

All Ears with Abigail Disney
Season 2 Episode 9: Loretta Ross
Fighting Nazis Should Be Fun
Air Date: December 17th, 2020

LORETTA ROSS: Can you hear me?

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Loretta. This is Abby.

LORETTA ROSS: Hi, Abby. Good to meet you.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: It's so good to meet you. When you said that you'd come on the show, I emailed Gloria Steinem. She had nothing but really lovely things to say about you.

LORETTA ROSS: Cool. We've done a lot of good trouble together over the years.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Good trouble! We're sort of theming this whole season around the idea of John Lewis' good trouble and good troublemakers.

LORETTA ROSS: But I do want to just say something about my bio, and that nothing I've done was ever done by myself. If I wasn't working in the company of other strong, brave women, 11 other women created reproductive justice with me. So I want to acknowledge that we lift as we climb. It's never a solo act.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: I'm Abigail Disney, welcome to All Ears, my Podcast where I get to go deep with some super smart people. This season I'm talking to good trouble makers. Artists, activists, politicians and others who aren't afraid to shake up the status quo. We'll talk about their work, how they came to do what they do, and why it's so important in hard times to think big. You can't think about solutions without being a little optimistic, and man oh man I think we need some optimism right now.

So Loretta Ross has been doing the whole good trouble thing all her life. She's been working for 50 years fighting for human rights. And her career is really amazing. For instance, after a lifetime of feminist organizing around black rights, she helped coin the phrase reproductive justice and she became friends with an ex Nazi after helping him leave the Aryan Nations. I could go on and on if you wanted me to. Pretty remarkable. Lately she's making headlines as she teaches one of the most popular classes at Smith College. In the class she says, folks, I know, you know how to call people out, but what I want you to do is build the skills and the courage to call people in. Take a listen to a graduation speech she gave a couple of years ago.

Loretta Ross at Hampshire College 2018: *When a lot of different people think many different ideas and they move in the same direction, that's a movement, but what a lot of different people think one idea and they move in the same direction, that's a*

cult...We are not organizing cults. We are organizing a human rights movement. That's a different task.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Loretta, welcome.

LORETTA ROSS: Thank you for having me on your show.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Yeah, it's nice to be able to talk to you. I wonder if you can start us off by defining, when you say movement, I mean, what are you, what are you describing? What is the movement you're building?

LORETTA ROSS: Well, my first entrance into social justice work was as a feminist. So, I was definitely one of the early adopters of the whole feminist framework. But then when I did the anti Klan work, I joined the civil rights movement and it was actually an ex Nazi named Floyd Cochran, once he left the Aryan Nation, he asked a very poignant question. He said, Loretta rest the movement I can join? And I said, well, you can join the civil rights movement. And he said, you think they're ready for an ex Nazi? And I was like, uh, maybe not. And I know you're not ready for the women's movement, cause you, you, you don't have a whole lot of good ideas around women. And so I took his question to Reverend Vivian, CT Vivian. And he told me Martin--and he was only the person that our whole circle who could say Martin--cause we all had to say Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. civil rights leader, like it was all one word.

He said Martin never meant to build a civil rights movement. And I looked at him, like he lost his mind. He said, no, Martin meant to build a human rights movement. You tell Floyd he can join the human rights movement.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Wow.

LORETTA ROSS: And so I called myself a human rights activist ever since. I'm the part of the women's wing of the human rights movement that works with the racial justice wing of the human rights movement that works with the environmental justice wing and so on and so on.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Wow. So a movement with many wings that's beautiful. I'm joining the human rights movement.

LORETTA ROSS: Yeah! That way you can keep all your caps on at the same time.

When Loretta teaches young people about activism, she always imparts the most important lesson, one she learned years ago:

LORETTA ROSS: Well, Toni Cade said it best. She said that we need to make the revolution irresistible. And so why would anybody want to come join us? If we make them feel worse than before they came, if we're a movement of Debbie downers, I

wouldn't join me. I wouldn't join the movement. But really where it's wanting to change.

