Class Conscious: Class and Classism in UU Life

Curriculum Manual

Welcome and thank you for your interest in this participatory journey on class issues in Unitarian Universalist life.

In the spirit of love, we must look at how class influences our relationships in this faith and seek to invite greater inclusion. We need to become more effective at welcoming and including people from all class backgrounds.

In the spirit of service, we must learn to collaborate with Americans living in chronic poverty or struggling in our current economy.

We need new language to better discuss the dynamics of class and classism. We need to learn how to work more effectively in cross-class alliances to create systems-level change. When Unitarian Universalists are equipped with class and classism awareness, we can be more effective in selecting and implementing social justice action.

Because all oppressions intersect, dealing with class connects us with issues of race, disability access, democracy, and the environment.

At this critical historic moment, the Escalating Inequality action issue encourages us to address class as both a diversity and a social justice issue.

The above statements are excerpts from the speech Suzanne Zilber gave at the Unitarian Universalist General Assembly 2014 to support the Escalating Inequality Congregational Study Action Issue with input from UU Class Conversations

Suzanne Zilber, Ph.D. © March 1, 2015
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Acknowledgments

Biggest thanks to Terry Lowman, from the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Ames and the First Unitarian Church of Des Moines, who got excited about this issue at an earlier workshop, put forward a Congregational Study Action Issue on this topic in 2012 and asked me to write a curriculum for possible use with a CSAI.

Thank you to Dick Burkhart and UU’s for a Just Economic Community for their leadership in getting the Escalating Inequality CSAI selected in 2014! Thank you to Alex Kapitan and Jessica Halperin in the UUA for including this workshop in the Study Guide for the CSAI.

Thank you to the Midwest Unitarian Universalist Summer Assembly for being my field test site for 3 years for a different version and for sharing class stories in a survey. An extra thank you to Mary Mahern for her supportive attending all three years.

Thank you to the Unitarian Sunday School Society for a grant to support more intensive research and a field test. The Unitarian Fellowship of Ames also provided funding for documentary reviews.

Thank you to Linda Lemons and Linda Barnes for agreeing to host and facilitate the first Field Test at First Unitarian Church of Des Moines, Iowa. Thank you to Shari Woodbury, intern minister at Unitarian Universalist Congregation of Columbus (Indiana), and that congregation for field testing the July 2014 version called Economically Just Congregations: Becoming Aware of Class and Classism.

Thank you to Rev. Brian Eslinger for getting my congregation involved in class issues in 2001 and Rev. Kent McKusick in Ames now for his enthusiastic support of the project and facilitating access for website distribution.

Big heartfelt thanks to Dr. Betsy Leondar-Wright, Rev. Dorothy Emerson, and Denise Moorehead and others in UU Class Conversations for their collaboration, deep knowledge, and feedback. And a “can never be big enough” thank you to my life partner Adin Mann, for all sorts of coaching, work, and his ongoing commitment to social justice issues.

Suzanne Zilber
Ames, Iowa  February 1, 2015
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Forward and Author’s Background

I wrote this curriculum because I wanted to work through my issues with privilege and classism and create a resource to strengthen our UU congregations. I developed this work first for psychologists and then started to develop it for UU’s in 2011 at the Midwest Unitarian Universalist Summer Assembly. I wrote this curriculum because I was asked to by another UU. I was asked to after it looked like the national UU Association was interested in class issues at the 2102 General Assembly and we hoped that it could be voted in as a congregational study action issue in 2014. And hurray it was!

It might help to know a little bit about me and how I came to be interested in these issues.

I was born in the early 60’s in Shaker Heights, Ohio, a middle and upper middle class suburb of Cleveland. My family was upper middle class, attend a Reformed Jewish synagogue, and we are White. When I was young, my mom was not employed outside the home, but my family still employed African American women to help with housework and childcare for four children. My first experience of having discomfort with class differences occurred when I was 4 years old and one of our “maids” brought her same-aged daughter over and we played on my swing set together. I was confused and concerned by the question – “who is with her daughter while she is with me?” I liked the women who took care of me, they brought me candy cigarettes, made beautiful pastry swans, and made me laugh.

