

## U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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## BUSINESS MEETING

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FRIDAY, JULY 14, 2017

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The Commission convened in Suite 1150 at 1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D.C., at 10:00 a.m., Catherine Lhamon, Chair, presiding.

PRESENT:

CATHERINE E. LHAMON, Chair

PATRICIA TIMMONS-GOODSON, Vice Chair\*

DEBO P. ADEGBILE, Commissioner

GAIL HERIOT, Commissioner

PETER N. KIRSANOW, Commissioner\*

DAVID KLADNEY, Commissioner\*

KAREN K. NARASAKI, Commissioner

MICHAEL YAKI, Commissioner\*

MAURO MORALES, Staff Director

MAUREEN RUDOLPH, General Counsel\*

\*Present via telephone

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STAFF PRESENT:

LASHONDA BRENSON  
BEN CHANG, Intern  
ALEXANDRIA CURD, Intern  
PAMELA DUNSTON, Chief, ASCD  
ALFREDA GREENE  
MADISON HUBBARD, Intern  
HAYDEN JOHNSON, Intern  
JOE JOHNSON, Intern  
RAIKA KIM, Intern  
DIANA KNIAZEWCZ, Intern  
CHRISTINA KROKKEE, Intern  
EDWARD LU, Intern  
WARREN ORR  
MICHELE RAMEY  
SARALE SEWELL  
DEMETRIA THEMISTOCLES, Intern  
BRIAN WALCH  
MARIK XAVIER-BRIER

COMMISSIONER ASSISTANTS PRESENT:

SHERYL COZART  
ALEC DEULL\*  
JASON LAGRIA  
CARISSA MULDER  
AMY ROYCE  
RUKKU SINGLA  
ALISON SOMIN  
IRENA VIDULOVIC

\*Present via telephone

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1 P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S

2 (10:04 a.m.)

3 CHAIR LHAMON: We will bring this meeting  
4 of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to order at  
5 10:04 a.m. on July 14, 2017.

6 This meeting takes place at the  
7 Commission's headquarters at 1331 Pennsylvania Avenue,  
8 N.W., Washington, D.C.

9 I am Chair Catherine Lhamon. The  
10 Commissioners who are present at this meeting, in  
11 addition to me, are Commissioner Heriot, Commissioner  
12 Narasaki, I understand that Commissioner Adegbile is  
13 on his way -- we'll announce him when he comes -- and  
14 on the phone, if the Commissioners who are on the line  
15 could confirm that you're on the line after I say your  
16 name, I will appreciate it. I believe we have Vice  
17 Chair Timmons-Goodson.

18 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: I am present.

19 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Commissioner  
20 Kirsanow?

21 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Here.

22 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Commissioner  
23 Kladney?

24 COMMISSIONER KLADNEY: Here.

25 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Commissioner

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1 Yaki?

2 COMMISSIONER YAKI: I am confirmed.

3 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. And  
4 Commissioner Adegbile has just joined us, so we have a  
5 quorum of the Commissioners now present.

6 Is the Court Reporter present? She  
7 confirms that she is.

8 Is the Staff Director present?

9 STAFF DIRECTOR MORALES: I am.

10 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. The meeting now  
11 comes to order.

12 **I. APPROVAL OF AGENDA**

13 CHAIR LHAMON: Is there a motion to  
14 approve the agenda for this business meeting?

15 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: So moved.

16 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Is there a  
17 second?

18 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Second.

19 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Are there any  
20 amendments to the agenda? Hearing none, let's vote to  
21 approve the agenda.

22 All those in favor, say aye.

23 (Chorus of aye.)

24 Any opposed?

25 Any abstentions?

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1 The motion passes unanimously.

2 **II. BUSINESS MEETING**

3 **A. DISCUSSION AND VOTE ON 2018**

4 **BUSINESS MEETING DATES**

5 CHAIR LHAMON: So first we will discuss  
6 and vote on the schedule for our business meetings in  
7 2018. Everyone should have a proposed list of dates  
8 for meetings next year, and I will read them out loud  
9 now. All of the proposed dates are Fridays, and they  
10 are January 19, February 23, March 16, April 20,  
11 May 11, June 15, July 13, August 17, September 14,  
12 October 12, November 2, and December 7.

13 Is there a motion?

14 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: So moved.

15 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: I second.

16 CHAIR LHAMON: Any discussion? Okay.  
17 Hearing none, I will call the question and take a roll  
18 call vote.

19 Commissioner Adegbile, how do you vote?

20 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: Aye.

21 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Heriot?

22 COMMISSIONER HERIOT: Aye.

23 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Kirsanow?

24 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Yes.

25 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Kladney?

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1 COMMISSIONER KLADNEY: Yes.

2 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Narasaki?

3 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Yes.

4 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Yaki?

5 COMMISSIONER YAKI: Aye.

6 CHAIR LHAMON: Vice Chair Timmons-Goodson?

7 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Yes.

8 CHAIR LHAMON: And I vote yes. The motion  
9 unaniously passes.

10 **B. STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES**

11 **PRESENTATION BY MS. DIANE CITRINO,**

12 **CHAIR OF THE OHIO ADVISORY COMMITTEE,**

13 **IN ITS REPORT ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING IN OHIO**

14 CHAIR LHAMON: Next we are privileged to  
15 hear over the phone from Diane Citrino, Chair of the  
16 Ohio Advisory Committee, who will discuss the  
17 Committee's recent report on human trafficking in  
18 Ohio.

19 Ms. Citrino?

20 MS. CITRINO: Thank you. Thank you so  
21 much to all of you for the opportunity to speak with  
22 you today about the Ohio Advisory Committee  
23 examination of human trafficking in Ohio.

24 There are some common threads between the  
25 report that you, the U.S. Commission, did in 2012 that

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1 looked at human trafficking as gender discrimination  
2 and our report of the Ohio Advisory Committee. Some  
3 of those -- some of our primary --

4 (Telephonic interference.)

5 MS. CITRINO: -- will echo with you as you  
6 --

7 (Telephonic interference.)

8 MS. CITRINO: -- check them off.

9 One, lack of knowledge. Very few people  
10 have much knowledge about human trafficking, which was  
11 described by our witnesses for us as a form of modern  
12 day slavery. Certainly, many of us, including myself,  
13 are not aware that large public events, like the 2016  
14 Republican Convention held here in Cleveland, or the  
15 Super Bowls mentioned in your reports, could act as  
16 magnets for prostitution activity where sexual  
17 trafficking could increase.

18 Another piece of information that showed  
19 this lack of knowledge and, frankly, elicited gasps  
20 from us as we listened to it was that the average age  
21 of death of persons used in commercial sex is 34 years  
22 of age.

23 Another common thread and one of our  
24 primary findings, we looked at the importance of  
25 reliable statistics. This was in your report as well

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1 as in ours. It's hard to fight a problem where it's  
2 unclear what the extent of that problem is.

3 Since the time of our hearing and the date  
4 our report was issued, Ohio has made some significant  
5 progress. They have recruited Ohio-based researchers  
6 and the OPOTA, the Ohio Peace Officer Training  
7 Academy, to collect local law enforcement human  
8 trafficking data.

9 And since our testimony was taken in 2013,  
10 the Polaris Project, which is a project that reports  
11 on human trafficking across the country and world,  
12 reported that 375 Ohio trafficking cases were reported  
13 in 2016, which I am sorry to say is a four-fold  
14 increase of the 2013 Ohio figures.

15 A third primary finding that we came up  
16 with were just there are a lot of misperceptions about  
17 human trafficking. One was the domestic nature of the  
18 problem, that this is something that is happening at  
19 the corner Starbucks, not just something happening  
20 somewhere else in the world.

21 In our hearing, we learned about  
22 harvesting cities, places where poverty and drug abuse  
23 are prevalent, and teens often runaway. Sadly, Ohio  
24 has been in the epicenter of the opioid abuse crisis,  
25 and we have some high concentrations of both urban and

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1 rural poverty.

2 And along with these harvesting cities, we  
3 also have areas where people rounded up there are  
4 trafficked and forced to do work, either in labor  
5 camps -- again, that can be rural or urban for labor  
6 trafficking, or sexually trafficked. And by some  
7 estimates, Ohio is one of the top five states in the  
8 United States for human trafficking activity.

9 Another misperception that we came across  
10 in our hearing was in treating the victim of  
11 trafficking as a criminal. We heard testimony about  
12 how traumatized victims are and how many are minors,  
13 often runaways. And we heard some amazing estimates  
14 that in some Ohio cities a runaway minor would be  
15 contacted by a trafficker in a matter of hours.

16 There was some delay between our hearing  
17 in 2013 and when our report was issued this year. In  
18 part, there was a period of time where our Ohio  
19 Commission -- Committee was not reappointed -- but one  
20 good thing about the delay was we got to see in real  
21 time how much progress Ohio has made. Ohio has  
22 significantly beefed up its legislative framework for  
23 dealing with human trafficking, and created a human  
24 trafficking task force.

25 Ohio has also created a process where sex

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1 trafficking victims can have their convictions  
2 vacated. And there is much more training for dealing  
3 with traumatized sex offenders -- sex trafficking  
4 victims, excuse me -- so that has increased in Ohio.

5 And, of course, there is a lot of work to  
6 be done. The main thing we wanted in Ohio with our  
7 hearing was to basically shine a light on this hidden  
8 crime of human trafficking in our state. Some of the  
9 more specific recommendations we made were to seek a  
10 legislative fix to lower Ohio's burden of proof for  
11 sex trafficking of minors, so that the elements of  
12 force, fraud, or coercion are not required for a  
13 trafficker to be prosecuted for sex trafficking a  
14 minor.

15 We also requested that the Ohio  
16 legislature mandate regular training regarding  
17 identifying and responding to victims of human  
18 trafficking for human services -- human service  
19 providers licensed by the state, and we further  
20 request that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights  
21 recommend that the U.S. Congress and appropriate  
22 federal agencies increase funding for combatting human  
23 trafficking.

24 I would like to close by thanking the  
25 staff in Chicago for all of the work they did in

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1 helping with the hearing and preparation of our  
2 report. I particularly want to single out David  
3 Mussatt and Melissa Wojnaroski, who also just had  
4 another wonderful project come to completion, and that  
5 was she gave birth to her son Felix on July 6th.

6 And I'd like to close by thanking the  
7 Commissioners for all of the -- all that you do.

8 CHAIR LHAMON: Ms. Citrino, thank you very  
9 much. And also, thank you for highlighting Melissa's  
10 happy news, in addition to your report.

11 I have some thoughts I'd like to share  
12 with you, but I want to stop and see if my fellow  
13 Commissioners have questions or comments.

14 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Madam Chair?  
15 Kirsanow here.

16 CHAIR LHAMON: Terrific. Go ahead.

17 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: Thank you. I just  
18 wanted to thank Chair Citrino. I think we are  
19 privileged to have her presentation. She is one of  
20 the best-regarded attorneys, not just in Cleveland,  
21 but, frankly, nationwide. Her office is here in  
22 Cleveland. Like most Clevelanders, she is  
23 spectacularly brilliant.

24 (Laughter.)

25 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: She is one of the

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1 premier fair housing attorneys and employment  
2 litigation attorneys and has a great reputation here  
3 in northeast Ohio. So thanks very much, Diane.

4 MS. CITRINO: Oh, thank you so much.  
5 That's kind of you.

6 CHAIR LHAMON: And totally unbiased from  
7 an Ohio Commissioner.

8 (Laughter.)

9 CHAIR LHAMON: I don't doubt your brains,  
10 Ms. Citrino.

11 COMMISSIONER KIRSANOW: I just want to  
12 know how many times she has beaten you in court,  
13 David. That's what I --

14 (Laughter.)

15 COMMISSIONER KLADNEY: Not yet so far.

16 CHAIR LHAMON: Okay. We'll leave the  
17 competition there. I think Commissioner Narasaki had  
18 some comments?

19 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Yes. Thank you  
20 very much for such an incredible report. Very  
21 impressed with the depth of work. I just had a few  
22 questions.

23 I was particularly struck by the report  
24 noting the concern about underreporting of boys as  
25 victims, and also the impact of the LGBT community.

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1 And I'm wondering whether Ohio has made some strides  
2 in trying to figure out how to best address that  
3 challenge.

4 MS. CITRINO: I think it certainly has  
5 been highlighted. We're going to continue -- one of  
6 the next steps that I'm doing is I'm going to be  
7 speaking at the Cleveland Metropolitan Bar  
8 Association, along with the Rape Crisis Center of  
9 Cleveland, and another survivor of sex trafficking who  
10 started the SOAP Program, Theresa Flores.

