

Disability Accessibility and Inclusivity in Protests

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## Documentary Overview

On January 20, 2017, former president Donald Trump was inaugurated—the next day, women and allies descended on Washington in protest. But it was not just about women’s rights, the Women’s March was one of intersectionality. Those in attendance participated for several reasons, including immigration reform, climate concerns, LGBTQIA+ rights and, of course, disability rights.

The subject of this documentary focuses on how the Women’s March made strides in making it accessible to the disabled community, even partnering with an online Disability March. Organizers collaborated with disabled activists and modeled accommodations after the measures established in the Americans with Disabilities Act. To understand the significance of the accommodations, the documentary also backtracks to the creation of the ADA and early activism before circling back to the overall theme of intersectionality that was woven into the 2017 Women’s March.

### *Interview Subjects*

**Mia Ives-Rublee:** In 2017, Ives-Rublee coordinated with the Women’s March to create the Disability Caucus. As the caucus’s founder and national organizer, she oversaw march’s accessibility and inclusivity efforts. As a member of the disabled community herself, she was able to bring disabled voices to the planning table, making the march unique because it was planned for and by people with disabilities. Currently, she is working as the director for the Disability Justice Initiative at the Center for American Progress.

**Sonya Huber:** In 2011, Huber was diagnosed with rheumatoid arthritis and thusly became involved in disability activism, and more specially, she advocated for health policies like the

Affordable Care Act. When the 2017 Women's March came around, she knew that due to her disability she would be unable to attend the march in person, so she decided to start the Disability March. It was an online version of the march that allowed protestors to voice their concerns about the new administration through a series of blog posts. The Disability March quickly gained attention and became an official partner with the Women's March. Huber worked closely with Ives-Ruble. The Disability March ran for two years. Huber is also a professor at Fairfield University and the author of the book, *Pain Woman Takes Your Keys, and Other Essays from a Nervous System*.

**Jennifer Keelan-Chaffins:** When Keelan-Chaffins was born, she was diagnosed with cerebral palsy. At six years old, after being denied access to ride the same bus as her younger sister, Keelan-Chaffins began her lifelong career as a disability activist. By age seven, she was arrested while protesting at Queen Elizabeth Hotel with other members of ADAPT, a disability activism group. By age eight, she was crawling up the steps of the Capitol during the Capitol Crawl. Keelan-Chaffins is known for advocating for the passage of the American with Disabilities Act and worked with Sen. John McCain throughout the legislative process.

**Lilibeth Navarro:** Like Keelan-Chaffins, Navarro was a member of ADAPT and participated in the Capitol Crawl. She played an important role in lobbying for the ADA and advocating for wheelchair lifts for buses. By her own accounts, she has been arrested approximately 40 times for protesting for disability rights. She is also the founder and executive director of Communities Actively Living Independent & Free (CALIF), which is an independent living community.

## **Abstract of Literature Review**

### **Disability Accessibility and Inclusivity in Protests**

This literature review is intended to be complementary to the documentary, providing more context about the disability movement and outlining the history of discriminatory practices against the disabled community, as well as the efforts of activists to pass the Americans with Disabilities Act. Specifically, it focuses on the “Ugly Laws,” “discrimination diaries” and ADAPT’s transportation campaign, all of which were topics that interview subjects’ found to be of significant importance to both themselves and the movement at large but could not naturally be weaved into the documentary’s narrative. It also further contextualizes the events detailed in the documentary by exploring how disability is connected to the 2017 Women’s March.

Literature Review Word Count: 5,138

## Table of Contents

<b>Documentary Overview .....</b>	<b>III</b>
<b>Abstract of Literature Review .....</b>	<b>V</b>
<b>Glossary of Key Terms .....</b>	<b>VII</b>
Chapter 1 [The Emergence of Disability Activism] .....	1
Chapter 2 [Codifying the Americans with Disabilities Act] .....	8
Chapter 3 [Conclusion—The Rise of Intersectionality] .....	16
Bibliography .....	21
Appendices .....	27

## Glossary of Key Terms—Ableism and Intersectionality

### *Ableism*

Ableism refers to prejudice and discrimination against people with disabilities.<sup>1</sup>

### *Intersectionality*

In 1989, Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term *Intersectionality*, which refers to how multiple social identities (race, ethnicity, gender identity, sexual identity, etc....) overlap and intersect. It asserts that people are often disadvantaged by multiple sources of oppression and each social identity does not exist independently of the other.<sup>2</sup>

According to Walby, Crenshaw makes a distinction between structural intersectionality and political intersectionality. Structural intersectionality is the intersection of “unequal social groups.”<sup>3</sup> Dennissen further explains that structural intersectionality focuses on the individual experiences of people with multiple identities or social categories.<sup>4</sup> While political intersectionality refers to the intersection of political agendas and projects.<sup>5</sup>

Given the subject matter of this project is political protest, for purposes of this paper, the use of the term *intersectionality* generally refers to “political intersectionality.”

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<sup>1</sup> Dana S. Dunn, “Understanding Ableism and Negative Reactions to Disability,” American Psychological Association (American Psychological Association, December 14, 2021), <https://www.apa.org/ed/precollege/psychology-teacher-network/introductory-psychology/ableism-negative-reactions-disability>.

<sup>2</sup> “FYS 101: Intersectionality,” Research Guides (Syracuse University Libraries, September 1, 2022), <https://researchguides.library.syr.edu/fys101/intersectionality>.

<sup>3</sup> Walby, S., Armstrong, J., & Strid, S. (2012). Intersectionality: Multiple Inequalities in Social Theory. *Sociology*, 46(2), 224–240. <https://doi-org.proxygw.wrlc.org/10.1177/0038038511416164>

<sup>4</sup> Marjolein Dennissen, Yvonne Benschop, and Marieke van den Brink, “Rethinking Diversity Management: An Intersectional Analysis of ...” (Organization Studies, 2020), <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0170840618800103>.

<sup>5</sup> Walby, S., Armstrong, J., & Strid, S. (2012). Intersectionality: Multiple Inequalities in Social Theory.

## Chapter 1: The Emergence of Disability Activism

Much of the documentary focuses on Capitol Crawl and the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act. Yet, like with any movement, disability activism has a complex history that would further contextualize the importance of the passage of the ADA.

### *The Ugly Laws and Early Activism*

The “Ugly Laws,” are exactly as its moniker suggests—a series of discriminatory laws that emerged in cities across the U.S., dating back as early as the 1860s that targeted the disabled community, among others. According to Schweik, the National Center for Law and the Handicapped was the first to use the shorthand, “Ugly Laws.” The term was subsequently used colloquially.<sup>6</sup> The laws were broad in scope and were used to disenfranchise “the poor, the homeless, vagrants, and those with visible disabilities.”<sup>7</sup> The first among the laws, which were primarily municipal statutes, was introduced by the City of San Francisco, Calif., on July 9, 1867.<sup>8</sup> According to a reprint of the San Francisco Ordinance, it prohibited street beggars and “certain persons” from appearing in the streets and public places. The term, “certain persons,” referred to “any person who is diseased, maimed, mutilated or in any way deformed, so as to be an unsightly or disgusting object or an improper person.”<sup>9</sup> The law’s verbiage was unequivocally intended to dehumanize people with disabilities and impoverished persons.

