Standing on the Side of Love: Assessment 2016

June 2016

Executive Summary

In early 2016, Standing on the Side of Love (SSL) conducted an assessment with traditional SSL stakeholders and external social justice movement leaders on the relevance and future use of SSL to multi-faith movement building, current intersectional social movements, people of faith working for justice, and Unitarian Universalism. Our broader question was: "How could a banner like 'Standing on the Side of Love' that has historically supported and mobilized a set of people of faith into social justice movement work be of most use now in our current moment?"

Key findings are that stakeholders want SSL to:

- become an organizing and communications hub that does not do policy or advocacy work, or replicate existing work of either the UUA or secular social justice organizations.
- 2. focus on outreach and bridging the institution to organizing, with an emphasis on millennials and 'nones'.
- 3. hold a cutting edge politic which is not "too centrist" or "watered down politically".

Stakeholders also want a continued place for all the people who see the theological idea of 'Standing on the Side of Love' as their faith calling, and who might not be 'in the loop' of movement leader conversations. They want the next chapter of SSL to:

- 1. raise the level of debate to values and soul work, not just 'policy issues'; not only concentrate on assumed 'blue states' or places where organizing might be assumed to be 'easier'; and
- train organizers to be better at cross-race, cross-class, cross-age organizing work.

Additionally, they want to see SSL connect organizers seeking to work from a spiritual space to each other; deepen the spiritual resiliency of organizers through iterating and teaching new practices; and seek to 'fortify' (a term used by Elandria Williams) organizers, activists, and new social justice leaders through a strong network.

As the SSL team, we understand organizing as bringing people together to advance social justice work. We therefore see SSL as positioned to do transformative organizing rooted in spiritual communities. Why? First, SSL's roots in Unitarian Universalism may make the campaign more welcoming for new leaders who don't identify as Christian. SSL now has a Director who is a recognized movement leader from outside Unitarian Universalism and this increases trust for new partnership and alliances (across faiths and secular organizations). Second, SSL can frame organizing

as a means for people to live their faith, while reaching a base hungry for spirit-based organizing outside of congregations.

Based on these findings, SSL's future work will prioritize organizing, network building, and communications (including a podcast and online course on organizing). It will seek to build a dynamic relationship between movement organizations, other faith organizing, and Unitarian Universalism. It will emphasize outreach to new audiences with an emphasis on 'nones' and millennials, while working to maintain its vibrant base.

Assessment of the Moment

"In the past year and a half, in Ferguson and the rising Movement for Black Lives, we see that many people are waking up. Especially People of Color seeing how they have bowed down to white supremacy and state-sanctioned violence. Many whites are waking also to see race differently for the first time." -Rev. Michael-Ray Mathews, PICO

"The spiritual hunger of those of us in justice movement who have been exiled from conservative Christian traditions is real. We are queer, we are trans, we are young, we are of color, we are poor. We are warriors for Team Justice and we are seekers. We are looking for spiritual homes." -Malachi Garza, Community Justice Network for Youth (CJNY)

In 2016, we have seen the blossoming of a full-blown, mainstreamed social movement in the form of Black Lives Matter. This is not the only ascending social movement of deep meaning of the past decade, but it is the one that has crossed over into the country's mainstream consciousness with a profound and perpetual spirit of resistance to the status quo.

Thousands of new leaders are coming into movement building work and issues key to this movement have come to the forefront of the country's political and communications' psyche. History shows this phase of movement building can leave existing leaders vulnerable to burnout or co-optation, and new leaders vulnerable to cynicism or turning on each other.

Conservative forces are responding to a set of movement wins (large and small, depending on perspective) over the past eight years: President Obama's tenure, gay marriage, advances of the immigrant rights movement, and the extraordinary network of Black Lives Matter leaders' on-going work.

We are in a season of backlash. Backlash against marginalized people who refuse to 'stay in their place', and marginalized people that the right wing wants out of this country all together. It is not surprising that Trump and his followers are ascending in this time as he gives voice to the resentment and rage of many straight, white non-trans working class and middle class people. Many are angry because of economic injustice, but some are also angry because they feel they are losing this era's 'culture wars', or that their 'life has no place in the new imagination of American society'.

It is also not surprising that the public debate around the 2016 presidential election is framed by generational tensions, and a deep hunger by many people (across the political spectrum) for leadership beyond the traditional establishment of both parties. In short, the issues at play in the 2016 elections are about a great deal more than who is the next President of the United States.