11 And what we're -- the Rape Crisis Center  
12 in Cleveland in particular -- has focused on this very  
13 vulnerable population of young LGBT youth, and, again,  
14 the ones who run away, and these runaways are  
15 vulnerable. Just as a mother and grandmother, I was  
16 very struck by the runaway situation and how dire it  
17 is once they hit the streets.

18 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Yes, thank you. I  
19 think part of the challenge is the stigma for -- that  
20 unfortunately still exists with some families actually  
21 pushing their kids out. So I think it's important to  
22 note that it's not just that they're choosing to run  
23 away, but that oftentimes they are actually being  
24 thrown out of the house.

25 I also was very happy to hear about the

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1 impact that just the hearing had, since we know that  
2 there was lag time between the time you were able to  
3 do the hearing and the time you were able to publish  
4 the report. I'm wondering who the Advisory Committee  
5 has already sent the report to because I'd like to  
6 understand who we, as the Commission, should make sure  
7 we get it to.

8 MS. CITRINO: Please send information  
9 about it using the office's ---

10 (Telephonic interference.)

11 MS. CITRINO: -- to help us to as widely  
12 disseminate the report as possible. And I think it  
13 would probably be best to talk about it with David  
14 Mussatt as to exactly where it went, but we tried to  
15 send it to our senators, our congress people, our  
16 contacts in the community.

17 It was published in the report that goes  
18 to about 7,000 attorneys through the Bar Association.

19 And again, we just have been trying to get as wide  
20 support as possible.

21 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Great. Thank you,  
22 and congratulations on your great work.

23 CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Adegbile?

24 MS. CITRINO: It was the Committee --  
25 Committee work -- and it was the progress of -- many

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1 people put a lot of time into it.

2 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: Good morning. I  
3 was wondering whether or not you had a sense of the  
4 scale of the problem with respect to labor trafficking  
5 versus sex trafficking, and whether there are  
6 particular interventions that can combat harvesting as  
7 to one or the other, or whether there is a common  
8 approach.

9 MS. CITRINO: You know, the very first  
10 person who testified was Carole Rendon, who at the  
11 time was the second in charge of the Northern Ohio  
12 Department of Justice, and she became our U.S.  
13 Attorney until she was terminated in February.

14 Her testimony talked a lot about that, and  
15 there is in Ohio some -- some cases of labor  
16 trafficking, most around rural farmlands, but they  
17 were a much smaller percentage than the trafficking.  
18 It seemed like it was a much smaller percentage, like  
19 there was 10 -- I'm not recalling the specifics, but  
20 something like 10 percent for trafficking and 90  
21 percent sex trafficking, something like that,  
22 something very skewed. It was much more about the sex  
23 traffic.

24 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: And were there  
25 particular interventions to sort of combat the

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1 harvesting approaches that you describe?

2 MS. CITRINO: Well, some of the -- some of  
3 the interesting ideas that came out, one was from a  
4 former FBI agent who talked about many times there is  
5 a lag time when someone runs away and when police or  
6 anyone will do anything about a runaway, and how  
7 families could -- if there were retired FBI agents --  
8 maybe they could be used to track down youth who had  
9 run away right away ---

10 (Telephonic interference.)

11 MS. CITRINO: -- didn't get the youth back  
12 quickly, but that child would be sort of moved along  
13 and relocated to a place, and it would be very hard to  
14 find him or her.

15 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: Thank you.

16 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Madam Chair,  
17 I would like to ask a question.

18 CHAIR LHAMON: Go ahead, Vice Chair.

19 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Yes. I also  
20 thank the Ohio SAC for steering this.

21 My question relates to the civil ways,  
22 remedies in which the victim may go forward. Can you  
23 tell us how often you see that avenue pursued and talk  
24 to us about the victim witness compensation?

25 MS. CITRINO: I'm not sure if I know

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1 anything about compensation for the victims. I know  
2 that there were a number of programs. I mean,  
3 basically, we learned that these victims have very  
4 severe post-traumatic stress, and they are very  
5 traumatized. To have them function again in our  
6 community, it was really necessary to give them a lot  
7 of support, and we heard about different programs to  
8 emotionally support the women and have sort of some  
9 group home situations for some of them, and people who  
10 were mentors and role models and how important that  
11 is, and how stigmatizing it is to have a conviction,  
12 which at the time of our hearing there wasn't a ---

13 (Telephonic interference.)

14 MS. CITRINO: There is one now, so that  
15 was really, as I said, progress for us here in Ohio.

16 VICE CHAIR TIMMONS-GOODSON: Thank you.

17 CHAIR LHAMON: Any additional questions?  
18 Then, Ms. Citrino, I'll just close with mine. I want  
19 to echo Commissioner Narasaki's thanks to you for  
20 maximizing efficiency following reappointment. I know  
21 that it can be challenging waiting for reappointment.

22 We are really thrilled that we have seen  
23 all now but seven of the State Advisory Committees  
24 fully appointed, and we are working aggressively on  
25 seeing all of them appointed, and we really appreciate

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1 what your committee has been able to do following the  
2 hearing.

3 And to achieve such incredible success in  
4 such a short period of time already in Ohio is really  
5 a testament to the value of the State Advisory  
6 Committees, and I am really thrilled to hear from your  
7 today, both about the report in general. It's really  
8 a gift to us to be able to hear your perspective in  
9 addition to reading your report, but then to hear from  
10 you what steps you plan to take to follow up  
11 individually.

12 We recognize that our State Advisory  
13 Committee membership is volunteer, and we're deeply  
14 grateful to you for your ongoing leadership on this  
15 topic, in addition to on the Committee itself.

16 Thank you very much, and thank you for  
17 your presentation today.

18 MS. CITRINO: Thank you.

19 **PRESENTATION BY KARA JENKINS,**  
20 **ON BEHALF OF MR. WENDELL BLAYLOCK,**  
21 **CHAIR OF THE NEVADA ADVISORY COMMITTEE, ON ITS**  
22 **ADVISORY MEMORANDUM ON MUNICIPAL FINES**  
23 **AND FEES IN NEVADA**

24 CHAIR LHAMON: So next we will turn to  
25 Kara Jenkins, who is from the Nevada Advisory

1 Committee. And, Ms. Jenkins, we are grateful to you  
2 for standing in for Wendell Blaylock, the Chair, to  
3 present on that Committee's advisory memorandum on  
4 municipal fines and fees in Nevada.

5 Ms. Jenkins?

6 MS. JENKINS: Thank you, Madam Chair.  
7 Thank you, members of the Commission. It is an honor.

8 I'm going to do my very best to present as  
9 articulately and excellent as Wendell would. Please  
10 excuse his absence; he is in travel status. And so  
11 they appointed me, a young administrator from the  
12 Nevada Equal Rights Commission, to give this  
13 presentation.

14 And as I was saying before we started,  
15 this couldn't have come more timely. Just a little  
16 bit of background before I go into actually our  
17 findings and our recommendation to the Commission.

18 One of the major things that we were all  
19 thinking about when we were contemplating what we were  
20 going to do our study on was to focus on, in light of  
21 a lot of issues going on statewide with police and  
22 community issues, not only the shooting of Michael  
23 Brown, but Alton Sterling, Sandra Bland, I mean, the  
24 list goes on and on. So that was a continuing theme  
25 that kept coming up.

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1           One of the ideas we did come up with was  
2           trafficking, so that was really encouraging, to hear  
3           that Ohio is tackling that issue, because certainly in  
4           Las Vegas, Nevada, we've got issues with that, too.  
5           However, we just felt really compelled as a committee  
6           to look into excessive force against citizens in the  
7           state, but we wanted to first start the study on fines  
8           and fees.

9           And at first, when it was brought to the  
10          table, to start off with fines and fees and then kind  
11          of expand more so into excessive force by police, I  
12          honestly didn't even have an understanding of it, even  
13          being a lawyer by education. And a lot of great  
14          panelists -- or not panelists but experts we  
15          interviewed, I was kind of awakened as well. So this  
16          was very fulfilling work.

17          So one of the things that we have noticed  
18          is that disparate impact is rampant. We're kind of in  
19          a post-civil rights era where more of the  
20          discrimination that happens typically is not so covert  
21          and intentional, but it more is so unintentional with  
22          disparate impacts to black and brown people.

23          So that was kind of where we were  
24          contemplating. That was what we were thinking, where  
25          we were deciding what we were going to do our study

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1 on, and why -- the reason it was happening in the  
2 United States, with the rise of issues with police and  
3 citizen unrest, and trying to get those two entities  
4 together.

5           Anyway, so the thought of having fines and  
6 fees open up into more of a discussion on excessive  
7 force was what we decided. And so when we had our  
8 public meeting on March 15th, it was during  
9 legislative session here in Nevada, which is over  
10 finally. That was a very long period of time in which  
11 we were all in and out testifying and doing our  
12 separate jobs.

13           But this was a great hearing. We had a  
14 huge turnout. We actually had four panels of folks to  
15 kind of give us their testimony. We had a government  
16 and law enforcement panel. We had elected officials  
17 speak to this issue. We had policy experts, and then  
18 we had advocates and the community advocates and,  
19 actually, the public speak.

20           So we broke the day into four sessions of  
21 having government and law enforcement panels speak to  
22 this issue. Then we had elected officials speak to  
23 this issue. We had lunch. Then we had the policy  
24 experts come and speak to this issue, and then we had  
25 advocates and community folks and members of the

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1 public speak to this issue. And our findings were  
2 very interesting, and, sadly, not surprising.

3 Now, Nevada is emerging as a state that is  
4 forward-thinking. We actually have some very  
5 inclusive legislation in our revised statutes  
6 regarding people in protected categories based on  
7 race, color, religion, gender identity expression,  
8 national origin, and some of the other protected  
9 categories, federally and statewide.

10 However, we don't really look at the  
11 disparate impacts. And when it comes to fines and  
12 fees as it applies to folks of color, we have found  
13 there were some issues there. There are a lot of  
14 studies and interest in the area, but we don't have a  
15 lot of data.

16 So from those panels, we found that the  
17 disparate impact findings were interesting. I'll go  
18 through each one, highlight them, because the report  
19 is rather long. Data collecting is lacking. I'll  
20 talk about our findings there, just highlight a couple  
21 of findings from that.

22 The due process issues that came up, I'll  
23 share what our findings were with that, as well as  
24 kind of how the courts have this incentive to collect  
25 fines, which was really interesting and not

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1 encouraging. We'll discuss those findings as well.

2 And then the Nevada reform efforts, we'll  
3 discuss those findings, and then we'll go through the  
4 recommendations, if that's okay.

5 So starting with disparate impact, I'm  
6 just going to highlight the findings based on these  
7 little areas that we identified from not only our  
8 public hearing on March 15th; we actually had a policy  
9 expert call in on the 29th and give their opinion.  
10 And then we actually had a period for public comments,  
11 email our committee.

12 So this is kind of the cultivation of all  
13 of those three efforts, but the bulk of what we found  
14 was from our hearing all day on March 15th, again,  
15 with those four panels representing government and law  
16 enforcement, elected officials in Nevada, policy  
17 experts, and advocates.

18 Okay. So as far as disparate impact, so  
19 here is what our findings were. As you all know,  
20 disparate impact is a term that basically makes an  
21 inference that even though the discrimination is not  
22 intentional per se, there is an impact, a negative  
23 impact, unintentionally to those folks who are in  
24 protected categories.

25 So here were our findings. So due to the

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1 lack of data collected by law enforcement and the  
2 courts, it is difficult to assess whether there is a  
3 disparate impact of brown and black folks, to women,  
4 or to youth who are considered juveniles that have  
5 issues with the law.

6 The research on the youth and their  
7 families that we got from some of the panelists  
8 basically told us that, particularly for juvenile  
9 youth of color, they are the ones impacted the most.  
10 However, it's not captured in data.

11 One of the other findings that we gathered  
12 from the panelists was that in 2014 in North Las  
13 Vegas, which is predominantly a brown and black  
14 community here in Las Vegas, there was over almost \$11  
15 million worth of fines and fees and assessments that  
16 came out of that community, that 100 percent fully  
17 funded the regional justice center downtown.

18 We also found that in 2015 law enforcement  
19 data revealed that residents living in the poorest ZIP  
20 codes -- in 2015, we did find some data that some of  
21 the folks living in the poorest ZIP codes, which would  
22 include this North Las Vegas area, account for the  
23 majority of the traffic citations.

24 The residents living in those ZIP codes  
25 are mainly black and Latino communities. The data

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1 also revealed that black women account for a  
2 significant number of traffic fines and are reported  
3 to be on payment plans.

4 So that's what we found on disparate  
5 impact. Again, I'm just skimming the cream. I'm just  
6 giving you a little glimpse of what is really, really  
7 detailed in our report.

8 So we know that there is something going  
9 on with an impact to people of color, women of color,  
10 and these fines and fees.