My perspective was-- one of my mentors named Leonard Zeskind. And when I first took this job at the national anti Klan network later renamed The Center for Democratic Renewal, I was feeling the weight of all these civil rights martyrs on my shoulders. We're reading stories of people who had died in Bombingham also known as Birmingham and the people who had died trying to register people to vote, or just get a fair deal as a sharecropper. I mean, we were totally immersed in this. I was working 16, 20 hour days, I had lost my sense of humor. I had lost my joy of life and Lenny came to me. He said, Loretta lighten up. He said, fighting Nazis should be fun. It's being a Nazi that sucks.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: I love that!

LORETTA ROSS: And so that's what I started saying party as hard as you work. And it made sense. We're supposed to have joy and fighting. Hey, not be mad and angry and be down because we're fighting hate.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Yeah. So maybe Loretta, can you tell us about the class that you're teaching at Smith?

LORETTA ROSS: Well, my class at Smith is called White Supremacy in the Age of Trump because when I was asked to become a professor, it was at the time that Trump was coming down the golden escalator. And I thought that as an anti-fascist researcher and activist, that this was the time to teach young people, particularly young white people about fascism and white supremacy.

So I easily could have taught reproductive justice. I've co-written three books on that, but I wanted to stretch myself and speak to the historical dangerous moment that we're in.

And so that's my class that I embed teaching about calling in practices in that class because the students need to know that you can't reach and convince everybody to join the human rights movement, but generally from the 90 percent who have high degrees of unity and shared worldview to the 75 percent who have more agreement, for example, I'm an abortion rights activist, but I'll see, as a 75 percenters the Girl Scouts, they may never teach on abortion, but they teach about women and girls empowerment and outside of them are the 50 percent like my parents who believe in family values and love, but we're staunchly anti-abortion.

But I don't want to leave my parents out there to be organized by the twenty-five percent when I can appeal to them through family love and shared values. Well, I'll just tell a quick story. My mother used to make us always, cook food and serve it to homeless people.

And so her mother was trying to figure out Loretta. Exactly. What do you do besides go to jail? I mean, she just couldn't understand the career of a social justice human rights activist. I said, well, mom, do you remember when we had to serve the homeless people when I was a girl scout, because you thought they were hungry? She said, yes. I said, well, as a social justice activist, I asked why they're hungry in the first place. And my mother got it.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Yeah.

LORETTA ROSS: I said, we have the same values, mom. I just chose a different strategy to live out the values you taught me. And we can talk to people using values all the time, instead of stereotyping them to the political identities that they're assigned themselves or that we assigned to them.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: You know, you just described the conversation I had with my mother. Exactly. That conversation when she would get angry with me for having very different political positions, I would keep saying, mom, these are all the things you taught me that we share the same values and I've worked with people on the right wing a fair amount, and you could get to 50% with a lot of people, surprising amounts of people.

LORETTA ROSS: I think so. I think the majority of Trump supporters and I share values. But we have different solutions and strategies for enacting those values, but we all want to keep our family safe, our country safe. We want personal safeties for ourselves. I'm not actually going out there and trying to persuade a militia member with an AK 47 that they've got to see me as a human being. I'm going to quite naturally either defend myself or run.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Yeah.

LORETTA ROSS: But I don't think that's the majority of people who are Trump supporters. I think they're just human beings like us.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Yeah. And that's the sort of thing that can get you into real trouble with cancel culture saying that, don't you think?

LORETTA ROSS: Oh, absolutely. Yes. I'm seen by my more radical leftist comrades as being too, but I don't think a member of the human rights movement should dehumanize another human being.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Yes, exactly.

Loretta avoided social media for a long time, as many of us oldsters have. She finally joined FaceBook after her then-10 year old grandson insisted. That's when she discovered cancel culture.

LORETTA ROSS: So I got on Facebook and immediately he went off to Instagram or somewhere else. Because he said it was for old fogies, I was like, yeah, kid, but I'm not following you around the internet. And, so once I did, though, I noticed how mean people were to each other over social media. It had gone totally beneath my radar because I hadn't been an early adopter.