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<sup>6</sup> Schweik, Susan M.. *The Ugly Laws: Disability in Public*. New York, USA: New York University Press, 2009. <https://doi-org.proxygw.wrlc.org/10.18574/nyu/9780814708873.001.0001>

<sup>7</sup> S. Wilson, “Ugly Laws,” The Eugenics Archives, February 5, 2015, <https://eugenicsarchive.ca/discover/timeline/54d39e27f8a0ea4706000009>.

<sup>8</sup> S. Wilson, “Ugly Laws,” The Eugenics Archives, February 5, 2015, <https://eugenicsarchive.ca/discover/tree/54d39e27f8a0ea4706000009>.

<sup>9</sup> The San Francisco call. [volume] (San Francisco [Calif.]), 09 March 1895. Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers. Lib. of Congress. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1895-03-09/ed-1/seq-14/>.



Moreover, it streamlined several derogatory slurs and deemed that people with physical disabilities or visible disabilities were too “ugly” by societal standards to be in public.

Poverty and disability were inherently intertwined during the era of the “Ugly Laws,” approximately spanning the decades between the Civil War and World War I when they were enacted and actively enforced.<sup>10</sup> Schweik notes that the laws “illuminate the persistent nexus of disability and poverty at the heart of the ugly law, as well as illustrating the complex interweaving of economic interest, social policy, and cultural (including aesthetic) imagination at work in the production not just of the unsightly beggar but of the nineteenth-century American cityscape.”<sup>11</sup> The laws siloed the disabled community from the general populous and “othered” them. Those who were found in violation of the San Francisco ordinance would be subjected to a fine and imprisonment. However, they were not sent to a jail rather they were relegated to “almshouses,” otherwise known as “poorhouses.” The houses, which marked the early stages of the widespread institutionalization movement, predated most “insane asylums,” another oppressive device. But regardless of the form of institutionalization, both poorhouses and asylums served as a method to exasperate inequalities and inequities between the non-disabled and disabled. In many instances, the poorhouses classified people with disabilities as inmates, many of which were disabled women, and would subjugate them to forced labor and labor auctions<sup>12</sup> until the passage of the 14<sup>th</sup> amendment in 1865 which outlawed involuntary servitude.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> S. Wilson, “Ugly Laws,” The Eugenics Archives.

<sup>11</sup> Schweik, Susan M.. *The Ugly Laws: Disability in Public*.

<sup>12</sup> Deutsch, Albert. *The Mentally Ill in America: A History of Their Care and Treatment from Colonial Times*. New York Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 1937. <https://doi-org.proxygw.wrlc.org/10.7312/deut93794>

<sup>13</sup> David Wagner, “Poor Relief and the Almshouse,” Disability History Museum, <http://www.disabilitymuseum.org/dhm/edu/essay.html?id=60>.

The history of poorhouses is steeped in slavery-like practices and while the “Ugly Laws” passed in the years following emancipation, the draconian nature of the houses nonetheless continued, serving as a prison for those declared “ugly.” Landes explains that those who entered a poorhouse became a “non-person, out of sight, out of mind.”<sup>14</sup> The laws intended to pretend that disability did not exist; it even plays out today in the guise of the ableist notion that *disability* is a “bad word,” substituting it for terms like *differently-abled*.<sup>15</sup> The laws marked a societal desire for the erasure of disability.

The “Ugly Laws,” thrived on the disenfranchisement the institutionalization movement yielded. The codification of these ableist policies only spread in the years following 1867. One of note was the Chicago City Code of 1881, which mirrored the exact wording of the San Francisco ordinance and was the last of the “Ugly Laws” to be repealed in 1974.<sup>16</sup> Additional laws followed San Francisco and Chicago’s lead, often referring to people with visible disabilities as “disgusting objects.” The usage of such phrasing intentionally stripped people with disabilities of their personhood and agency—by that definition, they were an object, not a citizen entitled to constitutional rights. Per the eugenics archive, “Ugly Laws” were enacted in New Orleans (1879), Portland, Oregon (1881), Denver (1886), Lincoln (1889), Columbus (1894) and Omaha (1890), among others.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Judith Landes, “Poorhouses in America,” Torch Magazine, 2019, <http://www.ncsociology.org/torchmagazine/v931/landes.pdf>.

<sup>15</sup> Joan Brasher, “Disability Is Not a Dirty Word; 'Handi-Capable' Should Be Retired,” Vanderbilt University (Vanderbilt University, April 23, 2019), <https://news.vanderbilt.edu/2019/04/23/disability-is-not-a-dirty-word-handi-capable-should-be-retired/>.

<sup>16</sup> Kitty Cone, “Short History of the 504 Sit In,” Disability Rights Education & Defense Fund, n.d., <https://dredf.org/504-sit-in-20th-anniversary/short-history-of-the-504-sit-in/>.

<sup>17</sup> S. Wilson, “Ugly Laws,” The Eugenics Archives.

The trend of disenfranchisement continued throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, in opposition to such blatant discrimination, a budding disability activism movement began to rise. One person of note was Randolph Bourne (1886 – 1918)—a disability activist who experienced complications at birth and contracted tuberculosis at age four, leading to several physical disabilities—who wrote the influential essay, “The Handicapped – By one of them,” which was published in the *Atlantic* in 1911.<sup>18</sup> The essay was among the earlier instances in which the general public was exposed to disability through the perspective of a disabled person. Bourne’s essay was remarkable because it was published nearly 70 years before *ableism* was coined by feminists<sup>19</sup>; yet, as a member of the disabled community, he was able to articulate the complexities of an ableist society and internalized ableism. For example, he wrote:

The deformed man is always conscious that the world does not expect very much from him. And it takes him a long time to see in this a challenge instead of a firm pressing down to a low level of accomplishment. As a result, he does not expect very much of himself; he is timid in approaching people, and distrustful of his ability to persuade and convince. He becomes extraordinarily sensitive to other people's first impressions of him.<sup>20</sup>

Bourne was able to explain internalized ableism before the disability movement emerged. He explained how low societal expectations of people with disabilities can impact an individual’s agency and sense of self. Moreover, he described becoming “extraordinarily sensitive” to how

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<sup>18</sup> Christopher Reardon, “Randolph Bourne's 1911 Essay on Disability Shocked Society. but What's Changed since?,” *The Guardian* (Guardian News and Media, January 9, 2018), <https://www.theguardian.com/inequality/2018/jan/09/randolph-bournes-1911-essay-on-disability-shocked-society-but-whats-changed-since>.