11 So, going on to the next area that we  
12 looked at was the data collecting and tracking. So,  
13 again, there is little to no demographic information  
14 that is captured regarding who is utilizing the court  
15 system and who to interact with law enforcement.

16 Basically, when you get pulled over for a  
17 stop -- say you have a busted tail light, and someone  
18 pulls you over, one of the questions not asked -- and  
19 this is testimony from a law -- I think she was a  
20 lieutenant. They do not really capture the  
21 demographic information of the people they stop.

22 The feedback to the Committee was that it  
23 would be uncomfortable to do so, and they -- and this  
24 is what the lieutenant or, I'm sorry, I don't know her  
25 title, but the law officer said. They don't -- they

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1 are trained not to see color.

2 Now, when I heard that, that kind of made  
3 me think a little bit in my head because, you know,  
4 being a realist, we see a lot of things. And to say  
5 you don't see color is almost like saying you see it  
6 all the time. That's my opinion. That's not a  
7 reflection of the Committee's opinion. That was my  
8 reaction to the comment.

9 CHAIR LHAMON: Ms. Jenkins, I'd encourage  
10 you to give us a summary of the report and assume that  
11 we have read it, so that we can get to a discussion  
12 with you about it, too.

13 MS. JENKINS: Got you. Got you. So,  
14 anyway, data collecting -- collection is not -- does  
15 not -- capture the protected categories. Due process,  
16 the use of counsel in challenging fees and fines is  
17 costly. Most folks can't afford legal counsel to  
18 contest their fines; but, however, they can't even  
19 really get to paying their fines until they have dealt  
20 with the fees associated with non-payment.

21 I'm going to speed this along, assuming  
22 that you have read it. There are court incentives to  
23 collect, and Nevada law does not allow a grace period  
24 for individuals on a payment plan for their fees to  
25 get to the fines. So more assessments are put on top

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1 of the actual fees, so they still can't get to the  
2 fines. So it's almost like a never-ending cycle of  
3 just paying and paying.

4 And, also, courts utilize external  
5 collection agencies to recover debt owed, just alone  
6 for the fees, not the fines.

7 And the Nevada reform efforts, there  
8 really aren't that many that we were able to find that  
9 are constant and consistent. Courts across the state  
10 don't operate on the same standard to determine if an  
11 individual is indigent. So the whole issue of payment  
12 plans, that's kind of used at the discretion of the  
13 judge or the court.

14 So, the recommendations -- the  
15 recommendations go to the Department of Justice and to  
16 the Governor of Nevada and the state legislature. I'm  
17 going to just read quickly through the  
18 recommendations, and I'll wrap up in less than a  
19 minute.

20 The Committee would like to require  
21 consistent and complete reporting of demographic  
22 information collected, so that we can truly identify  
23 the disparate impact. One of the -- we thought that  
24 perhaps maybe instead of asking questions as to what  
25 race you are, or collecting that if it's uncomfortable

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1 for law enforcement, just capture based on ZIP code,  
2 and then we can tie the connection to income, poverty,  
3 and then rate that way to get some kind of conclusive  
4 data to make sure that there is in fact a captured  
5 disparate impact to black and brown folks based on  
6 fees and fines.

7 Also, to require the Department of Justice  
8 to keep their commitment to supporting state judges,  
9 court administrators, policymakers, and advocates, by  
10 ensuring justice for all people, regardless of their  
11 financial circumstance.

12 Let's see. Require that individuals be  
13 afforded the right to court-appointed counsel.  
14 Sometimes that is not given for traffic offenses, only  
15 in criminal cases only.

16 The recommendation to the Governor and the  
17 state legislature would be to require mandatory annual  
18 reporting of revenue generated from fines and fees to  
19 be submitted to the administrative office of the  
20 court. That was done in 2003. Since 2003, they have  
21 not submitted any kind of report as to how much fines  
22 and fees make up for the income of the court or what  
23 they use to make improvements on the structure. So we  
24 would like to see that and see how they are utilizing  
25 the fees and fines money.

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1           Also, increased annual funding for the  
2 administrative office of the courts to ensure courts  
3 can address infrastructure needs, meaning that they  
4 can actually have the technology to track disparate  
5 impacts.

6           And then institute mandatory training of  
7 all judges and give them more access to the bench  
8 card.

9           Having said that, I'm sorry I'm so  
10 lengthy. This was very, very eye opening. I have so  
11 much more to say, but I will -- I will adhere to Madam  
12 Chair, and I will conclude the report.

13           I would like to thank Anna Fortes for her  
14 support, David Mussatt, the Commission today, and this  
15 was really eye opening. This is going to lead us into  
16 our next study, which will be excessive force.

17           So I'll stop. I'm happy to entertain any  
18 questions at this time.

19           CHAIR LHAMON: Thanks very much, Ms.  
20 Jenkins.

21           Do my fellow Commissioners have questions?  
22 Commissioner Narasaki?

23           COMMISSIONER KLADNEY: Madam Chair, Dave  
24 Kladney.

25           CHAIR LHAMON: Commissioner Kladney?

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1                   COMMISSIONER KLADNEY: I'd like to thank  
2 Ms. Jenkins and the rest of the Committee for doing a  
3 great report on Nevada. I know it's well-needed. I  
4 would like to tell you all that, in addition to  
5 issuing the report, a copy of the report has found its  
6 way to Justice Hardesty, who is on the Nevada Supreme  
7 Court and currently has the Committee looking into  
8 this subject and has done quite a bit of work on it.

9                   I think this report will go a long way  
10 toward helping that Committee and elucidate many of  
11 the factors that are involved in the problems. I know  
12 that the municipal court system is not a unified  
13 system throughout the state, and that this may help do  
14 this.

15                   To tell the rest of our Commission, first,  
16 since there is a law firm in Las Vegas that advertises  
17 that if you hire them they can get you off your  
18 traffic ticket for fines with no points -- as you  
19 know, in most states, as in Nevada, if you do a  
20 traffic violation, you get points on your record; 12  
21 points you lose your license.

22                   If you enough money, in Nevada all you  
23 have to do is hire these folks and you wind up not  
24 having that. That is not an advantage that the people  
25 of North Las Vegas have.

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1           At any rate, I would like to thank the  
2 Committee again, and I want to thank them for their  
3 work, and I thought that they did a great job and it's  
4 going to go a long way toward changing this situation  
5 in Nevada.

6           Thank you.

7           CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Commissioner  
8 Narasaki?

9           COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Commissioner  
10 Kladney, I was expecting, since you're a resident of  
11 Nevada that you would get into a duel with our  
12 resident Commissioner from Ohio over which state had  
13 the most brilliant attorneys.

14           I really appreciate --

15           COMMISSIONER KLADNEY: Well, that's a  
16 given. We know that.

17           (Laughter.)

18           COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: It did not need to  
19 be stated.

20           So I really want to thank the Nevada State  
21 Advisory Committee. As everyone knows, our Commission  
22 has had two hearings on this issue and are working  
23 with our staff to get a report out. And I found that  
24 many of the items in this report were very insightful,  
25 and I'm not sure actually came up in the same way,

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1 even though we had two hearings.

2 And one of the things I was most struck by  
3 was the issue of the degree to which courts and other  
4 prosecutorial agencies are tracking what is going on  
5 by race, because, as you well know, if we don't  
6 collect the data, then we can't really assess the  
7 depth of the problem.

8 So I'm hoping that we could find a way --  
9 although we've already voted on a report and findings  
10 and recommendations, I'm hoping we can find a way to  
11 help highlight some of the insights that have come out  
12 in your report. So thank you very much.

13 CHAIR LHAMON: Other Commissioners? Other  
14 comments?

15 So, Ms. Jenkins, I, too, thank you very  
16 much for the work and for your passion in presenting  
17 it. It was really a pleasure to hear how eye-opening  
18 it was for you and how fulfilling it was for you. In  
19 particular, I'm curious, having just heard from the  
20 Ohio State Advisory Committee, about steps that at  
21 least the Chair intends to take to continue to  
22 highlight the information from the report and try to  
23 formulate change in Ohio, I'm curious whether there  
24 are steps that you, your fellow Committee members,  
25 will be taking to encourage state reform in Nevada

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1 following your findings?

2 I, in particular, was struck by your  
3 findings related to Nevada youth and their families,  
4 and note that the great state of California, where I'm  
5 from, has recently made statewide change with respect  
6 to fines and fees for youth and their families, and  
7 wonder if you see similar change in the future in  
8 Nevada.

9 MS. JENKINS: Thank you so much, Madam  
10 Chair, for that question. I think we will see change.

11 Again, this memo was long overdue, or this actual  
12 finding and study was long overdue to bring to light  
13 that different segments are interested in it, but  
14 there is no data, there is no kind of push towards it.

15  
16 So I think for us we wanted to publish  
17 this. We wanted to get it out to the Governor and the  
18 legislature. The next legislative session is in two  
19 years. We would also like to encourage the Department  
20 of Justice to, you know, institute some policies and  
21 requirements.

22 Our hope is that perhaps, as with the Ohio  
23 Committee, we'd kind of spread the word, too, and we  
24 will get the word out as well.

25 CHAIR LHAMON: Terrific. Thank you.

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1 Commissioner Narasaki has let me know she  
2 has another question, too.

3 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Well, actually, I  
4 just wanted to add that when we release our national  
5 report, I'm hoping that staff can work with your State  
6 Advisory Committee, so that we can use the opportunity  
7 to also lift up in the media your state report and  
8 give it a little bit more visibility.

9 MS. JENKINS: We really appreciate that.  
10 Thank you.

11 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. So, Ms.  
12 Jenkins, we really appreciate your presentation with  
13 us. Also, again, very much appreciate your work and  
14 that of your fellow Committee members. As I have  
15 noted, we are painfully aware that Committee  
16 membership is volunteer, and we are very, very  
17 grateful for your leadership, and also so grateful to  
18 our regional staff for their incredibly hard work in  
19 facilitating the products of the advisory committees.  
20 I'm grateful that we have such a terrific outcome, so  
21 thank you very much for your presentation today.

22 MS. JENKINS: Thank you so much, Madam  
23 Chair. Sorry for being long-winded.

24 CHAIR LHAMON: No. It's good to hear your  
25 passion. Thank you.

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1                   **C.   MANAGEMENT AND OPERATIONS**

2                   **STAFF DIRECTOR'S REPORT**

3                   CHAIR LHAMON:   And next we will hear from  
4                   our Staff Director, Mauro Morales, for the monthly  
5                   Staff Director report.

6                   STAFF DIRECTOR MORALES:   Thank you, Madam  
7                   Chair, Commissioners.   As always, I won't go into any  
8                   detail in the report, but I always remain available to  
9                   discuss any specific issue with any Commissioners that  
10                  they may have.

11                  However,   I do want to update the  
12                  Commission on the status of the 60th anniversary event  
13                  that we have planned.   With the assistance of  
14                  Commissioner Adegbile's assistant, Irena, Congressman  
15                  Kilmer has secured -- has agreed and has secured the  
16                  Members Room in the Library of Congress for our event  
17                  for November 14th.   I have sent out invitations to all  
18                  former living Chairs of the Commission and have RSVPs  
19                  from three of the four.

20                  Of course, Madam Chair, I'm counting you  
21                  as the fifth.   Yes, of course.   And I'm waiting -- as  
22                  I said, I'm waiting for one more.

23                  I have begun sending out invitations to  
24                  former Commissioners inviting them and seeking their  
25                  potential reflections to -- of their time serving on

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1 the Commission.

2 And we're also trying to secure our  
3 keynote. We have asked several folks, and they have  
4 not been able to, but we think we might be able to  
5 finalize that in the next week or so, and we'll advise  
6 you as soon as we do.

7 And so I just wanted to give an update to  
8 Commissioners, and also let you know that I'll give  
9 you a monthly update as we start getting a little  
10 closer to the event, and we're looking forward to a  
11 very good event in September. I believe I secured the  
12 Eisenhower Presidential Library has -- their director  
13 will come as well as a subject matter expert on  
14 President Eisenhower's civil rights legacy and the  
15 creation of the Commission in September.

16 So, thank you very much.

17 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Very much  
18 appreciate it.

19 Any questions for the Staff Director?  
20 Hearing none, we will recess until 11:00 a.m. -- so  
21 we'll take a 15-minute recess -- when we'll hear a  
22 historical presentation on the Americans with  
23 Disabilities Act.

24 Thank you.

25 (Whereupon, the above-entitled matter went

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1 off the record at 10:45 a.m. and resumed at 11:01  
2 a.m.)

