ARTICLE

ROOTS OF THE MOVEMENT THAT PRODUCED THE ADA

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The disability movement that produced the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA) gelled in the mid-1970s.[1] The movement was spawned by a confluence of events and other social movements. One might say the disability movement was the product of the 1960s social revolution that also prompted the anti-war movement, the women's movement, and Ralph Nader's consumerism movement. The disability movement, like the others, was also inspired by the civil rights movement and, ultimately, the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[2]

I was fifteen years old when President Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act.[3] In Alva, the small farming community in northwestern Oklahoma where I lived, there were no speeches, picnics, fireworks, or celebrations to mark the occasion. Life went on as usual. Of course, I watched the television news with my family and saw that President Johnson had enacted the law. I recall my mother and father saying that they hoped that this step would ease tensions in the South. For

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[1] Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, 42 U.S.C. §§ 12101–12213 (2012), *available at* http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/history/35th/thelaw/ada.html.

[2] Civil Rights Act of 1964, Pub. L. No. 88-352, 78 Stat. 241 (codified as amended in scattered sections of 2 U.S.C., 28 U.S.C., and 42 U.S.C. (2012)), *available at* https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/CivilRightsActOf1964.pdf.

[3] *Johnson's Address on Civil Rights Bill*, N.Y. TIMES, July 3, 1964, http://www.nytimes.com/1964/07/03/johnsons-address-on-civil-rights-bill.html?_r=0; Tom Wicker, *Johnson Bestows Pens Used on Bill*, N.Y. TIMES, July 3, 1964, http://www.nytimes.com/1964/07/03/johson-bestows-pens-used-on-bill.html.

months prior to the bill signing, television news reports covered a steady stream of protest marches and occasional violence associated with the protests.[4] These activities seemed foreign and very far away to us. There was no racial tension or conflicts between black people and white people in my town. In fact, there were no African-Americans living or working there.

Even though no black people lived or worked in Alva, there were a number of Hispanic families living in the town. Some of my schoolmates were Hispanic, and at least two of my teachers were Hispanic. We learned and practiced Spanish in school, beginning in the fifth grade. As far as I could tell, our community was race neutral, and most of my friends and their families understood that inclusion was preferable to segregation. Attitudes about race in the community may have been partly shaped by the reality that most of the influential, older people who lived there were the children or grandchildren of European immigrants, middle or lower class farmers who left their homelands to escape religious and class-based discrimination in the nineteenth century. In middle school, I memorized the Declaration of Independence and the Gettysburg Address. I memorized Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech in my first year of high school.

Not all of us who grew up during the 1960s were "activists" in the true sense of the word. Most of the "action" was in other parts of the country, not in Oklahoma, Kansas, Iowa, or other mostly rural states. Nevertheless, as a disc jockey at the local broadcast radio station (KALV, 1430 AM), most of the songs I played when I worked there between 1965 and 1967 could be classified as revolution folk songs and rock ballads. Barry McGuire warned we were on the "Eve of Destruction";[5] Bob Dylan asked, "How many times must the cannon balls fly before they're forever banned?";[6] Peter, Paul, and Mary serenaded us with a stirring call to action, "This Land Is Your Land, This Land Is My Land";[7] and Simon and Garfunkel summoned our voices in the classic folk-rock anthem, "The Sounds of Silence."[8] And, while

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[4] *See Civil Rights Act*, HISTORY, http://www.history.com/topics/black-history/civil-rights-act/videos/civil-rights-act-of-1964 (last visited Mar. 3, 2015) (showing clips of the riot videos during this time).

[5] BARRY MCGUIRE, EVE OF DESTRUCTION (Dunhill Records 1965), *available at* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qfZVu0alU0I.

[6] BOB DYLAN, BLOWIN' IN THE WIND (Colombia Recording Studio 1962), *available at* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rqWX9pt82NY.

[7] PETER, PAUL, AND MARY, THIS LAND IS YOUR LAND (Warner Brothers 1962), *available at* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BGsz0eV-Ckk.

[8] SIMON & GARFUNKEL, THE SOUNDS OF SILENCE (Colombia 1964), *available at* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4zLfCnGVeL4.

the flower children in San Francisco and the hippies at Woodstock may have seemed far away, killings of anti-war protesters, like those at Kent State in Ohio,[9] might have happened at any of the several nearby colleges at which students engaged in anti-war protests.