And so when I asked other young people, what's this all about why are y'all so mean? This other young woman said, oh, you mean to call out culture? And my first response y'all have named it? She said, yeah. I said, well, what are you doing about it? And she's kind of shrugged. Like it was a helpless situation.

And so I started thinking about and remembering how we had to deal with trashing when we were young feminists, when I was a black nationalist activist, the worst burn they could give you is that you're not relevant. Yeah. That was a serious burn back. Yeah. Yeah. Like you were just a dilatant you don't belong in this conversation. And I thought if in the seventies, eighties, and nineties, feminists could have these very hard conversations with people who weren't necessarily on our BFF list, why are people in the same human rights movement, unable to have productive debates with each other without calling each other out?

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Do you think that some forms of social media have dragged us down into the mud a little bit?

LORETTA ROSS: I don't know, cause I'm old enough to remember party lines over the telephone and my mother thought that the telephone was the devil's instrument, because every time you picked up the phone, you could hear the neighbor bad mouthing another neighbor. So I don't think the behavior is that new, I think that our toys have gotten faster and more widespread, but I don't think their behavior is that new.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: **It's complicated and Loretta is the first one to admit that social media is a pretty essential tool in the fight that she's fighting.**

LORETTA ROSS: The human rights movement has as its best tactic, shame and blame of individuals and governments that create harm to people that violate people's human rights. I'm just offering a perspective that we know we need to know when to turn the fight off. That we just can't use that as an instant, automatic reflex every time we think somebody is being harmed or committing a human rights violation, because the other thing that's important as a human rights activist to remember is intent and outcome. You have to remember that everything someone does to hurt you may not have been on purpose. And so you can't act like everything was done on purpose or you don't have accurate threat assessment.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: You've used the language of calling in you know, some of the people we need to work with, as you say, are really hard to love.

LORETTA ROSS: Well, a calling in is not that deep. It's a call-out done with love and respect. So you still hold a person accountable for the harm that they may have done, or at least your perception that they did harm cause everybody that claims arm action that actually hasn't been hurt just because you have a debate with them, but you hold people accountable in a way that foregrounds your love and your respect for them versus your anger and disdain. You could either react like that, this wrong thing, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. Or you can say, you know, when you that word a few minutes ago, I'm not sure what you meant by. Can we go have coffee and talk about it? Those are two separate approaches for dealing with the same contradiction or offense.

Without making people feel like they're being publicly shamed. They go on the defensive, they have to double down on what they said or did because you've attacked their character and morality. I mean, there's a lot of other options we have if we choose not to make the world meaner than it needs to be.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: But there are people who say, well, you're just pacifying white fragility, you know, you're just letting the patriarchs get away with it.

LORETTA ROSS: Well, I think they're mistaking it for civility lessons and that is not what it's all about. I think that artificial civility is always being used to cloak injustices. And so that would be the furthest thing I'd ever want to promote or achieve. I'm calling on people to become better human beings. And it's only once you become a better human being and practice some form of self-awareness and responsibility for the consequences of your actions, that we can actually successfully build a human rights movement, dealing with our differences as strengths instead of liabilities. For example, the way you call in is the first start with the self-assessment.

Are you in a healthy enough healed place from your past trauma in order to extend grace and the benefit of the doubt to another human being? If you are still in that place where you want to respond with anger, then walk away. It's not your job to call people in. It's a choice that you make and you don't have to be responsible for the fact that someone isn't able to grow at that moment.

But after you've done that self-assessment then you need to think about what outcome do I want to achieve before I take it. And if the outcome is to keep the person in your movement, and help them grow while you grow at the same time, then that's a good reason to call somebody in, but I do need to warn one other thing, though. You can't take responsibility for someone else's inability to accept new information or to accept another perspective.

We don't have that God-given power of actually changing other people. Otherwise we wouldn't have so many problems in our marriages. But you can be proud of the fact that you called on your higher self to offer grace forgiveness and awareness to

other people, and maybe you planted a seed and you didn't see the instant epiphany, but it may blossom long after you're gone.

And so calling in as a practice of accountability to actually help transform how people relate to each other and hold each other accountable. And I'll say one other thing: the other part of learning to call in is self-forgiveness first of all, but really excavating where are those patterns of punishment of others came from and really ask yourself, is that the way I want to walk through the world?