<sup>19</sup> “Ableism,” Oxford Reference, n.d., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095344235>.

<sup>20</sup> Randolph Bourne, “‘The Handicapped -- By One of Them’,” Library collections: Document: Full text (Disability History Museum, September 1911), <https://www.disabilitymuseum.org/dhm/lib/detail.html?id=2009&page=all>.

people perceive him, which is especially notable because his piece was published when the “Ugly Laws” were still enforced. Aspects of his essay seemingly challenged the laws:

The things that the world deems hardest for the deformed man to bear are perhaps really the easiest of all. I can truthfully say, for instance, that I have never suffered so much as a pang from the interested comments on my personal appearance made by urchins in the street, nor from the curious looks of people in the street and public places. To ignore this vulgar curiosity is the simplest and easiest thing in the world.<sup>21</sup>

His message is evident; the world may categorize him as a “disgusting object” according to arbitrary laws, but he refuses to let societal beauty standards dictate his life. Being in the streets, in defiance of those laws, is as he said, the “easiest thing in the world.”<sup>22</sup> Bourne’s essay exposed the world to disability in a way that was unheard of at the time. It provided the perspective of a disabled individual in contrast to the widespread dehumanization of the disabled community and the mass institutionalization movement.

Another notable early disability activist was Helen Keller (1880 – 1968), who was both deaf and blind. Keller’s approach to disability activism was intersectional; although, this was prior to when the term was coined. Keller identified as a socialist and proclaimed ideas reminiscent of social constructionism—that knowledge, race, sex, gender, disability and other concepts are only real through social agreement, and do not in fact, exist.<sup>23</sup> For example, Keller—who often described herself as a “militant” suffragist—asserted that “The inferiority of

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Sydney Brown, “Social Constructionism (Video),” Khan Academy (Khan Academy, n.d.), <https://www.khanacademy.org/test-prep/mcat/society-and-culture/social-structures/v/social-constructionism>.

women is man-made.”<sup>24</sup> The thread of social constructionism and socialism was also present in her approach to disability activism. She extensively studied disability and discovered that once an individual becomes disabled, they are forgotten and become improvised as a result.<sup>25</sup> She concluded that the main cause of disability was industrialization, “our worst foes are ignorance, poverty, and the unconscious cruelty of our commercial society. These are the causes of blindness; these are the enemies which destroy the sight of children and workmen and undermine the health of mankind.” Through her analysis, she was therefore able to expose the complexities of disability to her expansive audience.

However, Keller was not without her flaws—significant flaws. The eugenics movement, which was practiced in the U.S. for much of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries before losing momentum following World War II,<sup>26</sup> led to the mass sterilization of people of color, as well as the LGBTQIA+ and disabled communities. A practice that would later be adopted by Nazis. Keller was among those who supported eugenics, “Our puny sentimentalism has caused us to forget that a human life is sacred only when it may be of some use to itself and the world.”<sup>27</sup> She also expressed that there should be “physicians’ juries for defective babies” to determine who would live and who would not.<sup>28</sup> Keller’s messaging about disability was intrinsically mixed: disability

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<sup>24</sup> Helen Keller, “Woman Suffrage: An After-Dinner Speech made by Helen Keller in Chicago, June eleventh, 1916, to the delegates of the new Woman’s Party,” Chicago, IL, June 11, 1916, Helen Keller Archives, “Speeches: 1916–1917,” Box 212, Folder 3.

<sup>25</sup> Keith Rosenthal, “The Politics of Helen Keller,” *Socialism and Disability* (International Socialist Review, n.d.), <https://isreview.org/issue/96/politics-helen-keller/index.html>.

<sup>26</sup> Teryn Bouche and Laura Rivard, “America’s Hidden History: The Eugenics Movement,” *Nature news* (Nature Publishing Group, September 18, 2014), <https://www.nature.com/scitable/forums/genetics-generation/america-s-hidden-history-the-eugenics-movement-123919444/>.

<sup>27</sup> Rob Baker, “Top Ten Unlikely and Surprising Eugenacists,” *Flashbak*, February 23, 2018, <https://flashbak.com/top-ten-unlikely-and-surprising-eugenacists-32300/>.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

is a construct; disability should be eliminated at birth. However, despite her involvement in eugenics, she reminded a prominent figure in the suffrage and disability movement.

Yet, early activism was not enough to propel disability rights into public discourse. For example, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which “prohibits employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex and national origin,” excluded people with disabilities.<sup>29</sup> This necessitated the disabled community to continue to gain momentum, leading to the rise of disability activism in the 1970s with the “Ugly Laws” serving as evidence of systematic discrimination.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> “Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,” US EEOC, n.d., <https://www.eeoc.gov/statutes/title-vii-civil-rights-act-1964>.

<sup>30</sup> S. Wilson, “Ugly Laws,” The Eugenics Archives.

## Chapter 2: Codifying the Americans with Disabilities Act

The passage of the ADA is of significant note as it is featured in the second half of the documentary. This section of the literature review focuses on the events and efforts of activists to secure their rights.

### *Atlantis Community, ADAPT and the Transportation Movement*

During WWII, the prevalence of asylums decreased due to staff shortages and underwent a rebranding as “psychopathic hospitals,” which were separate programs within general hospitals to treat mental illnesses. Now, the term “psychiatric hospitals” or “psychiatric care units” is more widely used and does not subject people with disabilities to the same inhuman conditions and forced institutionalization as its predecessors. By the 1950s, asylums were primarily phased out and replaced by a new system of nursing homes.<sup>31</sup> However, the nursing homes like poorhouses and asylums were not a sustainable solution and in 1974 a group of people with disabilities and their allies found that “the majority (some as young as twelve) who were living in nursing homes were virtually trapped in a stagnant and paternalistic prison where civil rights were blatantly violated, medical care was poor and impersonal, and individual initiative and self-direction were aggressively discouraged.”<sup>32</sup> From there, the group began their mission of “individual liberation” for the disabled community and formed the Atlantis Community, named after the lost city.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Patricia D’Antonio , “History of Psychiatric Hospitals,” Nursing, History, and Health Care (Penn Nursing, n.d.), <https://www.nursing.upenn.edu/nhhc/nurses-institutions-caring/history-of-psychiatric-hospitals/>.