In elementary school, I did not think of my family as rich, because my mother’s parents were very obviously rich. They owned a home with an indoor swimming pool, traveled around the world, and collected antiques music boxes and other inventions. Then my family moved to a larger house in 5th grade- a house with 7 bedrooms- 2 of those bedrooms were originally designed for servants with an extra staircase that led to the kitchen, and then I thought, “we are rich”.

Shaker Heights had intentionally become racially integrated, so I got to become friends with Black girls from my same social class in the public school system. However, inequity was still apparent to me. In middle school, I took public transportation and noticed that at the end of the day, White men with suits and briefcases were getting off the Rapid Transit, and African-American women in white uniforms were getting on to go back downtown. I felt some guilt and uncertainty about what to do with the fact that I had done nothing to earn my privilege. I don’t know why I didn’t discuss this with anyone, but I simply decided I would use the privilege of a good education to help people less fortunate than myself- so my activism at that point was to be a hard working student. To read the rest of my story, go to uuclassconversations.org/stories.

My activism now is to help others be hard working students and potential activists around the issue of class. I am a psychologist and I brought ideas from psychology and immersed myself in documentaries, books, and other workshops to create this curriculum.

You may notice that I do not always give direct instructions on what congregations should do, as I feel that we as an association are still trying to figure some things out, like how to do class-sensitive fundraising. Hopefully, your congregation or organization will develop solutions that work for your group and can contribute to our study action issue process to create recommendations and guidelines.
Suzanne Zilber, PhD, is a psychologist in private practice with 26 years of social justice programming experience. She has presented “Social Class in UU Congregational Life” workshops for three years at the Midwest Unitarian Universalist Summer Assembly to adults and adolescents. The Unitarian Sunday School Society gave her a grant to develop a curriculum manual that could be used at congregations with non-expert facilitators: “Economically Just Congregations: Becoming Aware of Class and Classism.” Suzanne worked with UUs for a Just Economic Community to address class issues in the now chosen Congregational Study Action Issue “Escalating Inequality.” She recently co-facilitated with UU Class Conversations at the First Unitarian Society in Minneapolis and at the UU General Assembly. She is a steering committee member of UU Class Conversations. Suzanne grew up in an upper middle-class Jewish family in a racially integrated suburb of Cleveland, Ohio. She has been a member of the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Ames for 24 years.

This curriculum development was partially financially supported by the Unitarian Sunday School Society and the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Ames. This version reflects changes after the fall 2014 field test in Columbus, Indiana and interactions with and feedback from UU Class Conversations members.

**Description of the Curriculum and Document Layout**

This curriculum is designed to be conducted at Unitarian Universalist congregations. It is designed for facilitators who may not have that much background knowledge in class or economic inequality issues, so there is a lot of content. It is designed to be interactive and has some less interactive components that will be more comfortable for introverts.

**Process:**
This is an interactive workshop that provides educational content through self-reflection, discussion, videos, read-arounds of quotes from UUs and class writers, readings and mini-lectures. A common pattern of interaction used in this workshop is that participants engage in individual self-reflection with worksheets, then discuss in pairs or trios, and then in large groups. There are large group discussions of videos and readings. Participants do readings after the first four-hour unit to prepare for the second session. There is one activity that is more kinesthetic at the end of the final session- people walk to show where they are in stages of classism awareness.

**Content:**
Why people have avoided talking about class, emotions related to class differences, class indicators, types of classism, intersections with other isms, meritocracy, UU history and contexts, domains for congregational classism, economic inequality - reasons for and impacts of, class cultures in organizations, becoming a class ally, stages of classism awareness.

**Cost:** Free. Congregations will pay for photocopying the handouts and flipcharts if they choose to use flipcharts.
Document Layout: This document contains all the materials needed for the workshop.

- Facilitator’s Manual with 4 modules and list of references
- Handout Packet
- Facilitator’s Resources
- Flipchart file
- Evaluation Forms
- Example Flyer
- High School Youth Program

The pages for each of these sections are given in the Table of Contents.

Logistics

8 hours programming total: 4.25 hour programming format to be followed by another two 2 hour evening programs. The two evening programs should follow closely behind so the training can be complete in 2-3 weeks. It is also possible to do this in four 2 hour modules.