Social media has meant great advantages for social movements, and has also been a force that can result in organizers isolating from each other, and playing out disagreements unconstructively and publicly. As is written about elsewhere, at least among millennials, we are seeing a rise of both open source campaigns and open source networks, primarily relational: a sound generational rejection of older, clunkier formal coalitions and alliances controlled by wealthy groups or funders.

Millennials and Generation X leaders, in particular, are showing a deep and broad commitment to new forms of community organizing and/or hybrid emerging forms of organizing. When we say this is intersectional organizing what we mean is that it is organizing that understands the connections between different marginalizations and oppressions. It is organizing that understands that issues like climate change, police brutality and economic inequality impact people differently (and often in multiplying ways) when they are (for example) people of Color, LGBTQ people, and people with disabilities. This organizing is also concerned with healing and spirituality as central elements to broader movement work and seeks to support new leaders not only to come into this work but to help them sustain themselves inside of it.

As Movement leaders grow and new leaders emerge, many millenials are finding both political and spiritual grounding in the framework offered by new formations. At the same time, we have seasoned activists seeking answers for what to do next, and some are very willing to use institutional resources to be of aid to movement building.

Core Findings about Standing on the Side of Love:

"Black Lives Matter is interested in if mostly white faith organizations will show up and just do the work—not tell us what to do, or try to control us. I want to know if Standing on the Side of Love will be willing to do that." –Mary Hooks, BLM/SONG

- Both traditional internal Standing on the Side of Love (SSL) stakeholders and external (non-UU) movement leadership are interested in how SSL can be of use to movement building within, but also beyond the UU denomination: there is a strong interest in SSL being an 'external' facing arm of the UUA. External movement leaders want SSL to be meaningful and relevant in the form of flanking and fortification to organizing sites and leaders themselves at the intersection of organizing and spirituality. (The idea of flanking movements means that we understand this work comes up through communities most affected by injustice, and as people of faith our work is to be at their sides providing spiritual support and resources of many kinds.)
- There is a strong feeling that SSL should be 'of use' and relevance to intersectional movement building particularly in the midst of the ascending Movement for Black Lives
- No one interviewed is of the opinion that SSL should be heavily engaged in policy work, legal work, or advocacy work
- Interviewees saw SSL's place as modeling spiritually-based organizing or organizing that draws from our best selves to advance organizing that matches our deepest held values and vision for a transformed world
- Most UU interviewees felt that SSL had been most helpful to them as a frame for their work, particularly as people of faith, and for relevant tools shared such as some of the tools used for 30 Days of Love. Many also felt ambivalent at best about the emails: we heard they felt 'random' in content and uncurated, though there was a desire to continue some emails in some form as some of the base do engage with them (especially SSL's base over the age of 50)
- Most traditional stakeholders feel that SSL should be a hub for organizing and communications infrastructure for its traditional and expanding constituencies
- Most interviewees felt that the new leadership of SSL created an important opportunity for SSL to be a 'bridge' to cutting edge secular movement building, communications expertise, organizer training, organizer support, and thought leadership at the intersection of movement building and faith
- Most UU interviewees were **not** interested in SSL replicating work of other UUA programs
- Many felt it would be advantageous for SSL (and for the growth of Unitarian Universalism) to focus SSL outreach on millennials and nones, not just UU's
- Internally and externally, organizers who were interviewed expressed a need for spiritual support and strengthening for their organizing and their connections to one another
- Internal UU leaders who are organizing also expressed a need for mostly organizer development, organizing site-based support, and relevant organizing tools
- While some felt that SSL should be about broader values and multiple
 perspectives on pressing political questions, most expressed real concern that
 SSL not be 'watered down' or too centrist politically: they felt that SSL's place
 was at the radical edge of love in action.