Constantly on the lookout for the next fight so that I can punish them so that I can make people feel bad and do it behind the pseudo moralism or pseudo intellectualism.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Do you think there's some kind of deep itch that needs scratching when people do this a lot? What are they trying to satisfy in themselves?

LORETTA ROSS: I don't know. I mean, there are trolls, so I'm not holding any excuse out for trolls, people who delight in blowing up people's minds because that's the only way they can get some kind of pleasure. But I think there's a lot of people innocently doing it as well because they're revealing some unmet need in their lives, because you should think twice before you choose to blow up somebody's life, uh, or hold them accountable for something stupid they did as a teenager.

It says more about them than the people that they've accused in many ways.

And I'm like, why don't you want to put more joy in the world?

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Yeah. The question is where's the line. How much is too much and are we required to extend love and respect to Donald Trump? When does it become counter productive to do so?

LORETTA ROSS: Well, I think how you do human rights work is as important that should do it. And so while I am very eager to call Donald Trump out for his abuse of office, his constant lying, his profiteering while in the office, the shady deals he cuts with dictators. I mean, I don't have time to list all of his faults.

At the same time I would draw the line at terrorizing his family or his children because that would violate my sense of human rights and dignity. Because that's what the Klu Klux Klan and white supremacists do. They surround somebody's home and make them fear for their safety instead of just keeping to protesting their policies.

Yes, there is a time when it can go too far, but I never hesitate to punch upwards when people are violating their responsibilities and causing harm to so many people. I really will criticize anybody who punches downward, but most of the calling out I see in the human rights movement is actually sideways.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Yeah, I think that's when movements are really frustrating is when they turn on each other don't you think?

LORETTA ROSS: I think so because we all act like we're in the pursuit of political purity, we're in a woke competition, and I find it's really amusing when young people get taught these radical phrases and these radical analysis, and then they turn around and don't have the radical practices to go with them. So they weaponized their newly found knowledge against each other. We don't use that word anymore. You're being transphobic. You can't get this right. I mean, that kind of thing. And, it's distressing because for the young people, in particular, since I teach this stuff to them, they said we are so tired of walking around on eggshells. We silence ourselves. We censor ourselves because we don't want to be the next person getting bullied.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Yeah. When I was in grad school in the eighties and there was, um, people like Pat Buchanan and Bill Bennett and others talking about political correctness and how evil it was in the universities and blah, blah, blah. Do you think that to some small extent the right wing was a little bit right in that regard?

LORETTA ROSS: Well, the right wing is rarely right. So I have a different opinion. I think the whole cancellation and call out culture started with our puritanical roots. I mean, there is a reason we read, uh, Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*, and long before they invented the term political correctness, we have the right canceling people because they were accused of communism.

So it's a bit rich for the right to suddenly accuse the left of inventing a weapon that they willed it when they, because they only started complaining about it as a weapon when we started punching back.

So they quickly claim victimhood status, and if they lose any, then they've been victimized. Not really--because they use the scarcity model and how they see the world, a plunder scarcity model, which I actually think is one of the root causes of what's wrong with our society, because we don't believe that there's enough to go around for everybody.

And if I gained something as a black person then white people must lose something. And that whole zero-sum thinking is what animates the ideology of white supremacy.

I want to just point out a fact that many people have not noticed amongst all the chatter about how the majority of white people voted for Trump, as they have done for every election for the past 50 years, they've voted for the Republicans.

One fact actually stood out young white voters between ages of 18 and 29 broke for Biden. That's the first generation of white people who have broken with the tradition

of supporting white supremacy. And I find so much hope in that statistic. It's kind of like, first we got them through our music, now we just got you kids.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: You have! I didn't--you know, I never heard anybody point that out. That's thrilling.

LORETTA ROSS: Well, I think what it costs him to do so though, cause this is not without sacrifice. Because they're going against their cultural brainwashing. They're going against their family and uncle Frank at the Thanksgiving dinner. They're going against the people on whom they're still financially dependent.

