera, so, again, we are pretty smallish committee. CCD is not our full-time jobs and we do really want to be involved and active but, again, it helps so much more when it is member led if members can work with us or help raise issues with us, to make sure we are being as effective as possible, that is superhelpful, so I am very happy to have joined CCD when I did, because I think that, Through a lot of the leadership with folks, for the last couple of years, it's been a really rewarding experience, for me personally. And just to be able to be part of this work and have that energy, that we all had in -- probably more anxious, and angry energy in 2020, but regardless, it was energy that we were able to divert into this work. So, yes, thank you to the folks who helped, you know, bring that forward; and, I think that's it for me.

CARLEAN: Great, Gelila I want to make sure we open it up to questions now, we have one question in the chat from Vanya, do you want me me to read your question or do you want to ask it yourself.

VANIA: I'm happy to ask it myself. But first, I want to thank Dara for being here, for writing this book.

VANIA LEVEILLE: I also want to thank her for all the love and support she gave me when I started at CCD when I started in 2017. I was asked to take on the disability portfolio, by folks at the ACLU and it was brand-new to me. You know, I

was a commercial litigator in New York, so I'm used to being in very white spaces. But this is a tough space to be in. To my surprise, right? Again, I'm kind of used to it. There was this constant feeling of being an outsider. And I have to say, were it not for Dara, I don't know if I still would be in the community.
She was -- my shepherd, you know, she helped me understand the issues, she told me who to talk to, she -- gave me all of this -- information about what's going on behind the scenes.

the one thing that always gives hat off, is who is in the room, you know, that there are small groups of people always in the room talking to members of Congress and their staff. And other people are excluded.

(ambient sounds in background), a lot of my career, I've been the only Black person in the room, because dragged me in to some of these rooms, and, again, I will forever be grateful to you, and, you know, what you're doing and what you helped me do; so, my question is....

Q: How did you maintain hope? How did you sustain yourself, in the midst of all of this? Because, you know, the work is hard. Working with Congress is hard. (Gesturing), coalition politics are hard. And then to have this layer of racism, and people questioning you, and, (pause), raising all of these kind of.... Remarks, and, how did you sustain yourself and stay in the community for as long as you did? In the midst of all of that?

A: DARA: So this is Dara (a pause), thank you, my sister for what you said. I didn't. -- that's why the book says, the survival, I'm still trying to survive. The scars are still there. I am only on this call, because I am a person of faith. And believe that the only way in which you resolve issues and problems, is to talk to the people who are causing the harm; and, help them to move to a better space. (Pause), that is -- I will say I'm a Christian. But I believe in everyone's faith, and, you know, -- Jesus says turn the other cheek or the Bible, and all this says that, and believe me I'm not like all into the Bible, I'm a very spiritual person, but I also study Buddhism and being in the moment, and I'm trying to survive, I'm a person who wakes up in the morning who prays and meditates, and walk, I walk every morning people who know me. Whenever I am, whatever I'm doing. Nature and being out helps me, please understand and know that.

It keeps you going, as I said earlier, I felt that I was put here and I was not going to let that -- anybody stop me, from creating change. It's also in the book, right? I am blessed up to now 37 bills passed and signed by presidents including 45. I worked on NDRN and we got four bills passed, I don't think they knew what they were doing. Right? So that's how we got them fast, to help out, right? With the community with many things so, right? Those victories really helped me. I'm also a person, where my work is work. I really know my boundaries. I have a family, and I have friends, and I have my tribe, who I love dearly and they took care of me always, I could go and cry and scream with them. I never believed that the people I worked with -- because usually they weren't, you know, were my family and friends. You know, again, so that's how I got through it. I also, always knew, in the back of my head, which is -- probably a bad space to be in, but also no and exactly what happened that many of these people who said to me they loved me and were my friends, treated me horribly, right? Again, I know I'm being recorded and I don't care. I am right now sitting here, I'm a person who is not allowed to go to NCIL, anything, not a NCIL meeting, not a NCIL conference, nothing for NCIL, because I was kicked out. Right? You don't resolve things like that. And so, if you are able to treat people like that, that's absolutely ridiculous, to me, and I did nothing wrong. Right? The person I worked for did something wrong, not me. And I was punished for that. So I always knew those people were not my friends. And you treating me that way, proved to me you are not friends with me. So I never took that in. But what I did take in, which I always take in -- is the statute and the law, and that things will change. Even in the space we are in today. Please understand and know, this is a moment that -- that every day changes, that what is happening today will change, and it will only change through the work of people. So that's how I got myself through, but when you ask how did I make it? I don't think I made it through as you can hear in my voice. I'm hurt by this. I'm damaged by this. Yes, I've had -- I had a great career, let me not lie, I was in very great positions. I chaired three CCD Committees and, actually, revamped one. The Emergency Management after the third Annual Meeting of someone saying can we revamp the Emergency Management task Force I took it on and did it, as they say Black women get things done, and let me be clear, I'm also a member of delta sigma theta, deltas get things done, I started that committee. I got that going and moving it and, again, I was hurt, I was told you are no longer to be allowed to be chair of anything, you can't come to any of our meetings, so you caused harm to me, so I'm not doing well. I'm not over this. There's harm here. And I've never been apologized to by CCD, and we have this conversation

after 20 -- during 2020 and the reckoning and I sent an e-mail and said remember how you did these things to me? How you did these things to Keri Gray when she talked about a racist ROUMn in your midst you went after Keri not after the woman who was racist, when people ask me that no I didn't get through it, but having the conversations and being honest is the way we're going to move forward, is the only way things are going to change and for me the next generation should -- no one else should have to go through what you went through, Vania, carlean, I did the same thing, with Carlean with Leila says she has a good experience so I can't, you know, go to that, I'm glad things are changing but nobody should go through what we went there, and when people ask me that no I have not healed that's why I said, it's a survival. Survival is a continuous thing. Also, I want to say about the book, racist -- when the title came out, I had friends in other movements that can redo a series, the racist LGBTQ community, the racist housing community, the racist transportation community, and I said sure, call me, let's do it.
So don't think this is the only space.