3 CHAIR LHAMON: So welcome back.

4 **D. PRESENTATION ON THE AMERICANS WITH**  
5 **DISABILITIES ACT BY REBECCA COKLEY,**  
6 **FORMER EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL COUNCIL ON**  
7 **DISABILITY; AND JOHN WODATCH,**  
8 **DISABILITY RIGHTS ATTORNEY**

9 CHAIR LHAMON: We will turn now to our  
10 historical presentation scheduled for today reflecting  
11 on 27 years of the ADA -- past, present, and future.

12 President George H.W. Bush signed the  
13 Americans with Disabilities Act into law on July 26,  
14 1990, now 27 years ago. The ADA, which is one of the  
15 first federal civil rights laws focused on protecting  
16 persons with disabilities, protects against  
17 discrimination in employment, public accommodations,  
18 public services, and telecommunications.

19 I am especially proud to highlight the  
20 Commission's role in the creation of that landmark  
21 legislation. The Commission paved the path for  
22 enactment of disabilities-focused federal civil rights  
23 legislation in a 1983 report titled "Accommodating the  
24 Spectrum of individual Abilities."

25 Robert Burgdorf, who was a former staff

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1 attorney with the Commission, who was one of the  
2 primary authors of that 1983 report, described his job  
3 as "to serve the whole field, statistics, social  
4 science, literature, histories, legislation, legal  
5 commentary, and court decisions, on the status of  
6 people with disabilities in American society and in  
7 the law."

8 A conclusion of that report was that  
9 "Society has tended to isolate and segregate people  
10 with disabilities." And despite some progress,  
11 discrimination "continues to be a serious and  
12 pervasive social problem."

13 As I expect we will hear in a few minutes,  
14 the National Council on Disability followed three  
15 years later with its own report, which ultimately led  
16 to the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990.

17 Before we hear from our speakers, I wanted  
18 to take a point of personal privilege to note how very  
19 grateful I am to those commissions, to Congress, and  
20 to President H.W. Bush for the gift that is the ADA.

21 My brother has cerebral palsy and spent  
22 the first 20 years of his life, and 19 of mine, before  
23 the passage of the ADA. We lived the casual  
24 discrimination that, until 27 years ago, had no  
25 federal recourse. And as much as we in this room

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1 know, the compliance with the law is it only daily  
2 challenge, which I saw in painful ways in  
3 investigations at the Office for Civil Rights at the  
4 Department of Education.

5 I share one story to celebrate why we are,  
6 as a nation, so lucky thanks to the ADA. A handful of  
7 years ago, my brother, who is a teacher, entered a  
8 contract to take an overseas teaching position, left  
9 his U.S. teaching post, and prepared his life for an  
10 overseas move for a few years until, in a final Skype  
11 meeting days before he was to get on the plane for  
12 that new job, someone from the recruitment company  
13 witnessed my brother's physical disability and quickly  
14 communicated to my brother that that company does not  
15 take disability of any kind and that he did not have a  
16 job.

17 In the U.S., we could have moved swiftly  
18 to educate that company about the law, and its  
19 students would have benefited from my brother's  
20 excellence as a teacher. But the Americans with  
21 Disabilities Act applies here and not abroad, and so  
22 my brother moved on. Those students learned from  
23 someone else, and I am, as I am so often, deeply  
24 grateful to live and work in a country whose laws  
25 respect the value of all persons.

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1 Thank you to all present today who worked  
2 to make the ADA a reality and who work now to make its  
3 promises real in the lives of Americans.

4 We are so grateful today to have with us  
5 two speakers who will bring with them their own  
6 history in the movement for disability rights. Our  
7 first speaker, John Wodatch, is a career federal  
8 government lawyer with more than four decades of  
9 experience working on federal disability rights policy  
10 across administrations, beginning with the Nixon  
11 administration and continuously thereafter, through  
12 2011, when he left the federal government.

13 Mr. Wodatch served as the Department of  
14 Justice's chief technical expert during the writing  
15 and passage of the ADA. He was then chief author of  
16 the Department of Justice 1991 ADA regulations. He  
17 created DOJ's ADA technical assistance programs, and  
18 created and led the Department of Justice section in  
19 charge of enforcing the ADA, overseeing the  
20 Department's ADA enforcement efforts.

21 He was responsible for the first major  
22 revision of the Department's ADA regulations,  
23 including the 2010 Standards for Accessible Design.  
24 He is also the chief author of the first federal  
25 regulations implementing Section 504 of the

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1 Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which, together with Title  
2 II of the ADA, I had the pleasure of enforcing for  
3 three and a half years and for which I thank you for  
4 your prescience and your comprehensiveness.

5 As a member of the U.S. delegation to the  
6 United Nations, Mr. Wodatch assisted in the  
7 development of the convention on the rights of persons  
8 with disabilities. He now provides training and  
9 guidance on the ADA and continues to work on the  
10 international level, assisting countries with their  
11 own disability rights laws, which, as you will be  
12 sure, I am grateful for as well.

13 In 2010, he was honored with the  
14 Presidential Distinguished Rank Award for exceptional  
15 achievement in his career. He received a B.A. from  
16 Trinity College, an M.P.A. from Harvard University,  
17 and a J.D. from the Georgetown University Law School.

18 Our second speaker, Rebecca Cokley, most  
19 recently served as the Executive Director of the  
20 National Council on Disability, which, like our  
21 Commission, is an independent federal agency charged  
22 with advising Congress and the White House on issues  
23 of national disability public policy.

24 She joined National Council on Disability  
25 in 2013 after serving for four years at various

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1 government agencies, including time at the Departments  
2 of Education, Health and Human Services, and at the  
3 White House where she oversaw diversity and inclusion  
4 efforts.

5 Currently, she is consulting with civil  
6 rights organizations and working on her first book.  
7 Rebecca has a long history of advocacy, including  
8 working at the Institute for Educational Leadership  
9 for five years, building a number of tools and  
10 resources designed to empower and educate youth with  
11 disabilities and their adult allies.

12 In 2015, she was inducted into the  
13 inaugural class of the Susan M. Daniels Disability  
14 Mentoring Hall of Fame, and was the recipient of the  
15 Frank Harkin Memorial Award by the National Council on  
16 Independent Living.

17 Rebecca has a B.A. in politics from the  
18 University of California, Santa Cruz.

19 Before hearing from our distinguished  
20 speakers, I want to turn to Commissioner Narasaki at  
21 whose suggestion we are commemorating the Americans  
22 with Disabilities Act today. Commissioner Narasaki?

23 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Thank you, Madam  
24 Chair. Good morning, everyone. I had the pleasure,  
25 along with my special assistant, of working with our

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1 great staff to help organize this discussion.

2 So I would like to add my welcome to our  
3 very distinguished speakers today and thank them, as  
4 well as the Chair, for sharing their stories as we  
5 celebrate the 27th anniversary of the passage of the  
6 Americans with Disabilities Act, as well as the 60th  
7 anniversary of the establishment of the U.S.  
8 Commission on Civil Rights, which is one of the  
9 reasons why we started this series.

10 I would also like to thank Ms. Cokley for  
11 generously sharing her expertise with me and my  
12 special assistant over the past two years as we work  
13 to make sure that our Commission hearings included the  
14 voices of people with disabilities.

15 When signing the Americans with  
16 Disabilities Act, President George H.W. Bush said that  
17 it would ensure that people with disabilities are  
18 given the basic guarantees for which they have worked  
19 so long and so hard -- independence, freedom of  
20 choice, control of their lives, the opportunity to  
21 blend fully and equally into the rich mosaic of the  
22 American mainstream.

23 The National Council on Disability, which  
24 Ms. Cokley recently helped to lead, played a pivotal  
25 role in formulating what would become the ADA, and

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1 continues to ensure that Americans with disabilities  
2 have a powerful voice in Washington.

3 As the Chair mentioned, we are also very  
4 proud of our Commission's role in the formation of the  
5 ADA and our 1983 report "Accommodating the Spectrum of  
6 Individual Abilities" that helped to lay the  
7 groundwork.

8 We have since issued several reports  
9 examining and recommending solutions for the continued  
10 challenging -- challenges that Americans with  
11 disabilities face. And currently our staff is  
12 preparing an investigation for next year that will  
13 examine the disproportionate impact of school  
14 discipline policies on students of color with  
15 disabilities.

16 The organizing around the passage of the  
17 ADA made it clear that the rights of persons with  
18 disabilities is a human and civil rights issue. I  
19 want to give a particular recognition to the late  
20 Justin Dart, who was one of the leaders who made that  
21 point very clear.

22 The ADA has greatly improved the lives of  
23 millions of Americans, fostering public understanding  
24 of individuals with disabilities and enabling access  
25 to vital public services and demonstrating the immense

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1 positive impact that people with disabilities can make  
2 in our communities.

3 It is the model for the convention on the  
4 rights of persons with disabilities, which, sadly, the  
5 U.S. has yet to ratify.

6 I believe it's important to learn from  
7 history, to celebrate the progress that we have made,  
8 and to recommit ourselves to ensuring that every  
9 person is able to pursue their dreams and fulfill  
10 their full potential.

11 As the Chair noted, America is an amazing  
12 country because we are willing to acknowledge where we  
13 fall short and because we continue to strive to live  
14 up to our founding principles. That's why today's  
15 commemoration of the ADA is important to all of us,  
16 and thank you.

17 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. So, Mr.  
18 Wodatch, we will start with you. Thank you.

19 MR. WODATCH: Good morning, and thank you  
20 for inviting me to join with you in the celebration of  
21 the ADA. I'm honored to be here with you all today.

22 You've asked me to give a historical  
23 perspective, and since I lived through most of this, I  
24 will try to do that in 15 to 20 minutes instead of two  
25 hours to three hours, which -- so I'll start -- let me

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1 start my historical perspective in the 1980s. We'll  
2 start a little farther along.

3 A consensus was developing at that point  
4 that persons with disabilities did not have the same  
5 federal civil rights protections that other people in  
6 the country had, that African Americans had, that  
7 women had, that people of color, that ethnic  
8 minorities have -- persons whose first language was  
9 other than English, had protections that people with  
10 disabilities did not have.

11 Congress had enacted Title V of the  
12 Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which included Section  
13 504, but I think there was beginning to be a  
14 recognition that that was only a good first start.  
15 The problems with that were that coverage was linked  
16 to the receipt of federal funds, so that coverage  
17 might vary from year to year. A fire department would  
18 get a grant one year and be covered by 504; the next  
19 year it didn't receive the grant, and so there would  
20 be no protection for non-discrimination in that year.

21 Also, there were large parts of the  
22 American economy, especially the business community,  
23 that didn't receive federal funds, and so there wasn't  
24 total coverage with Section 504. And, unfortunately,  
25 there had been really spotty enforcement of the law by

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1 both the federal government and by private groups,  
2 including disability rights groups.

3 So, as a result of this, even in the 1980s  
4 in this country, the picture for people with  
5 disabilities was bleak. There were very few  
6 accessible buildings. We learned from investigations  
7 that there were almost no accessible public restrooms  
8 in American cities. There was little accessible  
9 housing. There were very few employment  
10 opportunities, and we still had a lot of people who  
11 were warehoused in segregated institutions.

12 But in the '80s, factors or trends were  
13 starting to change this public dynamic, and what I'd  
14 like to do is focus on a couple of them. One of them  
15 was the change brought about by returning veterans  
16 from the war in Vietnam. Because of advances in  
17 medical technology in the field, people -- veterans  
18 with disabilities were returning who did not make it  
19 through earlier wars.

20 These were people who came back to our  
21 country, had become disabled fighting for their  
22 country, and weren't really willing to accept second-  
23 class status that -- of people with disabilities in  
24 the country.

25 There is an interesting -- at one of the

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1 ADA hearings, there was testimony from a gentleman  
2 from Long Island who was a Vietnam vet who was  
3 disabled and his rehabilitation program included  
4 swimming. Unfortunately, there were no accessible  
5 pools and no design to make any pools accessible in  
6 his area.

7 Another factor -- and I think a very  
8 important one -- was the impact that our laws on  
9 education had had. Starting in 1968, Congress enacted  
10 the Education of the Handicapped Act, it was called  
11 then. It's now called IDEA, the Individuals with  
12 Disabilities Education Act. And it required a free  
13 appropriate public education in a mainstream  
14 environment for children with disabilities.

15 The impact of that law in our society was  
16 profound because it brought about integration of  
17 children with disabilities with their non-disabled  
18 peers, but it also created a generation of students  
19 who are being educated. Some had high school  
20 diplomas, some just had certificates of completion,  
21 but they were all ready to enter American society to  
22 get jobs, to continue their education, and do the  
23 things that their non-disabled peers were doing.

24 Another trend that was happening, that  
25 people with disabilities who were beginning to

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1 organize saw how women's groups and African Americans  
2 had organized to achieve their rights, and so they  
3 adopted the tools and model of these movements,  
4 whether it was organizing for social action and  
5 protest, whether it was going to members of Congress  
6 or to the executive branch to press their cause, or  
7 whether it was using the media as a way to get their  
8 message out, that they indeed were there and that they  
9 were facing discrimination.