Everyone who grew up during the 1960s, regardless of whether they were from the conservative Midwest, the animated West Coast, or anywhere else, was affected by the post-World War II social milieu. Citizens felt they could express themselves more freely than they felt they could during wartime, and the citizens who felt that the most were those who were not even alive during World War II. Thus, my generation, the baby boom generation and the children of the 1960s, became the nation's new wave of social activists. We expressed ourselves by protesting about segregation[10] and about the war in Vietnam.[11] And, later, we rallied on behalf of equal rights for women,[12] and we identified with Ralph Nader's consumer rights platform.[13]

One of the reasons people hated the war in Vietnam was the fact that it produced thousands of young men with disabilities—more than any war in history before it.[14] This was partly a result of the weaponry and paramilitary strategies that were used in the conflict. It was also a result of giant leaps in medicine that enabled people with the most severe, traumatic injuries to be stabilized and maintained despite severed spinal cords, battered skulls, and other profound, life-threatening injuries. The revolutionary new medicines and surgical approaches that saved lives on the battlefield also saved countless civilian lives and produced thousands more people with disabilities to join those returning from Vietnam.[15]

Together, all these dynamics laid the groundwork for the seemingly spontaneous eruption of the disability movement in

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[9] Jerry M. Lewis & Thomas R. Hensley, *The May 4 Shootings at Kent State University: The Search for Historical Accuracy*, 34 OHIO COUNS. FOR SOC. STUD. REV. 1, 9–21 (1998).

[10] CLAYBORNE CARSON, IN STRUGGLE: SNCC AND THE BLACK AWAKENING OF THE 1960S 14 (1995).

[11] AMERICA IN REVOLT DURING THE 1960S AND 1970S, at 123 (Rodney P. Carlisle & J. Geoffrey Godson eds., 2008).

[12] L. Marlene Wood, *The Women's Movement*, LEARN NC, http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-postwar/6055 (last visited Mar. 3, 2015).

[13] DAVID EDWARD O'CONNOR, THE BASICS OF ECONOMICS 153 (2004).

[14] Marshal Hanson & Scott Beaton, *Vietnam War: Facts, Stats, & Myths*, US WINGS, http://www.uswings.com/about-us-wings/vietnam-war-facts/ (last visited Mar. 3, 2015) (stating that 75,000 Vietnam veterans were severely disabled and that amputations were 300% higher than World War II).

[15] JAMES P. COLE, ADVOCATE GOOD SAMARITAN HOSPITAL, TRAUMA 1 ALERT 2, *available at* http://www.advocatehealth.com/gsam/documents/newsletter/fall2008.pdf (recognizing the role that the helicopter played in improving response time).

the early 1970s. The movement was first manifested by a series of uncoordinated individual actions in communities around the country. In Berkeley, California, Ed Roberts, a polio survivor and wheelchair user who would later become Director of Rehabilitation for the State of California, wanted to live in a residence hall at the University of California at Berkeley but was prevented from doing so because of his disability.[16] He protested vehemently and provisions were ultimately made for him to live in a converted campus health center.[17] The seeds of his protest produced the Center for Independent Living in Berkeley and the 504 protests in San Francisco.[18] At the University of Illinois, Fred Fay, a quadriplegic who would later be an advisor to President Bill Clinton and a confidant of disability icon Justin Dart, Jr., joined fellow students with disabilities to argue that the University of Illinois should be more accessible.[19] Fred and his colleagues, along with an activist faculty member, Tim Nugent, pioneered a model, campus-wide program of accessibility and disability enlightenment.[20] In New York, Judy Heumann, a polio survivor who used a wheelchair, was denied a teaching job because the school at which she applied to teach said she would not be able to lift a fallen child off the floor from her wheelchair, if necessary.[21] Judy never got her teaching job, but she later became U.S. Assistant Secretary of Education.[22] Evan Kemp, an attorney who would later be appointed chairperson of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, was denied several dozen jobs after graduating from law school because he was disabled and use a wheelchair.[23]

Less than a year after my neck was broken in an automobile crash, Oral Roberts University rejected my application for admittance to the school because, "You indicated on your application you used a wheelchair for mobility. Therefore your

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[16] JOAN LEE, ED ROBERTS, HIS LIFE AND HIS LEGACY 1, *available at* http://www.wid.org/about-wid/booklet%20with%20speech.pdf (last visited Mar. 3, 2015).