Deeper Findings from the Assessment

SSL at its Best

"The goal of SSL is not to promote UU's, it is to play a meaningful and helpful role in movements. A national focus with local invitations works very well, but having paid organizers is also key to support a real ground strategy." –Rev. Meg Riley

"SSL is at its best when it helps UU's get connected to movement work appropriately, helps us be in better relationship...Movement leaders who are directly affected are not looking for new leaders for their movements. They are already leading. They are asking for support."—Rev. Wendy Von Courter

Historically, at its best, most participants in this assessment agreed SSL did a few key things particularly well:

- Be a voice for faith (particularly Unitarian Universalism) in social justice struggles
- Inform, educate and deepen political education of its constituency about current justice struggles, particularly using stories
- Be a 'banner' for congregations to put their social justice work under by providing branding and framing resources for UU values in the "public square"
- Be a beacon of outreach for newcomers to Unitarian Universalism that exemplifies the faith's 'radical (from the root) love' positions on social justice issues
- Show up and support UU's on the ground in 'flash moments' of organizing
- Provide entry points/opt-ins for its constituency to show up to social justice work
- Provide focused tools, in particular many people praised 30 Days of Love
- Using the work around SB1070 and Arizona work as an often-referred to example, build opportunities to unite and 'show not tell' our politics of love
- Make clear connections between local and national social justice work taking place within and beyond Unitarian Universalism

"Now, in my congregation, people just show up to stand on the side of love, ready to roll. That golden banner has taught us something about interdependence and collective action. It helped us move past our individualism." -Rev. Jeanne Pupke

Historic Weaknesses of SSL

"When SSL had a strong role in our work in Phoenix, I knew exactly what it did. It should have courage and be alongside the daring edge: call for ending deportations not Comprehensive Immigration Reform, because so many others already stand for that,

but too few come with us at the uncomfortable edge of radical resistance." –Marisa Franco, Mijente/Not1More

Though a number of people lifted up a variety of justice issues as priorities, participants overwhelmingly agreed the current political moment requires SSL to take decisive action in support of Black Lives Matter. Most also agreed that SSL is not at its best when it feels too top down, 'ditto-heading' (just copying ideas from external movement organizations), or UU-centric.

Even when those interviewed and surveyed expressed opposing views, everyone agreed that they wanted SSL to feel relevant but not swayed based on 'current trends'. Many said they did not want to see SSL get too politically 'watered-down', but a few also did not want SSL to be too confrontational. Primarily, most wanted to see SSL be about 'radical love with teeth': maintaining its political sharpness but with a spiritual and aspirational tone.

Race, Power and SSL

"I push my white colleagues hard, because the people of Ferguson and people whose families are taken by ICE: we have seen the Dragon. Many white people have not, and yet the Dragon is right in front of them." –Rev. Michael-Ray Mathews, PICO

"In last two years, I have real concerns about faith organizing that just mobilizes white bodies. We need profound and deep work that changes ourselves at the same time as white political actors. When white minds go into strategy mode, we often become executive and top down and stop listening or being in dialogue." –Susan Raffo

"Many white people in organizing right now very much want to only be in discussion groups and not to go out and do the work that is more uncomfortable. We cannot default to that." –Sam Hamlin, SURJ

Everyone interviewed was clear that SSL's constituency is not all white or all middle class, and that there are important leaders in Unitarian Universalism that are people of color and marginalized in other ways. They were clear that SSL must work to support leaders of Color. A number of UUs indicated a thirst for a clearer relationship between SSL and UU-affiliated groups including DRUUMM and Black Lives of UU.

They also recognized that UU communities are majority white. They talked about ideas for mobilizing a majority white constituency in this time and ideas for what to do and what not to do. All felt very strongly that white people must understand that their role in racial justice work and BLM particularly looks very different than for people of color. They deeply desired to find out if a mostly white constituency is willing to show up for the organizing without having to be the strategists or the architects. Some expressed that historically some UU communities had struggled with how to be part of something without trying to hog all the lime light.

"Sometimes I feel that Unitarian Universalism has comforted the comfortable too much, and not afflicted the comfortable enough. SSL has felt anemic since SB1070 and Arizona work. Black UU's are experiencing a deficit of spiritual care and nurturance, how can SSL support us?" –Lena K. Gardner

SSL: For Whom?