Ideal Audience Size: 12-20 Can be done with 8

Facilitators It can be led by one facilitator who should have basic skills in ensuring participation and keeping the agenda moving. It helps to have an assistant with passing out handouts and watching the group. It helps to have a third person just for logistics—preferably someone who belongs to the church who knows the equipment, kitchen etc. This person should make sure room temperature and lighting are good for everyone. It is best if facilitators are NOT chairs or members of the stewardship committee if they have knowledge of specific member giving.

Take advantage of Tips for Facilitators from the UUA:
http://www.uua.org/re/youth/identity-based/btcp/290715.shtml and

Room Set up U of tables with presenters at open end with 2 flipchart stands and DVD-TV

It helps to have tables for participants to write on their worksheets. However, if tables are not available, you can provide clipboards or other writing surfaces.

Equipment:

- 2 Flip chart stands – one will be written on, and one will be premade pages. The flipchart pages start on page 116 and can be enlarged into 20 x 30 pages that can be attached to a flipchart with a big clip on top, so no one has to make flipchart pages by hand. It costs about $3 per page at your local copy center.
- Flipchart pens
- Nametags and markers for those
• DVD player and DVD you make for yourself from the clips OR you will need to use the internet and computer projector. It is not legal for the UUA or myself to create a DVD for you. I have provided a list of the video clip internet addresses at the end of logistics.
• Pens or pencils for all participants
• Masking Tape for posting sheets of paper
• Handouts and readings – give out at time of use. These are in the Resources.
• Chalice – you don’t have to have a real flame!
• Watch that lays flat if no wall clock available for time keeping. Do not use your cell phone.
• 5 x 7 index cards and glue stick to put read around slips on
• Pre-prepared Read-Around cards or slips

Manual: It works best to three hole punch it and put it in a binder. **Text that is in this typeface (Arial) is what the facilitator reads out loud.**

Module Overviews: print these off to have separately and out in front of you while you are facilitating.

Handout distribution: I prefer to pass out handouts when people are going to use them, so that people don’t look ahead if they get fidgety. I think it helps to have these handouts be loose, for when they are going to write on worksheets. If you don’t want to worry about distributing them during the workshop, you can supply the loose handouts in a folder and ask people to not look ahead. You can also experiment with giving a stapled packet and let me know how it goes!

I have tried having music for when people are in between or filling out an individual workshop and people just found it distracting.

Expect people to show up late for the weekend offering, so advertise your event as starting at 12:45 PM so you have the full time to complete the program.

Give verbal one minute warnings when you are going to ask people to stop talking in pairs or trios and come back to the full group.

Offer any people who will have difficulty with reading things a reader, or make the document available electronically for those with computer reading systems for take home readings

Books/Videos: If you own, or your congregation has social class related books and videos, you can display them for participants to look at during breaks.

Evaluation forms are in 4 documents: These can be printed back to back or single sided. Please staple the module one form which has 3 pages.
Please mail completed evaluation forms to:
Suzanne Zilber, 600 5th St. STE 302, Ames, IA 50010

Permission for use: you may use all materials in this work for other purposes as long as you quote or cite the material with “Suzanne Zilber Ph.D © 2014” and list the curriculum in a reference list if you have one. You may also indicate if you modified or were influenced by the work in something you develop. If you want to use quotes by people I quoted, you will have to ask for their or their publisher’s permission.

Video Clips used in this Curriculum

Module 1

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nU5MtVM_zFs --- Opening sequence from People like US - watch all

http://www.disclose.tv/action/viewvideo/173790/People_Like_UsSocial_Class_In_America2001/  - The Trouble with Tofu from People Like Us - this starts 16-17 minutes in.