[17] *Id.*

[18] *Id.*

[19] Elaine Woo, *Frederick A. Fay Dies at 66; Advocate for Rights of the Disabled*, L.A. TIMES, Sept. 4, 2011, http://articles.latimes.com/2011/sep/04/local/la-me-frederick-fay-20110904.

[20] RICHARD VERVILLE, WAR, POLITICS, AND PHILANTHROPY: THE HISTORY OF REHABILITATION MEDICINE 196 (2009).

[21] Sarah A. Hall, *Women in History—Judy Heumann: Giving Voice and Creating Change*, 6 J. WOMEN EDUC. LEADERSHIP 235, 235 (2008), *available at* http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1058&context=jwel.

[22] *Id.* at 236.

[23] Robert Thomas, Jr., *Evan J. Kemp Jr., 60, Champion of Disabled*, N.Y. TIMES, Aug. 14 1997, http://www.nytimes.com/1997/08/14/us/evan-j-kemp-jr-60-champion-of-disabled.html.

application was denied." Our experiences were replicated in similar cases affecting thousands of people with many types of disabilities, as a new wave of people with disabilities tried to integrate or reintegrate themselves into society.

Having grown up during the 1960s and having observed a series of contemporary social movements, those of us who were affected by overt discrimination behaved in what, retrospectively, would seem to be a quite natural way. First, we talked about our dilemmas, and we reached out to other people who had experienced the same kind of rejection. Then, we organized: first in informal clubs and discussion groups and, then, in advocacy groups with articles of incorporation that included stated missions and goals. Our mission was to achieve full access and full inclusion in society, and our goals involved legislation and regulation.

By asserting ourselves and organizing other people with disabilities who had also experienced firsthand discrimination and disenfranchisement, we effectively changed the culture-based disability paradigm from one of classical paternalism to one of enlightened self-advocacy. The new wave of disability advocates who emerged in the 1970s rejected the iconic image of an aging person with a pathetic expression sitting in a wheelchair with a blanket over his or her legs. We rejected the emotion laden, pity driven fundraising strategies of charitable organizations like Easter Seals,[24] an organization that would have you believe that the purchase of a lily from the cabinet next to the checkout line at a dime store, drugstore, or restaurant would buy a prosthesis or a wheelchair for a child who needed one. We boycotted and engaged in public protests about paternalistic campaigns such as the Muscular Dystrophy Association Telethon, an annual Labor Day pity-fest that raised millions of dollars by projecting images of Jerry Lewis, the renowned comedian, crying nonstop for forty-eight hours as he blubbered about poor, helpless children with disabilities for whom a few donated dollars might buy a smile or possibly even a cure for their curse.[25]

While local disability organizations and independent living centers run by people with disabilities were springing up in communities across the United States, there was no identifiable national presence of the disability movement until about 1974. In

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[24] EASTER SEALS DISABILITY SERVICES, http://www.easterseals.com/ (last visited Mar. 3, 2015).

[25] *See Jerry Lewis Completes Run as MDA National Chairman,* MDA, http://mda.org/media/press-releases/jerry-lewis-completes-run-mda-national-chairman (last visited Mar. 3, 2015) (stating Jerry Lewis hosted for over half a century).

that year, Fred Fay, who was then a young professor of rehabilitation at Tufts University, invited a group of about twenty advocates from various locales around the country to Boston to discuss the prospect of forming a national advocacy organization for people with disabilities.[26] Because Fred had heard that I was starting an independent living center and a disability advocacy organization in Houston, he called to interview me and, then, to invite me to the meeting. In addition to me, the group included Ed Roberts and Judy Heumann, whom I mentioned above. Also notable in the group were Dianne Latin, a woman with paraplegia who was employed by the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped (PCEH),[27] and Eunice Fiorito, a blind individual who had just been appointed Director of New York City's Mayor's Office on Disability, the first such office in any city.[28]