They, it's a very brave thing that they've done. And we need to lift that up and award them for that instead of having it be invisibilized because I think that's something that as a black person, we have never seen in 400 years, a break with white supremacy by the upcoming generation who will in a very short period of time, be the ones in power.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Right, right. That's thrilling. That actually makes me really happy to think about.

But, so, so to go back to calling out for one second, there's also a level of impracticality to call out culture in terms of growing the movement and moving things forward. Don't you think.

LORETTA ROSS: Oh, absolutely. Because if we become the circular firing squad that often used cliché, then we're spending our best bullets on each other. While the people who oppose human rights are busy causing havoc and destruction everywhere. Cause when you, when you take your eyes off the prize as you really do miss it's your opportunity to gain power, to make the changes that you think are desirable and necessary.

As I said, I think that people who abuse power, who punched down on vulnerable people should be called out. But we also need to be clear that this can become such a self-defeating act. I signed a letter in Harpers last summer that criticized the call-out culture, people on the left and the right side of this letter.

And then ironically, we got called out for signing a letter criticizing the call out culture. As if it's totally impossible for people on the right and the left to agree on anything. There are things people on the right and left do agree with. For example, I'm deeply critical of the Patriot Act and it's invasion of privacy. And so are many people on the right. Does that mean that I should support the Patriot act because the people on the right don't like it, I mean, that's a little silly, isn't it?

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Deeply silly is what it is.

LORETTA ROSS: They didn't recognize the irony of criticizing a letter, calling out the call out culture and they chose to call us out for doing it.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Working with her enemies is not some exercise for Loretta. In many ways it's her life's work. She made a friendship with a former Klansman Floyd Cochran and this was so surprising to people that it was nearly made into a movie. And when she ran the DC rape crisis center, her work helping victims of rape took an unexpected turn.

LORETTA ROSS: We received this letter from a guy that said outside, I raped women and inside I raped men. And I don't want to be a rapist anymore. And the author of that letter was a guy named William Fuller. And we settled that letter for months, we didn't immediately respond cause our first reaction was, we barely have enough resources to help rape survivors. And here's a perpetrator asking us for help? I don't think so.

But eventually we responded and I remember getting in my car and driving that 20 miles every Friday to Lorton Reformatory. And I met William and Larry and other men. And they were the bosses of that jail. They were all buffed up and muscular because that's how they got power and terrorized younger and weaker people. And so they were quite intimidating physically but they were sincere.

William was in his mid thirties when I first met him. So he'd had time to reanalyze this life. He taught himself how to read and, and really rehabilitated himself, and somehow he got ahold of some black feminist literature. I don't know how that happened, but that was the framework through which he wrote us at the rape crisis. As they told me their stories about being victims of rape and rapists themselves, and then I started sharing my story about surviving sexual assault, but I wasn't afraid of them anymore

At 11 years old, I was kidnapped and taken to the woods and raped.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: She had been at an amusement park with her girl scout troop. Afterward, the man who raped her dropped her back at her home. She never told her mom.

LORETTA ROSS: I was afraid that I'd get in trouble. Cause a lot of rape victims self-blame first.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Yeah.

LORETTA ROSS: And it was only my sister who's nine years older than me that noticed that I was bruised and bloody. And so three years later, an older cousin was getting me drunk and having sex with me because that was the way he manufactured consent.

And so I was pregnant at 14. It was very common in the sixties to stick girls into home for unwed mothers. And you know, the task was to have the baby in secret, give the baby up for adoption, then return to your life as if you'd just been on an extended vacation. But I gave birth at a Catholic hospital.

And I still don't know whether this is a mistake or not, or they did it on purpose, because the morning after my son was born, they brought him to me. And I looked at this little face and I kept saying, he's got my face. He's got my face. He's got my face. And I didn't believe in mother love until that moment, that was not the way I wanted to become a mother.

I hadn't planned on becoming a mother. I was a pregnant teenager, but when I made the decision to keep him everything changed, everything changed.