10 Another factor that I think is important  
11 is that we in our society had a series of laws that  
12 protected people with disabilities. Now, they were  
13 based on a different paradigm. They were based on the  
14 idea, oh, people with disabilities needed our help, so  
15 we had rehabilitation services, vocational education,  
16 income support from Social Security. So there were  
17 that series of laws, and so we were used to using law  
18 to solve the problems of our society.

19 But starting in 1968, actually with the  
20 Architectural Barriers Act of 1968, we started to  
21 enact some laws that dealt with a different paradigm,  
22 that people with disabilities are individuals with  
23 rights and that we had to pass laws that enforce these  
24 rights. We weren't doing that because we were good;  
25 we were doing it because citizens had human and basic

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1 civil rights.

2 The idea came about in 1968, the first  
3 version of it. There were a series of laws -- Title V  
4 of the Rehabilitation Act, which included affirmative  
5 action and public employment for the federal  
6 government, established the Access Board, created  
7 Section 504.

8 There was the Air Carrier Access Act that  
9 applied to air travel in 1986. In 1988, we amended  
10 the Fair Housing Act to include disability provisions  
11 and require for the first time that multi-family  
12 housing built in the United States must be accessible  
13 to people with disabilities according to standards.

14 And, in 1988, there was the Civil Rights  
15 Restoration Act that expanded the reach of program or  
16 activity for the coverage of Section 504. But I think  
17 the important message was people would go to Congress  
18 and use law as a way to address their grievances.

19 Another factor, and an important one, and  
20 it has been mentioned already today, was the work of  
21 the Commission on Civil Rights and the National  
22 Council on Disability. I think Lex Frieden, who was  
23 the Director of NCD at that period of time, created  
24 the report towards independence, which included for  
25 the first time a text of a comprehensive civil rights

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1 bill. They had issued a report early on that talked  
2 about the history of discrimination against persons  
3 with disabilities.

4 And as you -- as the Chair has mentioned -  
5 - we had the report, Accommodating the Spectrum of  
6 Individual Disabilities from this Commission and the  
7 work of Bob Burgdorf that really made clear the  
8 concept that disability is a naturally occurring  
9 condition of the human condition, and that we  
10 accommodate that whole spectrum of people along that.

11 And these reports really provided the  
12 heft, the vigor, the basis for what would become the  
13 ADA. There is another report that came about in 1988  
14 that was an interesting - it was a response to the  
15 AIDS epidemic, and there was a report that was done.  
16 Admiral James Watkins was in charge of it. It was a  
17 major report. It had some 400 recommendations, but it  
18 had 10 chief recommendations, and one of them was  
19 there needed to be a law to protect people who are  
20 HIV-positive, that needed to protect their rights and  
21 their privacy, but also to -- you know, to stop  
22 discrimination against them.

23 And the report said this civil rights bill  
24 shouldn't just single out people with HIV. It should  
25 be comprehensive and deal with all people with

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1 disabilities.

2 Another thing in 1988 -- we had a  
3 presidential election. And I guess my message here is  
4 one shouldn't underestimate the power of a promise  
5 made in a campaign. You may remember in 1988  
6 President -- then-Vice President George H.W. Bush --  
7 was running for president. He was attempting to  
8 establish his own credentials and to separate himself  
9 from being Vice President for eight years under  
10 President Reagan.

11 He had a long history of working with  
12 people with disabilities during the time of his Vice  
13 Presidency. At the beginning of the Reagan  
14 administration, there was an attempt to look at  
15 federal regulation and see that it was burdensome, and  
16 to review it. There was a task force on regulatory  
17 relief, and President Reagan asked Vice President Bush  
18 to chair that.

19 At the time, there was an attempt to get  
20 rid of the Section 504 and to get rid of the  
21 disability laws in education. And so that brought  
22 Vice President Bush and his legal counsel, Boyden  
23 Gray, into contact with the disability community.

24 And over that period of time -- and I was  
25 involved with that -- I was at Justice. We were in

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1 the process of issuing Section 504 regulations, both  
2 for federally-conducted and federally-assisted  
3 programs. And we became involved in a negotiation  
4 between Vice President Bush, the disability community,  
5 the Department of Justice, and it really created a  
6 working relationship that made then-Vice President  
7 Bush comfortable enough when he was running for  
8 president to say one of the things he wanted to do  
9 when he was president was issue a comprehensive civil  
10 rights law. And when he became president, fulfilling  
11 that campaign promise became important to him.

12 I have saved I think -- what I think is  
13 the most important trend or factor for last, which is  
14 the disability community themselves. They were  
15 incredibly well organized in the period of the 1980s.  
16 They were organizing themselves state-by-state.  
17 Justin Dart, who has been mentioned, who was a leader  
18 at that time, went into every state in the country and  
19 worked with people with disabilities and to have them  
20 develop what he called diaries of discrimination.

21 Everyday people just wrote down what their  
22 life was like, what discrimination they faced. And  
23 when the ADA was being considered, Justin brought  
24 these diaries and presented them to the Congress. And  
25 so Congress had a sense of what the nature of

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1 discrimination is on a state level, at a very personal  
2 level, for people with disabilities. It let Congress  
3 know that discrimination on the basis of disability  
4 was widespread and was virulent.

5 Another part of this organization -- I'd  
6 like to give a shout-out to Pat Wright, who was the  
7 leader of the disability rights community at that time  
8 in terms of passing this law. She became known as the  
9 General, a title she loved, partly because of her  
10 strong control but also because of her strategic  
11 planning.

12 What was important about that movement, it  
13 was a cross-disability movement. And it was a very  
14 interesting -- disability groups banded together for a  
15 common purpose. They gave up pet projects that they -  
16 - that an individual disability group might have for  
17 the greater good. The cohesiveness of this  
18 organization was essential to getting the ADA passed.

19 I'll give you an example. At one point  
20 during the ADA process, there was an amendment to  
21 strike people who were HIV-positive from the bill.  
22 The restaurant industry was trying to have that done,  
23 and the disability groups banded together and said,  
24 no, you can't pick us apart. We are all going to  
25 stand together, and this bill is going to cover people

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1 who are HIV-positive or we're not going to support the  
2 bill. So there's an idea of how that worked.

3 Another example. I was involved with a  
4 meeting with a Congressman in the morning with the  
5 disability community. I was representing the White  
6 House at negotiations on the bill, and the Congressman  
7 expressed some doubts about some feature of the bill.

8 By that afternoon, he had gotten flooded with calls  
9 from his district, from disability groups, saying --  
10 giving him information and saying, please don't have  
11 that particular point of view, which demonstrated the  
12 organizational muscle of the organization as well as  
13 the need for the legislation in his own state.

14 The last thing that I'll mention, sort of  
15 factors and trends, was economics. Congress was aware  
16 of two things -- the cost in the federal budget for  
17 income supports for people with disabilities, and,  
18 really, the waste of natural resources of people with  
19 disabilities. A large part of our -- we're not being  
20 educated. We're not being part of the economy.

21 And so the idea behind this was, why spend  
22 billions of dollars to keep people unemployed? And,  
23 in fact, if you got Social Security income support,  
24 you could not work. Many of the people who got income  
25 support wanted to work, and so this was a disconnect

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1 that -- so the legislation was viewed as something  
2 that would benefit not only the federal budget,  
3 because we are going to take people with disabilities  
4 who are getting income support and were a drain on the  
5 budget and have them become tax-paying citizens, and  
6 in the long run would improve the nation's GNP and  
7 would help the federal budget.

8 Now, time today doesn't allow me to go  
9 through all of the ins and outs of how the law got  
10 passed, but I'd like to just talk about three ideas  
11 behind the idea -- behind the ADA -- that made it  
12 work. They are parallelism, comprehensiveness, and  
13 integration. I apologize for all the Latin words.  
14 I'm a lawyer. What can I say?

15 What do I mean by parallelism? The idea  
16 behind the ADA was a simple one -- give to people with  
17 disabilities the same federal protections that other  
18 people in our society had, that women had, that  
19 African Americans had, that people of color had.

20 It made what seemed to be a revolutionary  
21 bill really an evolutionary bill. I'll give an  
22 example. Title VII of the -- and the main thing that  
23 we looked at was the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title  
24 VII covers employment. It covers employers who have -  
25 - public and private employers who have 15 or more

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1 employees. Okay. We can do the same thing with the  
2 ADA.

3 It requires EEOC to be the agency that  
4 investigates complaints and does lawsuits. We'll do  
5 that for the ADA.

6 So what do you do about what's  
7 discrimination? What's the definition of someone with  
8 a disability? Parallelism said look to Section 504.  
9 There were over 100 regulations -- 504 regulations for  
10 federally connected; 26 for federally assisted  
11 programs.

12 They had common language about what  
13 discrimination was, who people with disabilities were.

14 Many of these regulations, most of them, were done  
15 during the Reagan administration, so Republican  
16 members of Congress felt some sense of security in  
17 saying, okay. We understand these concepts. We will  
18 include those in the bill.

19 So, the next idea, comprehensiveness. The  
20 idea behind the ADA was to open up American society  
21 for people with disabilities. To do that, you had to  
22 have -- if you're going to transform American society  
23 -- it has to be comprehensive.

24 Okay. We need non-discrimination in  
25 employment to get a person a job. Well, if they have

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1 a job, they're going to have to get to the job. So  
2 you need to cover transportation. If they have a job  
3 and they want to participate in American life, they  
4 have to be able to enjoy the same things that other  
5 people do -- going to the theater, going to bars,  
6 going -- doing their own shopping. So you have to  
7 cover the private sector fairly broadly.

8 If you want them to be active citizens,  
9 you have to ensure that state and local government is  
10 covered. So the idea of comprehensiveness is that the  
11 bill must address all of these aspects of society.  
12 The bill was so massive that in Congress there were,  
13 on the House side, five hearings, because every one of  
14 those had jurisdiction over different aspects of  
15 American life. The Senate only had one.

16 Lastly, the concept of integration. I  
17 think it goes without saying, when you're dealing with  
18 civil rights law, integration is a vital part of it.  
19 But it was even more important for people with  
20 disabilities because we had a history in this country  
21 of isolating and segregation.

22 Your report in 1983 gave evidence to that  
23 fact, so integration of people with disabilities into  
24 all aspects of American society was important. And we  
25 had had the experience of the IDEA, and saw the impact

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1 that educating children with disabilities together  
2 with their non-disabled peers had had already on our  
3 society.

4 Now, the bill was going to have a  
5 significant impact on business, and that was a concern  
6 to a lot of people in the Congress. Unlike the  
7 employment provisions of the bill, the provisions that  
8 dealt with American business didn't have a size  
9 exclusion or grandfather provision, and the reason for  
10 that was that statistical analysis showed that if you  
11 had that kind of requirement you would effectively  
12 eliminate most American businesses from coverage.

13 Also, we were talking about parallelism.  
14 The public accommodations provisions of the Civil  
15 Rights Act of 1964 didn't have those kinds of  
16 restrictions. Therefore, we were giving to people  
17 with disabilities the same protections. Therefore, it  
18 led to that.

19 Now, there was still concern for small  
20 businesses, and there were a couple of things that  
21 were included in the bill. One of them -- and these  
22 were things that came from 504 and came from Supreme  
23 Court decisions in the 1980s.

24 One was that nothing in the bill would be  
25 allowed to create undue burdens, which was defined as

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1 significant difficulty or expense. Nothing would be  
2 required that would require a fundamental alternation  
3 in the nature of a program or activity of any business  
4 covered by this.

5           There were -- so cost limitations were  
6 part of the bill, except for the new construction  
7 requirements. And the reason for that is there are  
8 plenty of studies that showed that making a new  
9 building accessible under standards that were in place  
10 would only cost one-half of one percent at the most of  
11 what -- to make the building accessible.

12           The idea of having a door that is wide  
13 enough to allow a person with a wheelchair to come in  
14 is a design issue, not a cost issue, and so that's why  
15 that's there.

16           Another concern was lawsuits, a concern  
17 that is much on people's minds today under the ADA.  
18 And the Bush administration especially was concerned  
19 about limiting lawsuits under the ADA, and so the ADA  
20 structurally does that.

21           It does not allow for compensatory damages  
22 for private suits brought by people with disabilities.

23           You only get attorney's fees if you win your lawsuit.

24           The idea behind these was these were similar to the  
25 approaches taken in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. And

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1 so they were put in place to limit the ability -- or  
2 to take away the fear that lawsuits would be the main  
3 thing that motivated passage of the ADA, but it still  
4 allowed people with disabilities to have an  
5 independent access to the federal courts to get  
6 injunctive relief, to change their lives, similar to  
7 the way that Title II was.