In my recollection, the meeting in Boston was highlighted by a soliloquy by Ed Roberts during which he suggested that people with disabilities should be leading any and all organizations that provided services to people with disabilities. It was obvious that Ed had given considerable thought to this proposition. He described in great detail how, in his opinion, disability service organizations and vocational rehabilitation agencies were being run, and he theorized that low expectations and lack of understanding of clients were the products of poorly trained providers who were being led by people he described as "elitist, able-bodied, charity czars." He resolved that the solution to this obviously flawed system was for people with disabilities to "take over" these organizations and "run them the way they should be run." Ed even described a strategy that he was planning to employ to "assume control" of the Goodwill organization in Oakland. The strategy was to get people with disabilities elected to the board of directors of the local not-for-profit organization chapter. Then, the board would fire the current Chief Executive Officer (CEO) and employ, in his place, a person with a disability. In turn, the new CEO would employ people with disabilities to work with and retrain the existing staff. Ed went on to speculate that if this scenario were repeated in multiple cities in which the national Goodwill association had affiliates, there would soon be enough disability-run affiliates to "overthrow" the national

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[26] VALERIE LEITER, THEIR TIME HAS COME: YOUTH WITH DISABILITIES ON THE CUSP OF ADULTHOOD 22 (2012).

[27] NAT'L COUNCIL ON DISABILITY, EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY: THE MAKING OF THE AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT 14 (2010), *available at* http://0-files.eric.ed.gov.opac.msmc.edu/fulltext/ED512697.pdf.

[28] RICHARD SCOTCH, FROM GOOD WILL TO CIVIL RIGHTS: TRANSFORMING FEDERAL DISABILITY POLICY 56 (2d ed. 2001).

organization and install leaders with disabilities at that level as well. Once that happened, the mission of the national organization and all its affiliates could be directed toward advocacy and the promotion of self-help, independent living style services.

Ed's provocative rant epitomized the kind of "radical ideas" that were tossed around at the Boston meeting. After three days of high-energy discussions, the group concluded that there was a clear need for a national organization that would serve as a platform for issues development, an organizing structure for local groups, and a collective voice for the new disability movement.

We envisioned the new organization to be a catalyst for unity among the disability community, helping to meld the interests and align the strategies of extant disability-specific or single-disability membership organizations like the Paralyzed Veterans of America (PVA)[29] or the National Association of the Deaf (NAD)[30]. We described our new group as a national cross-disability advocacy organization, connoting our vision of people with different types of disabilities working together to achieve common transformational objectives. Indeed, our goal early on was to literally transform the social, economic, political, and physical environments to remove barriers to equality and independence for all people with disabilities. It was not a vision crafted in a moment of whimsy nor one meant to be cavalier. Neither was it one that we expected to be easily achieved. It was a vision born of great passion and one to which we were utterly committed.

Near the end of the meeting, Dianne Latin pointed out that the PCEH would soon host a large, national meeting in Washington, D.C. She suggested that the group might meet again then, and, if we so chose, she would reserve space for us at the meeting venue (at the committee's expense). Several people did not like this suggestion because the President's Committee was regarded, like other prominent disability organizations, as being paternalistic and "old school." Others argued that a meeting in the very near future was a good idea and that, by meeting in conjunction with the President's Committee, some of us could get our travel to the meeting sponsored. Somebody even made the point that while he might regard us as Young Turks, Committee Chairman Harold Russell, a World War II veteran and Academy Award winning actor, was a double arm amputee

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[29] PARALYZED VETERANS OF AMERICAN, http://www.pva.org/site/c.ajIRK9NJLcJ2E/b.6305401/k.27D1/Paralyzed_Veterans_of_America.htm (last visited Mar. 3, 2015).

[30] NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE DEAF, http://nad.org/ (last visited Mar. 3, 2015).

and, therefore, one of us.[31] Finally, it was agreed that a meeting to form a national organization to be called the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities (ACCD)[32] would be held in Washington, D.C. in conjunction with the meeting of the PCEH.

In the weeks between the Boston meeting and the PCEH meeting, a self-appointed committee led by Fred Fay and Eunice Fiorito drafted organizational papers, including a charter and bylaws, for ACCD. Consulting frequently with the Boston group members, the organizing committee identified and invited leaders of national, disability-specific groups, including the American Council of the Blind (ACB),[33] the NAD, and the PVA, to take part in the founding meeting. Some, but not all, of these groups were represented at the Boston meeting. The organizing committee also tried to identify and invite leaders of local disability-led organizations to attend. To avoid conflicts with the aforementioned disability-specific organizations, it was decided that ACCD should be an organization of organizations rather than an individual membership organization. We devised a formula so that larger, national membership organizations would have five votes in the national assembly; smaller, state and regional organizations would have three votes; and local organizations would each have one vote.