"Most spiritual but not religious people have a religious text in one hand and a newspaper in the other. SSL's leadership now has organizing in one hand and faith work in the other. Take full advantage. SSL now owes it to the movement and progressive faith communities to bring thought leadership not just tools and trainings. This is what it means to use people resources for the good of the movement and the society, not just one institution. The SSL work could actually bring new people into churches: it is actually not an exaggeration to say it could alter the way Unitarian Universalism is perceived by many younger people. It could become a Church I want to go to." - Rodney McKenzie, National LGBTQ Task Force

"UU's have super powers to bring to movement building: singing, prayers, etc. But it is also important for UU's to understand that having a UU outsider in this leadership role who is a movement leader brings them new legitimacy and support, and we can take on more." –Chris Crass

The assessment reflected the opinion that transformative organizing is a way that SSL can create containers for people to live their faith. Many conversations reflected the desire to have SSL be a place of action for key social justice issues of our time that would feel rooted in faith. People are hungry for SSL to invite and encourage UU communities but also other faith communities, millennials who do not attend congregations, and people who would identify as spiritual but not religious.

Many felt that because of SSL's roots in Unitarian Universalism it is a place that welcomes a wider variety of spiritual organizers than a Christian-rooted organizing initiative would. Some felt that our social movements have not yet truly unleashed the 'creative potential' that multi-faith organizing has to share with secular movement building. It became clear that the congregations were assets to the core base of SSL but that everyone interviewed saw the potential as beyond congregations too: including the spiritual but not religious, younger organizers, seminary students, participants in different UUSC social justice work, or people who identify as UU but are not attending congregations. Some expressed that they actually believed SSL could play an incredibly powerful role in outreach for Unitarian Universalism in the near future as well:

"Our hope has always been that SSL will be inter-faith, this has been part of its vision. It would be so interesting to ask Unitarian Universalists how many times SSL events and work has actually brought new people into their congregations. I know it has for us. For

example, when we have taken stands that are pro-immigrant and pro-trans youth that has organically changed who felt like they had a place in our congregation." –Alison Miller

"I believe that SSL has the potential to actually move and shift our religion to be a more radically relevant and authentically open space." –Jason Lydon, Black and Pink

What is Needed from SSL Now

"All denominations in this moment should not be confused: they will grow in rank and power with younger people if they align correctly with the Movement. Are leaders in Standing on the Side of Love willing to buffer movement, flank movement, speak up to other faith leaders when they are wrong? This is the courage movement needs from Standing on the Side of Love." –Paulina Helm-Hernandez, SONG

"People are yearning to connect the best of who they are to campaigns and they need help to find their collective spiritual grounded-ness in that work, SSL can help them do that." –Sharon Groves, Auburn Seminary

Overall, there was a strong desire that SSL show more leadership in this moment. Specifically, that it focuses itself in, while not picking any 'one issue'. People want the materials and tools to have a stronger editorial voice, and to unite the work more. Both traditional UU stakeholders and national movement leaders, yearned to see SSL 'be of use' to the most pressing movement opportunities of this moment: helping its current and expanding constituency be in 'right relationship' and 'appropriate role' to movements right now.

Most agreed, this would require some theological thought leadership on radically humble ideas of what leadership can be. Most named the need for organizer training, accompaniment and support; as well as a set of online tools that helped those interested in movement building and organizing who were not heavily in the practice yet to come further in.

Finally, many named the 'unique role' that SSL could play in movement building: bringing spiritual skills—like prayer and covenant-making—to the process of supporting organizing. Most did not want to see SSL's work mirror 'just another secular progressive national organization'. Many of the concrete plans for the next chapter of SSL reflect this feedback.

"So many leaders at the core of BLM are crying out for pastoral care. Our people need to be sustained in this work over time, and so many new leaders right now are being thrust into circumstances that they are not prepared for: what is our accountability to them?" —Carlton Elliott Smith

"SSL could really help white UU's understand their role in Black Lives Matter. SSL needs to continue to use its platform to point people towards those at the margins and the work at the margins." –Kenny Wiley

Nuts, Bolts, Structure

"I don't want to see SSL get watered down and cater to the most centrist voices in Unitarian Universalism. I wonder what it would take for UU's to shift from a liberal and 'respectable' stance to embracing a truly radical stance in theology and action. I would hate to see SSL become another program without vision that invests in the comfort of the comfortable, seeking not to offend, stretch, or disrupt." –Rev. Alicia Forde

"SSL really helped us in our Arizona work when Dan Furmansky, Susan Leslie, Taquiena Boston, and others came here to be with us. They helped us, they amplified our work through social media, and they encouraged us. It really boosted our morale, and it helped us see our own national relevance." -Rev. Susan Frederick-Gray

The named power of SSL being rooted in spirituality and faith was that in everything it does it can aim towards transformation:

- identifying organizers with transformative potential,
- training and supporting organizers in ways that nurture excellence and also provide spiritual grounding.
- making containers (in-person and on-line) for organizers that are transformative and fortifying, and
- doing our very best to make tools that encourage consciousness and deeper organizing too.