<sup>32</sup> “History of Atlantis/Adapt” (Atlantis Community, Inc.), <https://atlantiscommunity.org/about-us/history-of-atlantis-adapt/>.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

Reverend Wade Blank (1940 – 1993), who was hired to work at Heritage House nursing home in 1971, described the house as oppressive and morgue-like.<sup>34</sup> In 1975, Blank kick-started the Atlantis Early Action project to phase people with disabilities out of nursing homes and into public housing units leased from the Denver Housing Authority in the Las Casitas Development. Initially, eight residents moved in, marking the beginning of the independent living community. Atlantis sought to assist disabled individuals in their personal goals through the creation of several different programs. However, equal housing access was not the only aspect of Atlantis, they sought to secure individual liberties and civil rights because those in the disabled community were often forced to attend segregated schools or “special” schools and were sent to work at sheltered workshops where they were given dismal pay (5 cents per hour).<sup>35</sup>

In 1983, ADAPT (American Disabled for Accessible Public Transit or American Disabled for Attendant Programs Today), was also founded by Blank. It was a public action group and a close Atlantis ally.<sup>36</sup> Today, ADAPT primarily focuses on equal housing access, but upon its inception, its goal was focused on accessible transportation and the ADA. According to the ADAPT museum records, the organization began at an October convention in Denver hosted by the American Public Transportation Association (APTA).<sup>37</sup> Leading up to the event, the organization released its first recruitment flyer. It detailed that its target audience was wheelchair

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<sup>34</sup> “History of Adapt's Founder Wade Blank,” TRPIL, n.d., <https://www.trpil.com/philosophy/ilhistory/historicalpeople/historyadaptwadeblank/>.

<sup>35</sup> “History of Atlantis/Adapt” (Atlantis Community, Inc.).

<sup>36</sup> “Story of Adapt,” Atlantis Community, Inc., January 31, 2021, <https://atlantiscommunity.org/about-us/who-we-are/story-of-adapt/>.

<sup>37</sup> Stephanie Thomas, “Chronology of ADAPT Actions 1,” ADAPT Museum (ADAPT, September 12, 2019), <https://adaptmuseum.net/gallery/picture.php?%2F1070%2Fcategory%2F70>.



users and that the event was their “chance to demand our right to board every public bus in the nation” and to have an “accessible bus system.”<sup>38</sup>

Much of ADAPT’s approach to accessibility mimicked previous protests and rebellions. For example, during their transportation campaign, their motto was “no taxation without transportation.”<sup>39</sup> This turn of phrase was inspired by the American Revolution’s slogan, “no taxation without representation.” By August of 1983, Denver’s Mayor, Federico Pena, signed a proclamation that recognized that there was technology available to make buses accessible such as wheelchair lifts. It also stated that “Offering only special transportation to disabled people further segregates and alienates them, underscoring the truth that "separate is not equal"<sup>40</sup> and that APTA had the authority to encourage its members to manufacture accessible transportation. It also proclaimed that APTA urge the federal government to reinstate the 504 regulation which would mandate that all public transportation be accessible.<sup>41</sup> The proclamation served as an early victory for ADAPT; however, the issue of section 504 remained a contentious issue for the organization.

The transportation campaign was marred by several complications. Section 504 was enacted in 1973 and was the first civil rights law for people with disabilities:

No otherwise qualified handicapped individual in the United States shall solely on the basis of his handicap, be excluded from the participation, be denied the benefits of, or be

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<sup>38</sup> “First Recruitment Poster/Flyer,” ADAPT the beginning with APTA, 1983 -1984 / ADAPT (171) (ADAPT Museum, July 11, 2013), <https://adaptmuseum.net/gallery/picture.php?%2F260%2Fcategory%2F10>.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.<sup>42</sup>

In short, any program that received federal funding, such as public transportation, cannot discriminate against or impede participation or access to federally funded programs due to a disability or disabilities. But despite being historic, 504 was weak because it did not define “disability” and lacked clear guidance for enforcement, leading to confusion. Eventually, the issue of 504 enforceability concluded in a conflict between the disabled community and APTA when it was overturned in federal court in 1980.<sup>43</sup> In the years that followed several disability rights groups campaigned for the reinstatement of 504, including the newly formed ADAPT organization.

ADAPT’s technique for protesting was modeled after Martin Luther King Jr.’s method of non-violence. For example, ADAPT members would physically block buses with their wheelchairs.<sup>44</sup> Blank even noted the similarities between the Civil Rights movement and the disability movement, “The black movement wanted to ride the buses equally.... That’s what the disability rights movement wants, exactly.”<sup>45</sup> Interestingly, this seemed to be a subtle nod to the growth of intersectional protest. However, despite ADAPT’s efforts, 504 was not reinstated until the passage of the ADA in 1990, but the organization still played a significant role in securing transportation rights.<sup>46</sup> For example, the court case *ADAPT v. Burnley* reached the U.S. third circuit court of appeals in April of 1989, one year before the passage of the ADA. In a 2-1 opinion, Judge Carol Los Mansmann found that the Department of Transportation failed to prove

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<sup>42</sup> Kitty Cone, “Short History of the 504 Sit In,” Disability Rights Education & Defense Fund, n.d.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> “History of Adapt's Founder Wade Blank,” TRPIL, n.d.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Kitty Cone, “Short History of the 504 Sit In,” Disability Rights Education & Defense Fund, n.d.

that a congressional mandate overstepped in “legislative intent” by requiring that future purchases of buses be wheelchair accessible and equipped with a lift.<sup>47</sup>

The court ordered the U.S. Transportation Department to rewrite a regulation allowing communities to offer alternative "paratransit" service, such as van rides, to the disabled. It said the 24-hour reservations that riders need to make for such services hinder spontaneous use of mass transit.<sup>48</sup>

This severed as a significant win on the part of ADAPT and signified a shift in opinion in the courts and congress regarding disability rights. The victory essentially acted as a precursor to the events that were to come in the next year.

### *Letters to Congress—Discrimination Diaries*

While ADAPT played a significant role in advancing disability rights, other grassroots movements contributed to the success of the ADA. The “discrimination diaries” is of note because it was a form of congressional testimony submitted by activist and co-founder of the American Association of People with Disabilities (AAPD), Justin Dart, detailing the discrimination people with disabilities across the country had to endure because there was limited legislation protecting their civil rights. Although upon submission, Dart said that “no document could truly demonstrate the impact of discrimination.”<sup>49</sup> Additional examples include Denise Karuth who testified in a discrimination diary presentation to Congress: "We are not asking for pity. We are not even asking for your sympathy. All we ask is that you make real the

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<sup>47</sup> “U.S. Requires Wheelchair Lifts on Transit Authority Buses,” ADAPT (612) (ADAPT Museum, July 12, 2013), <https://adaptmuseum.net/gallery/picture.php?%2F154%2Fcategory%2F5>.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> “Equality of Opportunity: The Making of the Americans with Disabilities Act,” NCD.gov (National Council on Disability, July 26, 1997), [https://www.ncd.gov/publications/1997/equality\\_of\\_Opportunity\\_The\\_Making\\_of\\_the\\_Americans\\_with\\_Disabilities\\_Act](https://www.ncd.gov/publications/1997/equality_of_Opportunity_The_Making_of_the_Americans_with_Disabilities_Act).

promises and opportunities that America strives to offer everyone."<sup>50</sup> The purpose of the testimony and diaries was to demonstrate to Congress the need for the ADA to become a law. However, codifying the ADA was a multiyear process that expanded beyond the discrimination diaries.