The first national assembly of ACCD was convened by the founding members who included most of the Boston group and about fifteen other national, state and local disability group representatives who had been invited by the organizing committee. More than 100 advocates took part in the meeting. Fiorito was elected president.[34] Other officers were Fred Fay,[35] Judy Heumann,[36] John Lancaster, a spinal cord injured Vietnam veteran who was representing the PVA,[37] Fred Schreiber, a deaf

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[31] Richard Severo, *Harold Russell Dies at 88; Veteran and Oscar Winner*, N.Y. TIMES (Feb. 18, 2002), http://www.nytimes.com/2002/02/01/arts/harold-russell-dies-at-88-veteran-and-oscar-winner.html.

[32] Jonathan Young, *President's Committee on the Employment of the Handicapped*, NPR, http://www.npr.org/programs/disability/ba_shows.dir/work.dir/highlights/opportun.html (last visited Mar. 3, 2015); *see also American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities (ACCD)*, HIST. SOC'Y PENNSYLVANIA, http://digitalhistory.hsp.org/pafrm/org/american-coalition-citizens-disabilities-accd (last visited Mar. 3, 2015).

[33] AM. COUNCIL OF THE BLIND, http://www.acb.org/ (last visited Mar. 3, 2015) (organization's website).

[34] SHARON N. BARNARTT & RICHARD K. SCOTCH, DISABILITY PROTESTS: CONTENTIOUS POLITICS 1970–1999, at 62 (2001).

[35] Charles Carr & Chris Palames, *Massachusetts Activists and Leaders in the Disability Rights and Independent Living Movement, Volume II* (2004), *available at* http://content.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb3199n5n6&&doc.view=entire_text.

[36] *Id.*

[37] *See* ROBERT A. KATZMANN, INSTITUTIONAL DISABILITY: THE SAGA OF TRANSPORTATION POLICY FOR THE DISABLED 38 (1986) (stating that John Lancaster was a representative for the PVA).

individual who was Executive Director of the NAD,[38] Roger Peterson, a blind individual who represented ACB,[39] Gini Laurie, publisher of Rehabilitation Gazette (the only nondisabled person on the board),[40] and me. The initial board of directors reflected the founder's wish for cross disability leadership and partnership.

For the next two years, ACCD's board members met every three to four months, usually in the hometowns of board members, traveling at the members own expense, and sometimes staying on pallets on the floors of the homes of local advocates. We worked tirelessly, exchanging ideas, detailing issues, developing strategies, and drafting action plans and policy papers.

In 1976, with funding provided by a small grant from the rehabilitation research program at the U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare (HEW), the board of ACCD hired Frank Bowe, a recent graduate with a Ph.D. from New York University, to be Executive Director.[41] Frank was deaf, but he was one of the most powerful, dynamic, and compelling communicators I have ever met. He was also a very good organizer, strategist, and grant writer. Within a few months, Frank had secured substantial funding from multiple organizations and sponsors, and he had begun to roll out a strategy for building coalitions of people with disabilities patterned after ACCD in every state and every city in the country.

As its founders envisioned, ACCD effectively served as an issue identifier and idea incubator. It prompted and facilitated the organization of nearly fifty statewide and several hundred local coalitions of people with disabilities, all of which were led by people with disabilities and focused on advocacy. It functioned as the organizing and strategizing body for local, state, and national demonstrations aimed at getting Section 504 Regulations signed[42] and, later, getting significant changes made in the federal rehabilitation program through the 1978 amendments to

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[38] OPEN YOUR EYES: DEAF STUDIES TALKING 7 (H-Dirkesen L. Bauman ed., 2008).

[39] FRED PELKA, WHAT WE HAVE DONE: AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE DISABILITY RIGHTS MOVEMENT 578 n.8 (2012).

[40] Bonnie Durham, *Polio Victims Fight the Crippling Effects in Middle Age*, LAWRENCE JOURNAL WORLD, Oct. 7, 1984, at 6A, *available at* http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2199&dat=19841007&id=qqsyAAAAIBAJ&sjid=_-gFAAAAIBAJ&pg=5655,1341952.

[41] *Frank G. Bowe*, HIST. SOC'Y PENNSYLVANIA, http://digitalhistory.hsp.org/pafrm/person/frank-g-bowe (last visited Mar. 3, 2015).