Many people surveyed see the concept of 'Standing on the Side of Love' as an expression of their faith, and they don't want to feel that they cannot use that frame for their local justice work, whether or not that fits in with some of the priorities of SSL national leadership. With this in mind, we are launching a plan that allows SSL to have 'projects'. This format will keep the power of SSL in of the hands of the congregations and individuals themselves, who love its concept. But it will also allow SSL to exercise the political leadership that is being asked of it.

We (who is "we"?) want all the work of SSL to set a tone of integrity: where organizers are not just talking the talk, but walking/rolling out the walk. 'Deeds not creeds' is a critical part of Unitarian Universalism and should be for SSL as well. People we talked to wanted SSL to:

- Raise the level of debate to values and soul work, not just 'policy issues'
- Engage movement work beyond assumed 'blue states' or places where organizing might be assumed to be 'easier'
- Train organizers to be better at cross-race, cross-class, cross-age organizing work

- Connect organizers seeking to work from a spiritual space to each other
- Deepen the spiritual resiliency of organizers through teaching new practices
- Model courage by taking strong stands through 'show not tell' actions and organizing
- Model sanctuary for deeply marginalized organizers and community leaders
- Seek to 'fortify' organizers, activists, and new social justice leaders through being of use to them in their daily work: coming when they call, not when we decide they need us

"SSL's work can really expand on opportunities for faith development as well as political development. Especially when it uses consciousness raising, action, and reflection." –Jessica York

The Next Chapter of SSL

"I would love to see SSL strengthen the relationship between organizing, radical hospitality and uncomfortable conversations." – Jyaphia Christos-Rodgers

"Now, SSL could actually offer some spiritual and political fortification to organizers who are UU (white and of color) who are not high profile and yet want to do spiritually-rooted organizing." –Elandria Williams

We took the generous time and insights of people involved in this assessment very seriously. Based on what we learned, SSL will be launching work which will:

- Require more staff time be spent on face-to-face site work, gatherings, network building and curated communications work
- Craft work for SSL that is primarily organizing and communications based, not rooted in advocacy or policy work explicitly
- Provide site-based and organizing nuts and bolts support and accompaniment for key leaders
- Launch a new podcast aimed at movement-interested 'spiritual but not religious' millennials (with an emphasis on UU's) that interviews movement leaders about their spiritual lives
- Create specific 'projects of Standing on the Side of Love' to allow congregations
 to still openly use the concept and banner while also carving out more
 specificity and focus for parts of the work (For example, the podcast will be a
 'project of SSL')
- Protect some staff time for 'rapid response' organizing opportunities that crystallized the meaning of 'Standing on the Side of Love' as they bubble up on the national stage
- Experiment with the theme of 'Fortification' for SSL in 2016 as a mode of understanding SSL's constituencies' role in movement leadership, and 'mode' of organizing in this time

 Offer online political education opportunities for UU's to learn more about movement building and community organizing

Information on Interviews and Surveys

This assessment was conducted by interviewing a group of 'SSL traditional stakeholders' (one-on-one interviews), a core group of intersectional movement building leaders nationally (one-on-one interviews), the SSL creative advisory team (group video call), and a survey which 164 people on SSL's email list answered [See Appendix for more detailed outline of these responses]. The list of 'traditional stakeholders' were nominated by key UUA staff. The list of 'national movement leaders' could have included many more people. For the sake of brevity in the process, it was assembled based on leaders who we had some access to who:

- Have experience building open source national campaigns and/or infrastructure
- Have recent history with Standing on the Side of Love
- Play a key current role in intersectional, anti-criminalization movement building (especially millennials)
- Have experience building faith-rooted organizing networks
- Have experience working with majority white faith communities working for social justice

In both categories, not everyone nominated was available to comment. Several people fit our criteria for both categories: they are marked as (both categories). While some patterns of excitement about the 'new leadership' of SSL are clear from quotes, we interpreted much of that as not only individual or personal but about opportunities for this work due to potential for skill transfer and relationship bridging across sectors, networks, and constituencies.