8 The last two things I'll mention were two  
9 new ideas, and I think they were very important. One  
10 was the idea of technical assistance. The ADA was the  
11 first civil rights law that was passed that put an  
12 obligation on enforcement agencies -- any agency that  
13 had enforcement responsibilities -- to provide  
14 technical assistance, which was to give information to  
15 people with disabilities, businesses, the general  
16 public about what the law required.

17 The first week after the law went into  
18 effect we had a very large technical assistance  
19 program at the Department of Justice. We got a call  
20 from a hotel in North Carolina, and the hotel owner  
21 said, did you people pass some bill up there? And we  
22 said, why are you asking this? He said, well, a  
23 wheelchair user came to my hotel last night and said  
24 there was a new federal law that entitled him to the  
25 best room at the cheapest price.

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1 (Laughter.)

2 MR. WODATCH: And I said, what did you do?

3 And he said, well, we gave him the best room at the  
4 cheapest price.

5 (Laughter.)

6 MR. WODATCH: Now, that shouldn't -- the  
7 ADA did not require that, although it did require that  
8 he have access and equal opportunity to stay at the  
9 hotel. So that pointed out the need for technical  
10 assistance, both for people with disabilities and  
11 businesses.

12 And in a separate piece of legislation,  
13 Congress established the ADA National Network, which  
14 is ten regional centers, which are still in operation  
15 today that are there to provide businesses and people  
16 with disabilities free advice on how to comply with  
17 the ADA.

18 The last idea was, okay, we knew that  
19 businesses were going to have to spend money to make  
20 themselves accessible, whether it was providing a sign  
21 language interpreter for a doctor, whether it was  
22 making the front entrance of a small business  
23 accessible, and they were going to have to incur those  
24 expenses.

25 There weren't federal programs being put

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1 in place to give them money, so the idea was to change  
2 the Tax Code, so that businesses that had those costs  
3 could get a tax break. There were tax credits put in  
4 place and tax deductions put in place, so that the  
5 costs would be incurred by the general public through  
6 the Tax Code as a way to do this.

7 Okay. So we're 27 years later. And, you  
8 know, as a result of all of these concepts, the bill  
9 passed with huge bipartisan majority, 91 to six in the  
10 Senate, 403 to 20 in the House, which, as we look back  
11 with our eyes of today, is really mind-boggling to  
12 see.

13 I want to just conclude by saying  
14 something about the success of the ADA because in my  
15 estimation it has been -- it has transformed American  
16 life. If you look at our built environment, if you  
17 look at our accessible transportation systems, at our  
18 educational programs, at the changes to healthcare,  
19 especially for people who are deaf, who had really no  
20 access to our healthcare system before the changes  
21 brought about by the ADA, the revolution that is now  
22 occurring in accessible information technology, the  
23 removal of warehouse persons into their community, and  
24 the idea that people with disabilities should be able  
25 to live with their family and friends in their own

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1 community and live independent lives and make their  
2 own judgments.

3 But I think the most satisfying change for  
4 me that I have seen is at the personal level because  
5 this is really about persons with disabilities. And  
6 here I am really talking about a change in attitude.

7 So, science would tell you that one of the  
8 most important parts of barriers are added to no  
9 barriers, stereotypes and prejudicial assumptions by  
10 the general public that people with disabilities  
11 internalize because they are all around them. And  
12 people with disabilities have come devalue their own  
13 worth because of the constant message they have gotten  
14 from other people as well as the laws that were in  
15 place in our society.

16 But, in my view, as generations of people  
17 with disabilities have begun to live and play and work  
18 side by side, these stereotypes and prejudices are  
19 beginning to come, in the words of George Bush in  
20 signing the ADA, tumbling down.

21 And participation, in my view, in everyday  
22 American life has brought about a sense of self-worth  
23 for people with disabilities. I think that's one of  
24 the unsung achievements of the ADA.

25 And so I thank you for allowing me to go

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1 through this history and wish a happy birthday to the  
2 ADA. Thank you.

3 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you very much, Mr.  
4 Wodatch.

5 Ms. Cokley?

6 MS. COKLEY: Thank you all for inviting me  
7 to come and speak about an issue that, quite  
8 literally, put me in this seat today. I would also  
9 really like to thank my co-presenter, John Wodatch,  
10 who I love dearly.

11 I'm not going to lie, when I asked who  
12 else was on the panel and they were saying they were  
13 looking for names, I was like please call John, please  
14 call John, please call John.

15 (Laughter.)

16 MS. COKLEY: John, Pat Wright, Chai  
17 Feldblum, Congressman Major Owens, Justin Dart, and  
18 Senator Tom Harkin are the reasons that I am sitting  
19 in front of you today. Their path -- they set the  
20 path that put my career on its path. And as we talk  
21 about the 27th anniversary of the ADA, and the 60th of  
22 this wonderful Commission, as Justin Dart would  
23 continue to remind us -- and I hear him in my ear --  
24 disability rights are civil rights.

25 One in four people have a disability. I

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1 walk in the room and most of you can tell that I have  
2 dwarfism. You can't tell that I have obsessive  
3 compulsive disorder, but both conditions come with  
4 rights and protections under the law. We know that  
5 roughly 80 percent of people with disabilities today  
6 grow up in households with no other disabled people,  
7 no other point of reference for what their  
8 expectations should be for their lives, other than  
9 what their family members and their loved ones hear in  
10 society and reflect back on them.

11 I have the fortune of not being part of  
12 that 80 percent. Both of my parents were little  
13 people, the only little people in their families, but  
14 my dad ran a center for independent living in the Bay  
15 Area, and my mom ran a disabled student center at a  
16 community college and I was quite literally birthed  
17 into this movement and grew up splitting my time  
18 between the IL and the DSS Center at the college.

19 Disability was as much a part of our  
20 family's culture as us being Irish was. I grew up  
21 watching aunts and uncles get arrested, chaining  
22 themselves to buses in Denver and throughout the  
23 country fighting for my father's right to access a  
24 public bus to be able to go to work.

25 I grew up and watched my mom three years

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1 before the ADA be denied tenure at the college that  
2 she loved so much, the college that gave her her start  
3 in education, because she could only reach the bottom  
4 six inches of a chalkboard.

5 I went to a junior high where my guidance  
6 counselor was able to get his job because of Section  
7 504. He was a veteran from Vietnam who had lost his  
8 legs in an explosion and had me running my own 504  
9 meetings from the first time I met him. He said, hi,  
10 it's nice to meet you. You're in charge. Mrs. Hare,  
11 you can go sit outside and we'll call you when Rebecca  
12 and I are done talking.

13 And my parents, who were super progressive  
14 and super civil rights-y in terms of raising their  
15 daughter, my parents were actually shocked. They were  
16 like, wait, what? And they're like, she needs to  
17 learn how to advocate for her right. I'm sure you've  
18 done a great job to this point, but we're letting her  
19 take over at this point.

20 Three years later when I walked into high  
21 school, though, the guidance counselor looked at me  
22 over the desk and said, I'm sorry, ma'am, but kids  
23 like you don't go here. And that was three years  
24 after the ADA was passed. My response was, wait.  
25 There's a school for four-foot red-headed little

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1 people somewhere around here? How did I get to this  
2 point in my life and not know that?

3 When I think about the importance of the  
4 ADA and the role that it has had for all generations,  
5 but particularly what we like to call the ADA  
6 generation, the first generation of Americans with  
7 disabilities to grow up at the intersection of IDEA  
8 and the ADA, the first generation where you really had  
9 the expectation of being able to get a job, where the  
10 American dream felt that much closer, where the  
11 American dream felt like there was a ramp to it with  
12 Braille on the door and an automatic pushbutton.

13 Public policy has come a long way, but  
14 there is still so much further to go. And I think  
15 even sitting here today in this hearing we've seen  
16 evidence of that. In the conversation about sex  
17 trafficking before, I thought it was a very powerful  
18 conversation, particularly around the discussion of  
19 post-traumatic stress disorder, and the individuals  
20 that had been sex trafficked. And all I could think  
21 about was, when they go back to their homes and they  
22 try to access the services that they need, what is the  
23 education services that they're entitled to under 504  
24 because of a PTSD diagnosis?

25 When they want to go to work, do they

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1 understand their rights and responsibilities under the  
2 ADA to be able to access those accommodations?  
3 Because those people are our people. Those are my  
4 people. Those are the people that we think about  
5 every day in the work that we do. Those are the  
6 people that I thought about every day for the four and  
7 a half years that I worked across the street running  
8 the National Council on Disability.

9           There is not a single public policy issue  
10 today that does not impact people with disabilities.  
11 Currently, as I think about where we go from the ADA,  
12 one of the big issues I think about are the civil  
13 rights of parents with disabilities. I am now a  
14 parent. My husband and I have two wonderful children,  
15 a six-year-old and a three-year-old, both of whom seem  
16 to have endless amounts of energy, both of whom are  
17 African American children with disabilities, and know  
18 that they have disabilities and are proud about having  
19 disabilities.

20           They know that both their -- they know  
21 that their mom is a little person just like them.  
22 They know that their dad has a vision disability, so  
23 that while we might use stools all over the house as  
24 our accommodation, they end up being impediments for  
25 their dad's vision disability. So they have to always

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1 think about moving them out of the way or they will  
2 hear him grumble about those dang little people that  
3 live with him.

4 (Laughter.)

5 MS. COKLEY: In 32 states right now,  
6 parents with disabilities can lose their children  
7 solely on the basis of a disability, not on the basis  
8 of any behavior, not on the basis of an incidence of  
9 concern for the child's safety or the parent's safety,  
10 but solely on the basis of a parent's diagnosis for a  
11 disability.

12 We have heard cases of a mom with dyslexia  
13 who goes to the CVS with her iPhone and says to the  
14 pharmacist, hey, could you please read the directions  
15 for this medication into my phone, so that when I get  
16 home I can play it back to me and be able to give my  
17 child medication. And the pharmacist calls CPS and  
18 says, I think this mother is unfit to raise her child  
19 because she can't read.

20 A father who uses a wheelchair, much like  
21 my dad, throwing the ball for his son in the front  
22 yard. Ball inevitably rolls into the street because  
23 if you have a kid, they inevitably throw the ball in  
24 the street. Father takes his wheelchair right up to  
25 the curb, holds the little boy's hand as he steps down

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1 into the gutter to get the ball.

2 Neighbor sees, says, oh, my God, what if a  
3 car came out of nowhere and hit that child. There is  
4 nothing that father could do. Calls CPS and the child  
5 is taken.

6 This happens on a daily basis, regardless  
7 of the type of disability. We have been fortunate  
8 enough to see strong guidance come out of the Office  
9 of Civil Rights at HHS and from our colleagues at the  
10 Department of Justice that we need to see the ADA  
11 taken into account in child custody issues.

12 We also see this when it comes to adoption  
13 and parents with disabilities being denied the right  
14 to adopt, grandparents with disabilities being denied  
15 the right to foster their grandchildren.

16 And we really do need to see, as we go  
17 forward, better training for judges, social workers,  
18 people with decision-making abilities throughout the  
19 child family services process, on how to engage with  
20 people with disabilities, resources like those that  
21 are provided through groups like Through the Looking  
22 Glass in the Bay Area and the Disabled Parenting  
23 Project. Because what good is it if you're told that  
24 the American dream is accessible to you except you  
25 can't have kids and you want to have kids?

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1 I think another issue that we continue to  
2 see a significant need for work on is tied to the  
3 engagement of law enforcement and the disability  
4 community. We know today that roughly 50 percent of  
5 those individuals that are killed by law enforcement  
6 have a disability of some type or some way or form.  
7 But at the same time, we also don't exactly know what  
8 that number is. And I think as folks earlier talked  
9 about the importance of data, this is another piece  
10 where data really is critical.

11 I think one of the things we have talked  
12 about in the disability community is the desire to see  
13 the Death in Custody Act amended to include data  
14 collection around disability, so that we can actually  
15 get a better handle on what that number is both going  
16 in as well as being able to track the number of people  
17 who acquire disabilities as a result of police  
18 shootings.

19 We also really need some hard numbers as  
20 it relates to the provision, the request, the denial,  
21 and the removal of accommodations while in police  
22 custody. We hear far too often from our deaf siblings  
23 in the movement about being denied sign language  
24 interpreters upon being arrested.

25 I think we saw firsthand in the last

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1 several weeks, as we have seen the protests around the  
2 country, around the BRCA, people with disabilities  
3 removed from their wheelchairs. There is a case right  
4 now in Columbus, Ohio, where one of the protesters  
5 from last week's protest still has yet to get her  
6 wheelchair back, and hasn't been able to go to work  
7 because law enforcement have not given her back her  
8 wheelchair. She can't parent. She can't go to work.  
9 She can't raise her children. She can't earn a  
10 livelihood because she can't get out of her damn  
11 house, and that is not acceptable.