### *The Capitol Crawl and ADA*

The Capitol Crawl is a key protest that is featured in the documentary. On March 12, 1990, ADAPT organized the Wheels of Justice Campaign in Washington D.C., outside the White House before making their way to the steps of the Capitol.<sup>51</sup> They intended to lobby for the ADA in the House (it had already passed in the Senate on Sept. 7, 1989).<sup>52</sup> By some accounts, the crowd swelled to 700 protestors,<sup>53</sup> while others say it reached 1,000.<sup>54</sup> Upon reaching the Capitol, approximately “60 activists abandoned their crutches, wheelchairs, powerchairs and other mobility-assistance devices and began crawling up the 83 stone steps that lead to the Capitol.”<sup>55</sup> The purpose of the crawl was to show Congress how people with disabilities were being denied their rights to equal access to their representatives. They also wanted to visually demonstrate the barriers those with physical disabilities encounter daily. Among the crawlers was 8-year-old Jennifer Keelan-Chaffins whose early protest career was dedicated to the transportation campaign and ADA.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Alex Elliot, “Capitol Crawl to Access for All,” Department of Mental Health, April 29, 2022, <https://dmh.lacounty.gov/blog/2022/03/capitol-crawl-to-access-for-all/>.

<sup>52</sup> “Actions - S.933 - 101st Congress (1989-1990): Americans with Disabilities” Congress.gov, July 26, 1990, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/101st-congress/senate-bill/933/actions>.

<sup>53</sup> <http://tomolincollection.com/?p=1>

<sup>54</sup> Alex Elliot, “Capitol Crawl to Access for All,” Department of Mental Health.

<sup>55</sup> Stephen Kaufman, “They Abandoned Their Wheelchairs and Crawled up the Capitol Steps,” ShareAmerica, March 12, 2015, <https://share.america.gov/crawling-up-steps-demand-their-rights/>.

<sup>56</sup> Ref. documentary (12.14 – 13.31).

The image of the ADAPT members crawling up the steps is one of the most infamous images associated with the disability movement. In the days that followed, ADAPT lobbied in favor of the ADA. On March 13, 1990, House Speaker Rep. Thomas S. Foley, met with the protestors in the Capitol Rotunda (footage of this meeting is featured throughout the documentary). According to an archived Tampa Tribune article courtesy of the ADAPT museum, 75 demonstrators who chained their wheelchairs together were arrested by Capitol police.<sup>57</sup> Michael Winter was one of the demonstrators who was arrested. He recalled the process taking two to three hours before being sent to the Capitol jail and scheduled to appear before a judge later that evening. During his arraignment, Winter plead guilty, along with the other protesters, all of whom were given one year of probation. However, in an essay by Winter about the arrest, he said “I was the only one who was fined, because I held a job with significant income, and I was proud to “donate” \$100.00 to the cause of justice and equality.”<sup>58</sup>

Two months after the Capitol Crawl, the House passed the ADA on May 22, 1990, without objection. However, despite passing in both the House and the Senate, the ADA was not ready to be signed by President George H.W. Bush because the Senate disagreed with the House amendments adopted to the bill. As a result, the two chambers had to go to conference to reconcile their differences. The House and Senate agreed to the conference report 377 – 28 and 91 – 6 respectively. It was then signed into law (PL 101-336) on July 26, 1990.<sup>59</sup> The law subsequently reinstated the 504 regulation by establishing that public entities cannot deny access services due to an individual’s disability status. It also prohibited discrimination based on

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<sup>57</sup> “Demanding Their Rights,” Adapt (574) (ADAPT Museum, July 3, 2015), <https://adaptmuseum.net/gallery/picture.php?%2F121%2Fcategory%2F4>.

<sup>58</sup> Michael Winter, “1990 – Washington – Michael Winter,” adapt.org, July 9, 2017, <https://adapt.org/1990-washington-michael-winter/>.

<sup>59</sup> “Actions - S.933 - 101st Congress (1989-1990): Americans with Disabilities” Congress.gov.

disability status by “any employer, employment agency, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee.”<sup>60</sup>

This subject is more extensively covered in the documentary, including first-hand accounts of the event.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> “S.933 - Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 101st ... - Congress,” Congress.gov, July 26, 1990, <https://www.congress.gov/bill/101st-congress/senate-bill/933>.

<sup>61</sup> Ref. documentary (11.30 – 20.09).

### Chapter 3: Conclusion—The Rise of Intersectionality

This section explores the underlying theme of the documentary—the intersectionality of disability and feminism. As such, to avoid repetition of the subject material, this aspect of the literature review will briefly discuss key points of the two movements.

#### *The Quiet Growth of Intersectionality in the 90s*

Just as disability activism was beginning to come to the forefront of public discourse, the third wave feminism was seemingly retreating out of the public sphere. Or, at least, that was how it appeared according to public and media records. On June 29, 1998, *Time Magazine*, released an issue that posed the question: “Is feminism dead?”<sup>62</sup> It featured two articles; “Feminism! It’s All About Me!” by Ginia Bellafante<sup>63</sup>; and “Feminism: Girl Power” by Nadya Labi.<sup>64</sup> Bellafante described contemporary feminism in the 90s as “flighty,” noting that the movement was more like “pseudo-feminism.” By that, she meant the stereotypical “girl power” in which women believe can have any career they desire, including in male-dominated fields, while also falling short of advancing the movement forward. In short, Bellafante’s “pseudo-feminism” was only surface level: “feminism today is wed to the culture of celebrity and self-obsession.”<sup>65</sup> She criticized the movement’s lack of devotion to closing the pay gap because it had “devolved into the silly.”<sup>66</sup> Throughout the article, she discussed postfeminists that adopted a sex-positive attitude, while also shifting away from social action. The article itself implies that the sex-

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<sup>62</sup> “Time Magazine Cover: Is Feminism Dead? - June 29, 1998,” Time (Time Inc., June 29, 1998), <https://content.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19980629,00.html>.

<sup>63</sup> Ginia Bellafante, “Feminism: It’s All about Me!,” Time (Time Inc., June 29, 1998), <https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,988616,00.html>.

<sup>64</sup> Nadya Labi, “Feminism: Girl Power,” Time (Time Inc., June 29, 1998), <https://content.time.com/time/subscriber/article/0,33009,988643,00.html>.