And so the school didn't want to readmit me. Because as the counselor told me, well, Loretta, if we let you in other girls might get pregnant. I don't know much about biology, but that's not how it works.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: She had an early scholarship to Radcliffe College, but they withdrew her admission. Luckily, Howard University didn't. And they offered her a full ride.

LORETTA ROSS: They didn't care that I'd had a baby. They just looked at my NMSQT scores and said, yeah, we want you, but I'll just shorten the story by saying that it was at Howard university that I first got tear gassed at 16 but I still didn't even become an activist then it wasn't until I was sterilized at age 23 by the Dalkon shield at a doctor--

ABIGAIL DISNEY: What, what, what, okay, go backwards. Go back. Okay. What?

LORETTA ROSS: Oh, you want the long version?

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Well, you can't just drop I was sterilized into a conversation without expecting to give me the long story.

LORETTA ROSS: Well, when I was leaving for college, I asked my mother if would sign permission for me to have birth control and being a Christian woman she said no. So I fell in love with my first boyfriend in college. We had sex three times and I became pregnant. I was fertile Myrtle. And so fortunately the year I arrived in Washington, DC, 1970. That's the first year DC legalized abortion three years before Roe V. Wade. And so I was able to go to the Washington Hospital Center, have a perfectly legal abortion. And my older sister, who's nine years older than me forged my mother's signature so I could have the abortion. So after the abortion, Howard University was offering the Dalkon Shield. And I thought that was the answer to my prayers.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: But the Dalkon Shield was not the answer to Loretta's prayers. It was a defective device that caused injury and infertility to many of the 2.5 million women who used it in the early 1970s. And, like many Black women, Loretta did not receive adequate medical care.

LORETTA ROSS: After about four years of having the Dalkon shield in me, my fallopian tubes exploded. And so that's what led to the hysterectomy while I was unconscious, because I had passed out, uh, on the way to the hospital and ambulance. There were massive studies already at that time showing his dangerous because of design flaw. Back then you could actually get copies of your medical records upon request. And so I got a copy of my medical records and, so he said, Loretta, you've got a lawsuit here cause this is medical malpractice. So I sued A. H. Robins and bought my first house with the proceeds.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Ah. That's not exactly making up for it.

LORETTA ROSS: Right. At 23 I was told I wouldn't have any more children. And compounded with all the other traumas I'd had in my life, I was suicidal, self destructive, drug dependent. I mean, I'm ashamed of all the things I did to survive and try to self-manage my own trauma. And it wasn't until four years later that I finally took my own advice that I was giving to all the rape survivors at the rape crisis center, and finally checked into some therapy. And that's why I'm here today.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Wow. Wow. But how amazing because the rest of your life has been so positive and loving and gracious.

I guess the last thing I want to ask you is, where do you go to refill what seems like a bottomless well of joy and gratitude? Where do you go to refill yourself?

LORETTA ROSS: Well, I have two particular things that I do. First of all, I have a black feminist posse and we have Friday night cocktail parties virtually so that we can stay connected to each other. And I call them my source of replenishment. But the second one is that I have a totally apolitical set of senior citizens that I played competitive pinochle with, which is a card game. And they, while I'm protesting wars, they're doing yellow ribbon parties. So they don't understand anything about my politics, but I love him to death. So they keep me balanced so that I'm not just in a left wing bubble of people who all think like me.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: I love that so much. If I knew how to play pinochle I'd ask you to invite me to play.

LORETTA ROSS: Are you in California?

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Uh, well, I'm based in New York city.

LORETTA ROSS: Oh, okay. Cause if you're in California, I could say I understand that Dionne Warwick and Gladys Knight have a pinochle club.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Oh, my God. I'm going to learn how to play pinochle tonight! That sounds like the funnest thing ever.

LORETTA ROSS: Before COVID we had competitive tournaments all over America, but now we just all play online.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Oh, how fun!

I'm so happy we got a chance to talk to you.

LORETTA ROSS: Well, thank you for having me on your show.

ABIGAIL DISNEY: Well, you're so welcome. For links to Loretta Ross' writings and more information about her very extensive work in social justice, organizing and reproductive justice, visit lorettaross.com.

And don't forget to follow her on Twitter @ Loretta J Ross.

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