12 I think we need to see actual community  
13 engagement between people with disabilities and the  
14 communities they live in, and law enforcement. I  
15 think as we talk about profiling, also looking at the  
16 role of geographic profiling, is their deaf schools in  
17 the area, are there halfway houses, what are the types  
18 of disability service providers in these communities  
19 where we're seeing significant increases in police  
20 violence.

21 I give a lot of credit to organizations  
22 like HEARD, which I know have spoken to the Commission  
23 before, Helping Educate to Advance the Rights of the  
24 Deaf, who are really doing the yeoman's work when it  
25 comes to supporting and defending people that are

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1 currently incarcerated with disabilities. Groups like  
2 the Harriet Tubman Collective that have been very  
3 outspoken in these last few years on this issue.

4 And I look forward to the fact that my  
5 colleagues across the street at the National Council  
6 on Disability will be releasing something this year --  
7 I hope you guys are watching this because I'm holding  
8 you to it -- on police violence and people with  
9 disabilities.

10 As the mother of a six-year-old and a  
11 three-year-old, both African American children with  
12 disabilities, I am incredibly conscious of the fact  
13 that my son's tenacity, righteous indignation at  
14 injustice, and desire to literally talk everybody's  
15 ear off, while endearing now at six, will be looked at  
16 far differently when he is a 16-year-old.

17 I remember talking to Reverend Yearwood of  
18 the Hip Hop Caucus and he reminded me that when we  
19 talk about police reform today, we're not talking  
20 about it having a direct impact now; we're talking  
21 about it impacting Jackson when he is 16 and being  
22 mindful of that. We're thinking about 10 years down  
23 the road to make the world a safer place for all our  
24 kids, including kids with disabilities, because they  
25 are the future of the disability rights movement.

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1           And let me tell you -- and John and I were  
2 talking about this earlier -- this movement looks  
3 significantly different than the movement that I grew  
4 up in. When I was at the White House, I had the  
5 pleasure of co-hosting the first-ever joint forum on  
6 LGBT people with disabilities. Data coming out of  
7 Europe right now tells us that roughly between 12 to  
8 20 percent of autistic youth also identify as  
9 somewhere on the LGBT spectrum.

10           We talked about what happens when a  
11 student's expression of gender identity is seen as  
12 symptomatic of a disability, and that's written out of  
13 the -- it's written into their IEP that they cannot  
14 express their gender in the way that they wish to  
15 because it is seen as a disciplinary issue.

16           We also convened the first forum on the  
17 issues facing African Americans with disabilities.  
18 And my colleague, David Johns, my brother in this  
19 work, asked these young people in this room, tell me  
20 what it means to be young, gifted, black, and  
21 disabled. And this nine-year-old young man said, it  
22 means the minute I put my key in my door to leave for  
23 school I have to constantly worry about how I am --  
24 how I act. I have to control every part of my  
25 disability, so that I don't get shot by police or

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1 smothered like that little boy in the gym mat at his  
2 school. He is nine years old. His concern should be  
3 about who he is going to play with at recess or the  
4 fact that he doesn't like his school lunch. It  
5 shouldn't be about whether or not he comes home at the  
6 end of that day.

7 As we continue to talk about the  
8 importance -- and I'm really thrilled to see the  
9 Commission working on disproportionality of students  
10 of color identified place and disciplined in school  
11 settings. This continues to highlight the true  
12 intersection between race and disability.

13 Immigration is also a disability rights  
14 issue, and we know that disabled people and their  
15 families move to the U.S. in order to be able to  
16 access better supports and services for their kids and  
17 for themselves. We also know that a large number of  
18 personal support service providers are immigrants, and  
19 so the immigration conversation is null and void  
20 unless you have disabled voices at the table.

21 There are folks carrying on the fight  
22 today. I think we've seen it in the news recently,  
23 pushing back on the attempts to roll back the key  
24 provisions of the Affordable Care Act, and then also  
25 we are continuing to hold the line on the ADA as we

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1 see -- I refer to this as the public policy zombie,  
2 the ADA Information and Education Act, otherwise known  
3 as the ADA Notification Act, rearing its ugly head in  
4 Congress again and at the state level in a number of  
5 places.

6 And, as you say, you'd really like to  
7 leave the world for your children a better place than  
8 it was when you were growing up. I can't imagine my  
9 children having a harder time growing up than I did,  
10 than my parents' generation did. We have the fortune  
11 of having three generations of disabled Americans. My  
12 mom grew up before 504 and the ADA. I grew up with  
13 both of those things.

14 You know, I dream that my children will  
15 grow up with CRPD, so that if Jackson gets the  
16 opportunity to speak or to teach in another country,  
17 he doesn't have to worry about that discrimination.  
18 And I really encourage all of you to continue doing  
19 the work that you are doing. It is so critical now  
20 more than ever.

21 And I thank you for giving me the  
22 opportunity to come and speak.

23 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you both for your  
24 presentations. I'm very, very grateful for them. And  
25 I'll open the conversation to my fellow Commissioners

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1 for questions and comments. Commissioner Narasaki?

2 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Thank you. I'll  
3 kick this off. Thank you for -- Mr. Wodatch for  
4 reminding me about Pat Wright. She was a marshal not  
5 just for the disability community, but I can tell you,  
6 as part of the Leadership Conference on Civil and  
7 Human Rights, she marshaled all of us and was very  
8 much a part of working to make sure that the  
9 traditional civil rights groups were very much part of  
10 the movement under the leadership of Ralph Neas. So  
11 it's a good memory to have.

12 I wanted to explore the issue of the  
13 opportunity to work, and your assessment of how far  
14 the ADA has come. I do some disability work or I do  
15 some diversity work with corporations, and I was  
16 actually pleased to see that many companies, when you  
17 talk about -- when you talk about diversity inclusion,  
18 they are thinking about generally race and gender.

19 But now actually they are including people  
20 with disabilities and really trying to think through  
21 how can they make the workplace more accessible, make  
22 sure that they are tapping the talents of people with  
23 disabilities, and I see it affecting their bottom line  
24 because it's actually helping them to create new  
25 products and services that often not just benefit

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1 people with disabilities, but for those of us who  
2 aren't, still think it's cool.

3 So, for example, cable companies like  
4 Comcast are working on mechanisms where you can  
5 control the setting of your channels with your eye,  
6 which I find fascinating, I'm sure that many people  
7 will love to get when that technology is available.  
8 But it came about in thinking about how can they make  
9 their products and services more accessible to people  
10 with disabilities? So I'm just wondering where you  
11 think we are now in that spectrum.

12 MR. WODATCH: Thank you. That's -- I  
13 would say the major, I don't know if you want to call  
14 it, failing of the ADA in terms of changing our  
15 society is in the employment of people with  
16 disabilities. If you look at the statistics that the  
17 Department of Labor puts out each month, you will see  
18 that people with disabilities are chronically  
19 underemployed, even compared to the unemployment rates  
20 of the general population, and so I think work has to  
21 be done in this area.

22 Now, part of -- there are reasons for  
23 that. Some of them are changes that we are making  
24 over time in our laws, the idea that in order to  
25 receive income supplements from the federal government

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1 you had to be able to say that you couldn't work.  
2 That has been changing. That concept has been  
3 changing.

4 I have hope for changes in this area. If  
5 you look at the statistics of the number of people  
6 with disabilities who are in American colleges and  
7 universities for the past year, it said 11 percent.  
8 When I started doing disability rights work in the  
9 1970s, there were almost no people with disabilities  
10 in our colleges, so we are developing a cadre of  
11 people with disabilities who will have the skills  
12 needed for the kinds of jobs that are being created in  
13 our economy, which are related to the information  
14 economy.

15 So they are suited for people with  
16 disabilities. So I'm optimistic that that will  
17 change, but it's something that we really have to work  
18 at. The ADA requires that employers practice  
19 reasonable accommodation. There is a lot of  
20 information. I have seen the same thing that you are  
21 addressing, which is employers looking -- including  
22 disability together with dealing with affirmative  
23 action or other programs to increase people of color,  
24 women in their jobs and professions.

25 And so there is hope there, but it is

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1 still a major problem that we have in our society.

2 MS. COKLEY: I think a key opportunity --  
3 when I think about the college of -- one of the things  
4 that I think has been really powerful that comes out  
5 of particularly the work of Judy Heumann, Curtis  
6 Richards, and others, who really laid the groundwork  
7 for state-level youth leadership forums, which are a  
8 week-long camp, advocacy camp for young people with  
9 disabilities, that I think right now exists in roughly  
10 30 states.

11 And one of the powerful things that  
12 happens at those camps is those camps take place on a  
13 college campus, and they take high school students who  
14 in many cases have never been away from home, some of  
15 these kids have never slept over a night at their  
16 friends' houses, and puts them in a college dorm for a  
17 week.

18 And to watch the changing of expectations  
19 for those young people from Monday to Friday, from oh,  
20 my God, what do you mean my mom is not going to be  
21 here with me for the next five days, to at the end of  
22 the week being like, I'm not even calling my mom.  
23 Like I'm going to -- you know, I'm not going to ask  
24 her if I can write you guys after this. Forget that.

25 But to see like they're going to the

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1 cafeteria and getting crappy college cafeteria food.  
2 They're standing line to understand how the bookstore  
3 process works. They're really getting those sorts of  
4 experiences. And I think where we've done less of a  
5 strong job is in that connection from college to work  
6 and really thinking about, what does that need to look  
7 like.

8 And I think there are some programs that I  
9 have seen some promising results, things like the  
10 federal government's workforce recruitment program,  
11 which is designed to increase federal employment of  
12 people with disabilities that have done a really  
13 significant job. But I think we still have a long way  
14 to go.

15 I think even the internship programs that  
16 we run in the disability community have not achieved  
17 their full potential. I mean, I think there are -- I  
18 can think of one of the big Congressional internship  
19 programs that has been around for almost 20 years now,  
20 and only three of their interns have ever been hired  
21 into full-time employment on the Hill, which to me is  
22 abysmal and unacceptable. It is also one of the  
23 problems that we have on the Hill right now is we  
24 don't have Hill people.

25 And so I think, really, thinking about

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1 what is the shift that needs to happen from college  
2 graduation to work. You know, I think there is also  
3 an opportunity -- and I've heard anecdotal things,  
4 particularly from students who attend HBCUs, students  
5 with disabilities who attend minority-serving  
6 institutions, that talk about how they feel better  
7 prepared to go into the world of work upon graduation  
8 than their friends that went to majority institutions,  
9 because of the level of mentoring, the level of  
10 expectations that were placed on them at HBCUs.

11 My husband often talks about how there was  
12 no question that he was going to get a job after  
13 college because his teachers wouldn't have accepted  
14 the idea that he is this, you know, low-vision black  
15 kid from South Carolina; he just was going to go home  
16 and live with his mom. That wasn't even a  
17 possibility.

18 And so I think having -- doing some real  
19 work to see like, what are the best practices in terms  
20 of moving students with disabilities from college to  
21 work, and what are the lessons that we can garner from  
22 that and spread more throughout society, I think would  
23 be very useful.

24 COMMISSIONER NARASAKI: Thank you.

25 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: Good afternoon.

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1 Thanks for your important stories that you've shared  
2 with us. I think we have all benefited from them. I  
3 have two topics that I want you to offer some insights  
4 on, to the extent that you can.

5 One goes to the issue of mental health and  
6 adequacy of supports and treatment, and the ways in  
7 which that can overlap with homelessness and, in turn,  
8 incarceration. So that's one topic.

9 The other one is in a different area, and  
10 it's an understanding about how our economies are  
11 evolving in terms of digital platforms and online  
12 platforms and how the economies are adjusting to  
13 contemplate accessibility issues. So two very  
14 different topics, but I think that they -- that you  
15 may be able to speak to each of them.

16 MR. WODATCH: Okay. I'll start. You have  
17 identified another problem that I have seen that when  
18 I was at Justice and we were enforcing the ADA. The  
19 issue was brought to us by juvenile court judges who  
20 started seeing groups of children with disabilities  
21 who were being denied services at their elementary and  
22 secondary schools, either because they didn't have the  
23 right kind of IEP or because of discipline actions  
24 that put them on the street.

25 And so what was happening to these

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1 children with disabilities is that they were ending up  
2 in the juvenile justice system, which was a straight  
3 line to the prison population. And so as a society  
4 issue, looking at this, we are going to be spending  
5 society's money keeping these people incarcerated for  
6 their -- most of their lives, and denying us the --  
7 whatever they could have developed.