[42] Kitty Cone, *Short History of the 504 Sit In*, https://dredf.org/504site/histover.html (last visited Mar. 3, 2015).

the Rehabilitation Act of 1973.[43] ACCD lobbying resulted in relocation of the federal rehabilitation programs from HEW to the Department of Education; authorization of a new federal program and funding for the establishment of independent living centers in all the states; an expanded role for the newly named National Institute on Handicapped Research; and an emphasis on vocational rehabilitation services for people with the most severe disabilities.

When the Reagan Administration assumed control of the federal agencies in 1980, certain funding streams that fueled the work of advocacy organizations, like ACCD, during the Carter Administration dried up. With fewer opportunities to compete for funding from federal agencies, and with comparatively well-endowed coalition member organizations that had helped to subsidize ACCD in the past dramatically reducing their contributions to the enterprise, ACCD's budget shrank, Frank Bowe vacated his position, and the organization winnowed away.[44]

By the time ACCD closed its doors in 1983,[45] the disability movement had begun to mature. More than 100 state and local coalitions patterned after ACCD were in place and functioning effectively. These organizations were having success advocating for and getting new state laws to protect people with disabilities from discrimination. They were also having an impact on local municipalities: some communities began to provide limited accessible public transportation services; some communities incorporated barrier free access provisions in their building codes; and some communities included disability among the protected classes in local nondiscrimination ordinances.

By 1986, when the National Council on the Handicapped (now the National Council on Disability) published *Toward Independence*, the landmark report calling for federal legislation to protect people with disabilities from discrimination,[46] the disability movement was well established. State and local advocacy coalitions and the independent living centers were capable of generating considerable public pressure on Congress and elsewhere. The older disability-specific membership

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[43] ETHICS, LAW, AND POLICY 149 (Jerome E. Bickenbach ed., 2012).

[44] *Id.*

[45] *American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities*, DISABILITY RTS. & INDEP. LIVING MOVEMENT, http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/collections/drilm/collection/items/accd.html (last visited Mar. 3, 2015).

[46] *Towards Independence: An Assessment of Federal Laws and Programs Affecting Persons with Disabilities—With Legislative Recommendations*, NAT'L COUNSEL ON THE HANDICAPPED, http://www.ncd.gov/publications/1986/February1986 (last visited March 24, 2015).

organizations and voluntary associations had aligned themselves with the disability rights movement and reinvigorated their memberships. A new band of movement leaders, like Marca Bristo, who led the National Council on Independent Living,[47] and Bob Kafka, a national organizer and leader of ADAPT,[48] had emerged and brought new ideas and energetic new constituencies into the fray. When the ADA bill was introduced in Congress in 1988,[49] the disability movement was ready to pave the way for its passage.

Two decades of disability movement advocacy culminated on July 26, 1990, when 3,000 advocates joined President George Bush on the south lawn of the White House to enact the ADA.[50] The disability movement that produced the ADA relied on the inspiration and guidance of prior movements seeking social justice for other oppressed and ostracized groups. Like the other groups, the disability movement was motivated by individuals who had experienced discrimination and segregation. For 43 million people with disabilities whose lives were dramatically impacted by the ADA,[51] passage of the Act was the fulfillment of countless hopes, prayers, and dreams. For the Young Turks and rebels who started the disability movement, the ADA stands as a tribute to their vision and perseverance, and a milestone for the movement they conceived and guided.

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[47] *Access Living Board of Directors*, ACCESS LIVING, https://www.accessliving.org/Board-of-Directors (last visited Mar. 3, 2015).

[48] Mark Ervin, *ADAPT Leader Bob Kafka Not Giving up the Fight*, INDEPENDENCE TODAY, http://www.itodaynews.com/october2010/25cover-kafka.htm (last visited Mar. 3, 2015).

[49] *S. 2345 (100th): Americans with Disabilities Act of 1988*, GOVTRACK.US, https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/100/s2345 (last visited Mar. 3, 2015).

[50] Don Shannon, *Spirits Soar as Disabled Rights Become the Law*, L.A. TIMES, July 27, 1990, http://articles.latimes.com/1990-07-27/news/mn-573_1_disabled-rights.

[51] Chai R. Feldblum, *Restoring Congressional Intent and Protections Under the Americans with Disabilities Act: Hearing Before the S. Comm. on Health, Education, Labor, & Pensions, 110th Cong., Nov. 15, 2007 (Statement of Chai R. Feldblum, Geo. U. L. Center)*, SCHOLARLY COMMONS 11 (2007), *available at* http://scholarship.law.georgetown.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1063&context=cong.