<sup>65</sup> Ginia Bellafante, “Feminism: It’s All about Me!,” Time.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

positive approach of postfeminists was through the lens of the male gaze (i.e: the comedy show, *Ally McBeal*, featuring the protagonist fantasizing about her married ex; or artists Meredith Brooks and Alanis Morissette singing about break-ups). She asserted that this phenomenon was the result of Camille Paglia syndrome. She described Paglia's book, *Sexual Personae*, as a landmark novel that propelled feminism beyond the "ideology of victimhood," through its analysis of female sexuality as "humanity's greatest force." However, she stated that "The argument was powerful and full of merit, but deployed by lesser minds it quickly devolved into an excuse for media-hungry would-be feminists to share their adventures in the mall or in bed."<sup>67</sup> The takeaway of the article is one of instability, a power struggle between old and new feminists, and the misappropriation of feminist ideals about sex-positivity. Labi's article followed that same thread, describing feminist culture as "right-in-your-face."<sup>68</sup>

However, despite the criticism, that is not to say that feminism was "dead." Rather it was going through growing pains leading to the fourth wave of feminism in the early 2010s. During the 90s feminism did make significant strides, for example, when the court case, *Casey v. Planned Parenthood*, was set to go before the Supreme Court, pro-choice activists gathered in April of 1992 for the March for Women's Lives. According to Ostrow and Yaquinto, an estimated 500,000 protestors attended with several wielding the sign, "Pass the Freedom of Choice Act Now."<sup>69</sup> The court case was of significance because the state of Pennsylvania was seeking to limit access to abortion, including requiring married women seeking an abortion to

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Nadya Labi, "Feminism: Girl Power," Time.

<sup>69</sup> Ronald J. Ostrow and Marilyn Yaquinto, "Pro-Choice Rally Draws 500,000 : Abortion: Protesters in Nation's Capital Shift Their Focus from the Supreme Court to Candidates for Election in November.," Los Angeles Times (Los Angeles Times, April 6, 1992), <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-04-06-mn-422-story.html>.



sign a statement “indicating that she has notified her husband.”<sup>70</sup> This measure essentially attempted to strip bodily agency from those seeking an abortion.

The March for Women’s Lives was not the only protest in the 90s. There was also an LGBTQIA+ march in D.C. in 1993 and another one in 1994 in New York City. Later, in 1995, there was the Rally for Women’s Lives that protested domestic violence (in 1994 the Violence Against Women Act passed). Moreover, in 1995 there was the Million Man March in Washington followed by the Million Women March in Philadelphia in 1997 which advocated for justice and equality for the Black community.<sup>71</sup> These marches were just a few of the many marches of note in the 90s—including the Capitol Crawl. Arguably, the emergence of the marches suggests that while there was a perceived notion that feminism was fading into the background it was actually merging with other movements as part of a move toward intersectionality.

#### *A Turning Point: 2017 Women’s March*

While intersectionality was just emerging in the 90s, it came to the forefront of public discourse in 2017 after Donald Trump was elected. On January 21, 2017, the day after Trump’s inauguration at least half a million protestors descended on Washington in opposition to a president with a recorded history of misogyny, homophobia, transphobia, xenophobia, racism and ableism. The Women’s March was a mass movement of collection action across the country and the world. As the documentary explores, intersectionality was a significant aspect of the

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<sup>70</sup> “Planned Parenthood of Southeastern PA. V. Casey, 505 U.S. 833 (1992),” Justia Law, June 29, 1992, <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/505/833/>.

<sup>71</sup> “History of Marches and Mass Actions: National Organization for Women,” National Organization for Women -, September 4, 2015, <https://now.org/about/history/history-of-marches-and-mass-actions/>.

march.<sup>72</sup> It was also significant in the fact that it established accessibility guidelines and measures that protests often lack, according to anecdotal evidence.<sup>73</sup> As of the most recent

Women's March in October of 2022, following accessibility measures were in place:

- An ADA section will be located directly in front of the stage at Folger Park with a bike racked off chute connecting the area to the ADA Tent.
- All volunteers, marshalls, and members of the de-escalation team will be trained to provide general support for folks with disabilities. We will also have a specific volunteer crew to support participants with disabilities and give directional information. These specific volunteers will be marked off with a sticker.
- American Sign Language interpretation will be provided on the stage, and picture-in-picture of the interpreters will be shown on the North LED Screen.
- CART in English will be available on the South LED Screen.
- An ADA tent will be located at Freedom Plaza that has smell sensitivity masks, a generator dedicated to recharging chairs, water, snacks, dog poop bags, sunscreen, ear plugs, and other support items available. An ADA compatible porta potty will be located next to the tent. One ASL interpreter will be stationed there as well.
- ADA vans (25 people) will be available to transfer folks from the gathering location to the rally area. These vans will pick up passengers at Union Station (at Columbus Circle) and drop off passengers at the ADA section. The following route will be taken: \*\*Masks must be worn if passengers ride vans.\*\*
- Every area where porta-potties are located will also have ADA accessible porta-potties.
- All cable ramps that cross pedestrian rights of way will be ADA accessible.<sup>74</sup>

The continued inclusion of accessibility measures indicates that the Women's March organizers continue to appreciate the importance of intersectional protest along with the voices of the

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<sup>72</sup> Ref. documentary (20.11 – 25.59).

<sup>73</sup> Ref. documentary (1.03 – 7.18).

<sup>74</sup> "Women's Wave 2022 March in D.C.," Women's March, n.d., <https://www.womensmarch.com/March-2022-DC>.

disabled community even five years later, suggesting that, at least in terms of the fourth wave of feminism, intersectionality will persist.

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## Appendices

**VO:** It was the largest single day protest in U.S. history. On January 21st, 2017, the day after Donald J. Trump was inaugurated as president, nearly half a million women and allies set out to express their outrage in Washington, D.C. alone. Other protests took place around the U.S. and in cities across the world. But some protesters were not just advocating for women's rights. It was a movement composed of many social groups and races that set out to highlight existing inequalities.

For many, Trump represented a divisive leader with his oppressive rhetoric a man who demonized and allegedly abused women. A man who made derogatory statements about immigrants. A climate change denier. And a man who did not hold the qualities of a true leader.

The march and its participants set out to become trailblazers for racial equity, immigration reform, reproductive rights, LGBTQIA + rights and disability rights.

Mia Ives-Rublee, the national organizer and founder of the Disability Caucus for the Women's March, played an integral role in ensuring the historic march was accessible to the disabled community.

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**Ives-Rublee:** I think every single person knew that they had to do something to fuel the sort of anger that they were feeling and the disheartenment that they were feeling.

You know, the Women's March helped sort of rebuild sort of the large scale protests that had happened right during the Great Recession and then also during the Civil Rights movement.

So I think it sort of helped provide that spark that we needed to sort of fight back against political folks who really just didn't care about anything other than themselves. And so I think that's what is amazing to me is that and I don't think we really understood the type of impact it would have but we knew that we had to do something.