8 Because we didn't pay attention at the  
9 elementary and the secondary level to their needs, a  
10 lot of these are children with psychiatric conditions,  
11 and the lack of services for them at the school or in  
12 their community is a direct contributor to this.

13 I think the Department of Education has  
14 started working on this issue. The first important  
15 part of this: it has been identified as an issue. And  
16 there are solutions to this issue, and the solutions  
17 are interventions at a very early age, both  
18 educationally and in terms of mental health services  
19 for them -- for children -- that are appropriate for  
20 children that keep them at home, that don't send them  
21 to an institution. So we know the solution: it's  
22 getting that solution to work.

23 Do you want to add anything?

24 MS. COKLEY: Oh, definitely. I think  
25 jails are the new institution. Jails are where we

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1 warehouse people with disabilities. I think Cook  
2 County is a great example of that, where they talk  
3 about how that's the next -- Cook County Jail is the  
4 number one mental health treatment facility in the  
5 country. That is a real problem.

6 I think in talking about mental health and  
7 homelessness and poverty, and all those intersections,  
8 I go back to the conversation earlier about PTSD and  
9 thinking about even the case, I believe it's out of  
10 Compton, California, where the young women asked for  
11 IDEA services as a result of growing up with PTSD,  
12 growing up in Compton.

13 And I was in St. Louis last summer, and  
14 was talking to some activists on the ground, and one  
15 of the things that one of the leaders said to me was -  
16 - her name is Tara. I always want to make sure that I  
17 give credit to her for this because it was such a  
18 powerful statement. She said, you know, Rebecca, I  
19 don't believe in PTSD, she said, because living the  
20 lives that we live, we are constantly traumatized,  
21 stressed, and disordered. There is no time to get  
22 post. There is no such thing as post.

23 And it has been an earworm that has been  
24 in my head ever since a year ago, and I think it is  
25 extremely true when we are talking about a lot of

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1 these circumstances that a lot of these children are  
2 dealing with. And the idea that we get -- we act off  
3 the assumption that at some point you're going to be  
4 fine. This is the reality that you're dealing with.

5 How do we create a comprehensive system of  
6 supports, pulling together school, health services,  
7 your family supports, all of those things to help  
8 these children thrive, without the idea that they're  
9 ever going to be over it, because I think that is not  
10 appropriate.

11 You know, I think we see similar things --  
12 our last council meeting was in Detroit -- and we had  
13 a bunch of folks on the ground come in from Flint,  
14 Michigan, talking about how they have had to  
15 completely rethink what special education service  
16 provision looks like in the context of the massive  
17 lead poisoning in that area. And they've had to  
18 rethink education all the way from early intervention  
19 to adult education, and all of the supporting services  
20 on top of that.

21 And so I think about, how do we work at  
22 this from a silo perspective is not the right way to  
23 go at it, and I think pulling together -- this is a  
24 real opportunity for the cross-civil rights  
25 communities to weigh in and work on this, because

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1 these are all of our kids. These are all of our young  
2 people.

3 One of the things that we saw last -- when  
4 we had the LGBT -- we had an LGBT mental health  
5 meeting at the White House because we lost four trans  
6 disabled activists to suicide in about five months,  
7 and we were terrified. And these were folks that were  
8 connected to services. These were folks that were  
9 largely from supportive families.

10 And we realized from the disability  
11 community side that we couldn't fix it by ourselves,  
12 and so we reached out to our colleagues from PFLAG and  
13 from GLSEN and from the LGBT task force and from other  
14 organizations to say, how do we save our kids? And,  
15 you know, let's put away -- let's -- we're not going  
16 to deal with our -- I love them. We're not going to  
17 deal with our elders' baggage, back in the ADA you  
18 said this about our law and we're still mad about it,  
19 get off our yard, and whatever it is. But how do we -  
20 -

21 COMMISSIONER ADEGBILE: But you're not  
22 looking at John while you say that.

23 (Laughter.)

24 MS. COKLEY: But how do we work together  
25 because they are both -- these are all our kids. And

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1 the only way it's going to work is working together.  
2 And I think we've seen some really unique  
3 collaborations, particularly with the LGBT community  
4 on mental health, particularly with the African  
5 American community around policing, in ways that we've  
6 -- that I never saw 15 years ago when I moved here.  
7 And I think going forward the only way we're going to  
8 be able to crack some of these issues collectively is  
9 if we work together.

10 MR. WODATCH: I'll start with your second  
11 question, Commissioner, which I love, because we are  
12 in the middle of a total change in our society, how we  
13 exist, how we -- how we pay our bills, how we interact  
14 with government. We are in an information age, and  
15 the tools that we use are changing.

16 What's important and what we have seen a  
17 little of over time is that as we have developed new  
18 tools and new ways to use them, tools that really will  
19 make life easier for people with disabilities. We  
20 have done it often in a way that left them behind.

21 Online learning in colleges and  
22 universities is a significant part of what they do.  
23 Are they ensuring that their website is accessible?  
24 Are they ensuring that the platform is accessible? I  
25 think you're probably familiar -- there are probably

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1 the largest amount of legal activity, lawsuits,  
2 settlement agreements from the Department of  
3 Education, from the Department of Justice, are dealing  
4 with these issues in a variety of different ways,  
5 hospitals and information.

6 And so I think it's very important -- I  
7 think the structure of the ADA is there to provide the  
8 legal basis for it. I think because of the use of the  
9 word "placeness" in a lot of Title III, there is still  
10 litigation going on about how extensive the coverage  
11 of the ADA is, but I think the courts have come to the  
12 conclusion that all of these activities are covered,  
13 and so it's a matter of being vigilant about this,  
14 working with the -- you know, the way our laws -- our  
15 civil rights laws -- are created, they don't apply to  
16 the creation of an iPhone or an iPad or a platform.

17 The usage of it is, so early on you may be  
18 familiar there were actions by the Department of  
19 Education and the Department of Justice against some  
20 schools that were using early Kindle devices that were  
21 not allowed to be used by blind students.

22 Well, that's a violation of the ADA, and  
23 also a violation of common sense because you are  
24 talking about the idea of reducing all of the books  
25 that you have to carry into, you know, a little

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1 document, but we're going to make the blind person  
2 carry all the books, but not the other students.

3 There are happy solutions to these  
4 situations. That has changed. Those devices are now  
5 used. But I think it's part of -- we have to be  
6 totally vigilant about it because technology is  
7 changing, and even ensuring that we are getting  
8 devices and then using them by local government, by  
9 colleges, by hospitals, by elementary and secondary  
10 schools in a way that is inclusive of the needs of  
11 people with disabilities, across the whole spectrum of  
12 disabilities.

13 And you're talking not just about people  
14 with vision impairments, but people with manual  
15 dexterity issues who may not be able to operate a  
16 mouse, by people with hearing loss that can't  
17 understand a video on -- a training video -- unless it  
18 is captioned. And so we have to think about the whole  
19 range of disabling conditions and how we interact with  
20 them.

21 MS. COKLEY: I think we have seen some  
22 really interesting opportunities that have been going  
23 pretty well. One is particularly around autonomous  
24 vehicles. I can't remember a time where the  
25 disability community was at the table from day one

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1 with manufacturers, with software developers, with  
2 retailers, as they are in the area of autonomous  
3 vehicles.

4 The NCD, the National Council on  
5 Disability, issued a report on driverless cars two  
6 years ago and has been in repeated conversations with  
7 our -- you know, with the manufacturers -- with Ford,  
8 with GM, with Tesla, with Audi, with Mercedes, talking  
9 about what this needs to look like.

10 Our Chairman is very passionate about this  
11 issue, and Mr. Terry was fortunate enough to get to  
12 ride in an autonomous Audi across the 14th Street  
13 Bridge at rush hour, and for an individual who is  
14 blind and had never been able to be in the front seat,  
15 be literally in the driver's seat.

16 And, mind you, there was an engineer  
17 sitting next to him with access to the controls, but  
18 he talked about just the freedom it gave him and the  
19 fact that, unlike so many of the technology  
20 innovations that we have seen throughout our lifetime,  
21 the disability community has been actively engaging  
22 and sought after by the manufacturers, by the  
23 Department of Transportation, by NHTSA, and others, to  
24 talk to from day one.

25 And it not just being, as I said, a

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1 hardware issue. It's not just about, can you get into  
2 the vehicle? But once you get inside, are you able to  
3 operate controls? If the vehicle talks to you, how  
4 does that work if you're deaf? How does this work for  
5 individuals with cognitive disabilities or  
6 neurodiversity disabilities, things like autism?  
7 What's the impact that an autonomous vehicle could  
8 have for a family of autistics?

9 I mean, I think it's hugely exciting, and  
10 for me I personally love it because my husband can't  
11 drive, and I would love not to have an hour and a half  
12 on my commute every day picking up daycare.

13 But it has been so exciting to see. And I  
14 think if we think about that as a model going forward  
15 from the beginning, how do we talk about it from an  
16 innovative perspective? Like, what is it? What are  
17 the talents and the knowledge the disability community  
18 can bring to the table on the front end, so we don't  
19 have to see you on the back end? You know, it's a lot  
20 nicer that way.

21 CHAIR LHAMON: So that actually leads to  
22 my question for your, Mr. Wodatch. I share your view  
23 that the ADA has been transformational in the United  
24 States, and I'm deeply grateful to you for your part  
25 in the architecture of that transformation.

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1           You are famous for taking a very  
2 collaborative approach to securing the promises of the  
3 ADA, and I wonder if you could share with us that  
4 approach and your explanation for why you have done  
5 that and how successful you think it has been.

6           MR. WODATCH: Well, that's a very  
7 interesting question, and I'll have to think.

8           (Laughter.)

9           MR. WODATCH: The way I look at this, the  
10 civil rights laws are a blueprint from where we are  
11 going as a society. A lot of people look at them as,  
12 you know, we're going to sue people to get something  
13 done. I think what's important with these laws are  
14 compliance with the laws.

15           I have worked in civil rights since 1969,  
16 and I know that even -- even if that's your view --  
17 it's a very small percentage of the work that is going  
18 to get done. If we are trying to change the way  
19 America does business, whether it's for women, whether  
20 it's for people of color, people with disabilities, we  
21 have to be broad in our thinking because we're  
22 seeking compliance. And voluntary compliance, getting  
23 people to understand what the law requires and what  
24 benefits are for them are a way to achieve the civil  
25 rights laws voluntarily.

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1           And, you know, I am an optimistic person,  
2           and I have a very optimistic view of this country.  
3           And I -- my experience with working with businesses is  
4           that they understand what the requirement is and why  
5           it's there and what their benefit is, and they have  
6           support for doing it, they will do it. Sometimes they  
7           need a little helping hand. Sometimes they need more  
8           than a helping hand. But I think enforcement plays a  
9           very strong part in that because it's the stick that  
10          makes the carrot work.

11           But I think our goal is really giving  
12          equal opportunity to this great country that we have  
13          for everyone in it. And we have to use all of the  
14          tools that we have. That's why I talked about the  
15          technical assistance aspects of the ADA. I think that  
16          is a very good model you know, and it's writ large.  
17          There is something called a Job Accommodation Network  
18          that is funded through the Department of Labor that  
19          provides assistance to employers and to people with  
20          disabilities about what works on a job site.

21           So an employer confronted with an employee  
22          who has a new disability, or an applicant, they can go  
23          and get information about how it will work, what it  
24          will cost, how they can do it, how they will work with  
25          other employees. These are the things that will make

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1 the ADA work; they will make other civil rights laws  
2 work as well.

3 And I think that kind of approach, being  
4 very broad-based in how you go about this, using  
5 mediation which is a tool that we came to use at the  
6 Department of Justice. You know, at the local level,  
7 a person who wanted to go to their 7-Eleven didn't  
8 want to have to sue them, they wanted to have a good  
9 relationship with the person who ran the 7-Eleven.  
10 And so sitting down and having a vehicle that allowed  
11 a win-win solution for both of them is important to  
12 the daily life of the people involved.

13 CHAIR LHAMON: Thank you. Do we have  
14 other questions or comments from other Commissioners?

15 And if not, I thank you both very much for your  
16 detailed and comprehensive presentations for the work  
17 that has led to them, and for your time today coming  
18 to be with us. And I hope very much that we will  
19 continue to see the transformation that we have seen  
20 to date continue to evolve.

21 I also thank, in particular, Jason Lagria  
22 for his assistance in setting up today's presentations  
23 and, of course, all of our staff, their efforts in  
24 making today's presentation and today's meeting run as  
25 smoothly as possible. So thank you very much.

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**III. ADJOURN MEETING**

1  
2 CHAIR LHAMON: And with that, I adjourn  
3 our meeting.

4 (Whereupon, the above-entitled matter went  
5 off the record at 12:14 p.m.)  
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