Carlean: No that's a good point and I hope you do talk about the nonprofit industrial complex and people may not know what that means, but we did touch on that a little bit, in terms of inside the beltway sort of culture and exclusivity. I wanted to get to one more question, because I know we're running up on our time.

Q: Sylvia, did you want to ask your question?

Silvia YEE: Thank you, Carlean and so it's great to see you Dara and to hear you, I love how your book reorYENTS things and makes me wonder, have I been a problem enough? -- but as you say, there's a cost, there's always a cost, too, so thank you for surviving, the question -- I had is.

You know -- have work in my mind and thinking about how -- a number of disability researchers, and advocates have been trying to influence how the census bureau, recognizes and counts people with disabilities, and right now the bureau uses 6 functional limitation questions, such as, do you have trouble seeing? Even with glasses? That's -- so, my question is.

Q: How can we work to ensure that disability questions in the census recognizes

Black persons and other people of color, as well as, immigrants, coming from distinct cultural backgrounds? As disabled persons? If they don't necessarily identify with having a functional limitation? Or haveng a disability?

A: Well, first of all, thank you, it's always good to see you Silvia, also, I miss working with you as well. You know, I'm always here, you always e-mail me, I'm going to say this, this is a conversation, about my book, and about the work of CCD.
You're asking me a specific policy question, I now have a policy organization, and if you wish to have my knowledge, it cost you money, you can contact DMadrina and I'll get you a contract and an invoice, my knowledge about stuff is not free so I just want to say that.

It shouldn't be.

I just wanted to say that is a policy question that we're having conversations you are correct, it is around race, it's around, who is sitting at that table and doing that I just don't want to answer that question now, we can talk offline about it, but for me, you know, -- that's a question about the work. And I don't want to do that I just want to say, because I know we're coming to the end of time, I want to say thank you to everybody who is on this call and if no one said it to you, thank you for the work you do every single day. It is difficult. Please take care of yourself mentally, physically, and emotionally. Don't let these people fool you. There is a life outside of fighting for other people. You will get older, as I am now, and figuring out what I want to do next in my next chapter. And there are always multiple ways to do this work, and change people's lives. Please do it. And I look forward to having more conversations, with all of you, CCD, this group, even the people who caused me harm -- please understand and know -- my door, my e-mail is always open, to you. To have those conversations. Because that's the only way change will happen, and, again, I want to thank Carlean, Gelila Brittany -- and all of you at CCD.

Carlean: Dara thank you so much, I mean, look at that, still dispensing more life wisdom. And now I'll turn it back over to Carol to begin our closing.

Carol Tyson: Thank you, this is Carol. Thank you, Dara always, always, and forever, thank you, thank you for writing this book, thanks for being here today.

Thank you for continuing to do everything that you're doing, and for taking care of yourself.
Most importantly. Carlean, thank you as well, I know that you did such a wonderful job and so grateful, thank you for being here and leading this conversation and Brittany and Gelila thank you to everybody who participated, for those of you in case you missed it in the e-mails, there will be an in-person gathering later today, 4:00, this is in D.C., at the dirty Habit please check your e-mail, It's informal, so just gathering in person, and encouraging people to mask. There's accessibility notes in there, but we will be continuing the conversations and -- I'm going to pass it to Gelila next and then Brittany and thank you, all.

GELILA: Again, huge thanks to Dara, Carlean everybody and I echo that, what Vania said, it's because of your work and your experiences and that of many others, that I am able to do my work, and, live the life I do, personally and professionally. Like I said earlier we really want this conversation to continue. Really want folks to be engaged, so we encourage task force cochairs, make sure you save time, maybe at your meetings or at any other space to continue this conversation. And also, members, you're very much encouraged to raise this with your task force, cochairs, ask about what you've been doing or make suggestions or just see if you want to be included and incorporated, or, elevate this conversation as well. So please continue it. Whether it's cochair led or member led, we really want these conversations to continue in your task forces, and take Dara's recommendations to heart in the work that we do and then I think Brittany is going to close us out.

Brittany,: Thanks Gelila one employee more time, thank you, Dara and Carlean for sharing this conversation, this went beyond just having an intentional conversation but it was authentic and transparent. And, again, thank you for bringing all of this up and coming here, not only has your work benefited CCD, but, obviously, elsewhere and all the people we work with and for and we hope to have more of these types of conversations in CCD as a whole. If you have any other comments, feedback or suggestions, I strongly suggest all members you can reach out to the antiracism Committee Board or your cochairs, me, whoever -- for anything that you need. So thank you, so much, and I hope you-all have a great day and a great weekend.