Movement Leaders Interviewed

- Dove Kent (Jews for Racial and Economic Justice, Executive Director)
- Rev. Jennifer Bailey (Faith Matters Network)
- Malachi Garza (Community Justice Network for Youth, Director)
- Mary Hooks (Black Lives Matter Atlanta, SONG, Co-Director)
- Paulina Helm-Hernandez (SONG, Co-Director)
- Rev. Michael-Ray Mathews (PICO)
- Sharon Groves (Auburn Seminary, Vice-President)
- Marisa Franco (Not1More/Mijente, Director)
- Jessie Spector (Resource Generation, Executive Director)
- Susan Raffo
- Jade Brooks (Jewish Voices for Peace)
- Stosh Cotler (CEO, Bend the Arc)
- Rebecca Voelkel (Former Director, Religion and Faith Program, National LGBTQ Task Force)
- Sam Hamlin (SURJ, National Leadership Team)

- Mab Segrest
- Rodney McKenzie (Leadership in Action Director, National LGBTQ Task Force)

SSL Stakeholders Interviewed

- Chris Crass (both categories)
- Rev. Carlton Elliott Smith
- Kenny Wiley
- Rev. Wendy Von Courter
- Rev. Meg Riley
- Lena Gardner (both categories)
- Rev. Alison Miller
- Rev. Cathy Rion Starr
- Rev. Susan Frederick-Gray
- Elandria Williams (both categories)
- Rev. Josh Pawelek
- Jyaphia Christos-Rodgers
- Rev. Alicia Forde
- Dan Furmansky
- Jessica York

Creative Advisory Committee Interviewed

- Kim Sweeney
- Rev. David Miller
- Rachel Walden
- Alex Kapitan
- Audra Friend

APPENDIX

(Note: The survey was completely open to anyone who wanted to take it. Which means that some of the responses or views who were held only by 2 or 3 responses out of 164 surveys. For that reason, while all surveys were read by SSL staff, not all the information conveyed below will be present in SSL's new plans. The answers included demonstrate the expansive views held by SSL supporters about the campaign's history and future.)

How has Standing on the Side of Love been most helpful to your social justice work?

30 Days of Love

Ability to build relationships with People of Color-led organizing efforts

Branding/Visibility of UU values in public square

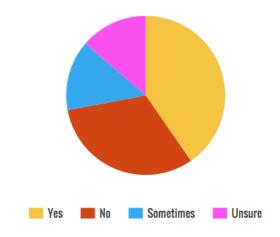
Connecting local & national issues for UUs

Deepened political analysis/education

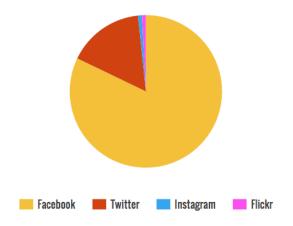
Resourcing UUs in local congregations

Shared information about congregations across the country

Have you or your congregation participated in 30 Days of Love before?



If you follow Standing on the Side of Love on social media, on what platform(s)?



What gap could Standing on the Side of Love fill for Unitarian Universalists today?

Clearer relationship with UUism and/or affiliated groups [UUA, DRUUMM, ARE] Encourage and support UU engagement with Black Lives Matter/Expand Racial Justice work

Faith based community organizing training

Gender Identity Justice

Lift up lessons from other UU social justice work

More engagement on migrant justice/refugee issues

Social justice guidance for smaller congregations

Support and expand 30 Days of Love

Religious Tolerance/Multi-faith work

Resources- curricula, trainings, speakers, branding

UUs for Justice in the Middle East

What gap could Standing on the Side of Love fill in broader social justice movements today?

Anti-Racism/Anti-Oppression

Climate Justice

Engagement/support of Black Lives Matter

LGBTQ Issues

Money in Politics

More boldly center our faith voice

White privilege/racial justice

UU Presence/Participation in Fusion Coalition

What would you LOVE to see Standing on the Side of Love do in the future?

Climate Change
Disability Justice
Expand beyond UUism
LGBT Justice with focus on Trans folks
Organizing and Training

Make connections for UUs with broader social justice movements More focused work Organize regional-national gatherings/marches year-round Shifting UU culture- racism, classism, elitism Support for Black Lives Matter

What would you not want to see Standing on the Side of Love do in the future?

Become identified with specific issue or person Become too centrist Change logo & brand Continue 32 flavors approach to issues Fail to speak as people of faith Inaction/disband/collapse Provide unfocused communications