The caucus was made up of a bunch of my friends and then sort of expanded out to the greater so disability community. And so we met together and we discussed what we wanted to see in terms of accessibility and accommodations, and then went back to the national organizers and said, you know, here's our demands, here's what we need to see.

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**VO:** The disabled community accounts for approximately 25% of the US adult population, yet their needs are often overlooked and many feel as if they are detached from public life, including marches which can be physically inaccessible.

But without the involvement of the disabled community their concerns about a president who disregards disability rights and publicly mocked a disabled New York Times reporter, Serge Kovalski, grew exponentially and they wanted to ensure their participation and voices would be heard.

So those within the disabled community demanded the right to march, Ives-Rublee said that people with disabilities expressed concerns about the accessibility of the event.

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**Ives-Rublee:** I started seeing some comments online on the official Facebook account and on other accounts asking about accessibility issues at the at the march. And so I was just like, well, you know, I've been to two other rallies, I've been to other events, and totally understand in terms of being worried about accessibility and all of that.

And so really was just like, you know, why aren't places doing better in terms of accessibility?

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**VO:** This concern motivated her to reach out to organizers to get involved in planning the march, leading to the creation of the caucus.

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**Ives-Rublee:** I was able to finally get to somebody and they sent me an email back and said that they wanted to chat with me. And so I talked to them about my own experiences and what I thought I could bring to the table. And eventually they were like, yeah, um, you know, we'll try and get you connected with some other folks who are actually making some of the decisions, and let's see where we go from there.

And that's sort of how I sort of accidentally tripped into something. It was just like seeing the need and and deciding to take action.

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**VO:** This led to the development of a ground team of volunteers to provide American Sign Language support and a tent that would be compliant with the standards established by the Americans with Disabilities Act.

The ADA could hold around 100 people, but the scope of the march far exceeded the number of free seats.

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**Ives-Rublee:** You know, our ADA seating section got full pretty, pretty rapidly, and then those people got kind of trapped in that area. And so that was a real issue.

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**VO:** The inclusion of disabled voices at the planning table for the Women's March led to accommodations that otherwise would not have been considered.

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**Ives-Rublee:** And that was sort of one of the first times that we really saw deaf certified interpreters on...on a main stage. And that that was due to a lot of organization by the volunteers and really helping me push back to the Women's March organizers and stating that this was a necessity and that this was part of the equity process.

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**VO:** However, even with such extensive planning, there were still issues and basic needs that couldn't be arranged, such as having access to equipment like walkie talkies.

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**Ives-Rublee:** So it meant that we couldn't provide as many of the services as we wanted to. You know, that was very, very, very frustrating. Another thing that was not working was live captioning and so that was really unfortunate as well and definitely something that we got a lot of comments on.

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**VO:** Despite the issues, Ives-Rublee believes it was the first step in keeping movements like the Women's March open for the disabled community.

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**Ives-Rublee:** I think it's about accessibility and inclusion because I think so many people just stop at the accessibility point. And so I think that movements have to understand where they've gone wrong and and acknowledging that. And I think particularly movement leaders have to be willing to understand their role in pushing out the importance of including disabled people and including them means making things accessible includes, you know, a bunch of other things, but that's definitely part of it.

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**VO:** The inclusion aspect of the Women's March made it unique and a model for future marches.

The disability caucus was not the only inclusive accessibility measure that was adopted. The Women's March partnered with the Disability March, which was an online blog that allowed people with disabilities who are unable to attend the protest to post personal essays.

Sonya Huber is the founder of the Disability March. She created the site because of her own experience with disability.

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**Huber:** After the election of 2016, we were sort of all panicked. And there was, of course, the debate online about a Women's March that was sort of quickly thrown together. And at that time, I've had rheumatoid arthritis—I was diagnosed in 2011, and so I knew that I couldn't personally participate. And a big mobilization to D.C. It's just not something my body can handle.

My thought at first was a very, very small project. I was thinking of it as sort of self-written features for a small blog that I would put up. So I opened a WordPress site and I contacted maybe 30 friends and said, You know, we'd like to do a little profiles and we'll make it like it's a march.

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**VO:** Her idea to build a blog for those like her who cannot physically participate in the march grew from 30 to several thousand.

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**Huber:** By the week before the actual Women's March, we just had thousands and thousands of entries, so yeah, it came together sort of really surprisingly and kind of at a grassroots level in response to political pressures at the time.

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**VO:** Like the Women's March, the Disability March seemingly grew and attention on its own.

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**Huber:** I shared on social media and invited other folks who were being featured to share, and so I think it was it was sort of a viral thing that happened. And I think I mean, I think one of the reasons why it was so attractive to people to participate was that people themselves could completely choose the text that they wanted to write, the photos that they wanted to send in.

And we had some really long entries. So I think people were interested in the idea of disabled people being visible. And then also, you know, a lot of us who are really worried that the Affordable Care Act was going to be attacked and so that was part of the the real urgency, among many other issues.

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**VO:** The Disability March worked closely with Ives-Rublee and the Disability Caucus. But as Huber noted, it was a grassroots movement composed of her team.

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**Huber:** I reached out to two friends of mine first, both writers who are also disabled and just, you know, asked if they would spread the word among their friends. And so we were sort of the core team and I had thought, you know, we'll do a posting a week or a couple every other day.

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**VO:** As the influx of submissions grew. Huber eventually set up a Gmail, Facebook and Twitter account.

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**Huber:** We ended up having a core of 20 who were responsible for the posting, and then we had another five or six who kind of jumped in to help moderate the Facebook group and to just answer questions. And then we had other folks who were like volunteering to try and upgrade the site to make it easier for people to send in their info.

It was sort of like like a house fire--people just jumped in when it turned out that it was getting so big.

By the time the day of the Women's March, we were just working 12 hour days, just editing and posting and editing and posting. It was just unlike anything I've ever experienced. Yeah.

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**Stand-up:** While the Women's March created accessibility measures that serve as a model for other protests, the original basis for accessibility began here in 1990, when disability activists gathered for the Capitol Crawl, which led to the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act.

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**VO:** There are 83 stone steps leading to the Capitol. Members of the disabled community crawled up each one to show how the Capitol is physically inaccessible to them and therefore a breach in their constitutional rights because it prevents them from reaching their representative and equally participating in American democracy.

One of the surviving images of the Capitol crawl is of eight year old Jennifer Keelan-Chaffins crawling up the steps of the Capitol.

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**Keelan-Chaffins:** And the purpose of the Capitol crawl was to show Congress what it was like for people with disabilities when we were being confronted with barriers.

It was a visual demonstration to show Congress why it was important to pass the ADA and finally give us our Civil Rights and finally stop denying us access. It was the act of showing Congress, physically, showing them crawling up those steps.

That--and I can I can almost say this with certainty that when people were watching this, especially other kids with disabilities and and everybody else when they were watching this, I almost can guarantee you that they were feeling the exact same thing that we were. We brought them into that moment. We showed them how important this was.

And so, yeah, I'm I'm very, very proud of my involvement in the Capitol Crawl for that reason.

I felt exhilarated. It felt like freedom. I felt empowered.

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**VO:** The crawl was organized by ADAPT, American Disabled for Attendant Programs Today or American Disabled for Access Public Transit as it was known in 1990. One of the major issues for the organization at the time was ensuring that public transportation had wheelchair lifts. Once the organization found success in their public transportation campaign, they moved on to the ADA.

Lilibeth Navarro was a member of ADAPT and a prominent disability activist who has been arrested approximately 40 times for participating in protest and using nonviolent tactics inspired by Martin Luther King Jr.

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**Navarro:** We would go limp, we would go quiet as long as we were successfully able to convey the statement saying we we will ride the bus too. Just like Rosa Parks, who insisted on riding the bus--not relegated to the back, so we couldn't even get the bus. So most of what we were doing, what were, nonviolent, spontaneous actions like getting off our wheelchairs and throwing our bodies on the. In the front of the bus, you know, things like that.

So we after eight years, we were able to--we won the transit campaign because it became part of the Americans with Disabilities Act. So when you know, so that's that cascaded to the the steps of the Capitol steps.

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**VO:** Navarro, like Keelan-Chaffins was at the crawl.

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**Navarro:** So when we were in Congress, it was just second nature.

We get out of our chair to demonstrate, you know, what it took to get to Congress and petitioned for our civil rights, which were not included even in the Civil Rights Act of 1960s. So all types of minorities were covered. But we were left out. And so we had to fight for our own civil rights legislation.

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**VO:** As an experienced activist, Navarro wanted to make her experience known. So while she was unable to crawl up the steps, she still participated in the protest.

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**Navarro:** The most I could do was be there at the foot of the stairs. And I'm fiercely independent and I don't like people carrying me and handling my body, I, I would do everything short of that. So what I did, I would just go to the edge of my chair and loud even and and yell even louder or sing. So I made sure I made as much noise and attention, call attention to the issue as much as everybody else so that we were all one with the same message.

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**VO:** Navarro described the act of crawling up the steps as spontaneous.

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**Navarro:** When people decided to do it one or two or three and four altogether, and then just about all who could do it decided to do it. So it was a very dramatic moment. And that was it was very, very characteristic of most of our political actions up till that time when we would descend on the city.

It was a picture that really quite opposite, you know, the picture of a dependent person with a disability relegated to a corner and sitting in a chair with somebody pushing the chair. Well, that wasn't the that wasn't the picture we were leaving. We were leaving a picture of an empower, empowered person getting out of their chair, yelling about their civil rights and demanding it and carrying banners and getting arrested.

It was so out of character. It was a shock to the to the regular public.

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**VO:** The shock factor is something that Keelan-Chaffins also describes, but unlike Navarro, she and her mother were present at a strategy meeting the night prior to plan the crawl. So the decision to go up seemed to both be impromptu and pre-planned for some, those who wanted to participate in the crawl wore bandannas.

Keelan-Chaffins was one of the protesters with a bandana, but she had to fight to get one.

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**Keelan-Chaffins:** Some of the adult organizers didn't want me to do the Capitol Crawl, so they did try to discourage me from participating. They did this for two reasons.

One was because I was a child and they thought that it would be too difficult for me to do the crawl because I was a child. The second was because they thought that an image of doing the image of a child doing the Capitol crawl would send a message of pity rather than empowerment.

But I was like, I need to do this to represent my generation. I need to do this to show how you know, how we are strong and we are powerful and and we deserve to be treated the same as everybody else. And so, you know, I was determined to to show that.

And that's why I'm I'm quite famous for saying: "I'll take all night if I have to."

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**B-Roll:** I'll take all night if I have to!

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**Keelan-Chaffins:** I meant that because I wanted to show the public and I wanted to show everyone that just because I was a child, that it didn't mean that...that I needed to be pitied. This was, for me, a representation of empowerment.

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**VO:** In 1989, just one year prior to the crawl, Kimberlé William Crenshaw coined the term intersectionality, which recognizes that a person has many social categories like race, sex, disability, age and more that impacts their individual experiences. During the crawl, both

Keelan-Chaffins and Navarro were motivated by their multiple identities, marking an emergence of a new wave of intersectional activism.

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**Keelan-Chaffins:** The primary movement for me would be the disability rights movement, but we we have been working with not just the disability rights movement. We were working with the Black Panthers, we had other movements working with us because, you know, that's part of that intersectionality. One of the one of the lessons that was taught to me was we're stronger when we're together, when our voices are together rather than when we're apart. And it's those common experiences that give us our strength.

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**Navarro:** I come from a different culture, I'm Asian, and I was raised a certain way. So I have my set of beliefs and I operate best....when I'm at.... because I've accepted certain things to be basic for me. And I'm happy with that because I...I haven't yet exhausted the reality of who I am and why I was born or I was raised this way. It's I think that's a life long journey of self-discovery.

So but among my...my peers, there was there was maybe not as open as now, but there was a freedom of expression of who they are without any apologies. You know, I...I saw and felt who they are and how they believe believed. So for me, that was an expression of their intersectionality. I saw who they were hanging out with, who they had deep relationships with. How they they conducted themselves, you know, and but over and above that, the beauty of it all was that we all got along.

I mean there was a common thread that held us together.

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**VO:** That thread has made its way to the fourth wave of feminism where people can be more than just one thing. It was the motivating factor for the Women and disability march.

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**Huber:** If we don't choose things to fight for that are actually representative of the full range of humanity, we're not going to win. Like, I really believe that any goal that we have that doesn't take into account race, ethnicity, disability, sexual preference is, is not a good goal to organize around.

And I think that intersection--an intersectional view of activism is also the only way that we're really going to get people motivated and involved, because people always choose how to get involved with a movement based on whether it's going to really affect their lives.

Right. And all of these factors affect our lives so deeply that we have to we have to have them always at the forefront.

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**Ives-Ruble:** I think that continuing to build the next generation of activists to better understand the mistakes that we made. And to give them the tools that they need to be successful and working in collaboration with other groups and educating other movements on how disability affects and impacts the issues that they're working on. So, you know, I think a lot of us have



been you know, sort of working down to our buns to to try and try and provide that next sort of stepping stone.

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**VO:** Nearly five years later, the Women's March continues. The recent 2022 March in October indicated that feminist and disability activists continue to work together. The march featured a tribute to the disabled community and a cry for inclusivity.

Throughout the performances, and ASL interpreter could be seen on stage and received a standing ovation by the performers, along with other accessibility measures like ADA seating and a tent. But what was most evident was that the recent reversal of Roe v Wade and ongoing attacks on abortion served as a resurgence for the movement.

The message was clear Women's rights, disability rights and other civil rights are human rights.