Module 2


Module 4

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/06/21/robert-reich-inequality-video_n_3480009.html -- Robert Reich's cartoon - watch all


You will select one from the items below, they are described in more detail in the manual.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MdbHEZp0WPA Employed but still homeless 11:24 min

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ly718xGmeBk Poverty’s new address in America. 5:13 minutes

Clip five http://www.pbs.org/pov/wagingaliving/video_classroom5.php 2:30
**MODULE 1: Introduction and Class as Culture**

Proposed timing for each element of this module.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Module 1 Overview</th>
<th>Class as Culture</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Presenter Introduction(s)</td>
<td>5 min</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Chalice Lighting</td>
<td>2 min</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Introduction to Workshop</td>
<td>2 min</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Covenant</td>
<td>4 min</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Workshop goals</td>
<td>1 min</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Group discussion or Participant introductions</td>
<td>15 min</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Video Clip – People Like US</td>
<td>10 min</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Discussion of Emotions in Video</td>
<td>5 min</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Mini-Lecture on Emotions and Class</td>
<td>10 min</td>
<td>(55 min total)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>10. Break</strong></td>
<td>10 min</td>
<td>(be strict about this)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Ladder Activity- solo, pair and large group</td>
<td>20 min solo- 5, pair -6, large -6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Mini-lecture/ Read around - What is Class?</td>
<td>15 min</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Read Around – Conflicting Class messages</td>
<td>3 min</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Self Exploration- solo, trio, and large group</td>
<td>25 min solo-7, trio-9, large-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(73 min total including break)

**Total with break=120 minutes**

**BREAK**

Complete evaluation form for module one. 10 minute with refreshments
I. **Introduction: Presenter introductions  5 minutes.**

**Presenter(s):** Very briefly share why you were chosen or volunteered to lead the workshop. You can share how you have knowledge or background in these issues or just that you have facilitation skills and are an eager learner with the participants to explore the material. Share a one- two minute story of the first time you became aware of class differences.

**Flipchart page 1:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Conscious:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class and Classism in UU Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presenter Name(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:45 PM to 5:15 PM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. **Welcome and Chalice Lighting:**

While these are from two different authors, read them as one reading. If you have someone like a minister from your congregation attending, you can invite them to do the chalice lighting.

We come together this morning seeking a reality beyond our narrow selves, that binds us in compassion, love, and understanding to other human beings.

*WAYNE ARNASON*

We gather this morning to affirm the potential we all share; for building community, for undertaking constructive change, for engaging in mature growth, for achieving greater humanity than we have known.  

*HAROLD BABCOCK*

May our hearts and minds be opened this hour to the power and the insight that weaves together the scattered threads of our experience, and helps us remember the Wholeness of which we are a part.

*WAYNE ARNASON*

From:  
## Flipchart page 2

- affirm the inherent worth of every person  
- value compassion, justice and equity in human relations, and  
- support the use of democratic processes in our congregations and society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Looking Inward</th>
<th>Looking Outward</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Inclusivity in our Congregations

### Social justice Actions

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### III. FACILITATOR Introduction of the Workshop:

- Just read this text with Flipchart on page one.

**FACILITATOR:** Our Unitarian Universalist Principles state that we
- affirm the inherent worth of every person
- value compassion, justice and equity in human relations, and
- support the use of democratic processes in our congregations and society

Given these principles, we are concerned about the impact of social class and classism on our relationships, democratic processes, and the pursuit of peace, liberty and justice for all.

UU’s have a long history of involvement in social justice issues and we want to tool ourselves for social action on the issue of income inequality. Our work to address escalating inequality needs to address our congregations as well as the larger community. Class issues are not outside of us, they are us. Class awareness creates communities in which people from all social classes feel understood and valued. Rev. Suzelle Lynch says that we have more class diversity in our congregations than we can see, as class experience can be invisible and we can be unaware of our impacts.

We are here today to explore language and concepts that will enable us to enter discussions about class with **less anxiety** and **greater sensitivity**. Once we are equipped with class and classism awareness, we can be more effective in selecting and implementing social justice action around these issues.
IV. **Covenant:**

**FACILITATOR:** To ensure that our work together today is conducted with sensitivity, we need to view ourselves as going on an exploration together and be gentle with ourselves. Let’s review this covenant:

Flipchart page 3 - version below has extra content that facilitator can add if wanted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Covenant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Share from life experience, use I statements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Listen deeply and assume good intentions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Participate and ensure other’s participation (“step up if you tend to be quiet/step back if you tend to share a lot).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- It’s OK to say “pass” to reading out loud or sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- All questions are welcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Put away cell phones and laptops, handouts will be given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Confidentiality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Anything else? (write in additions)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V. **Workshop Goals:**

**FACILITATOR:** Here are our goals for our four module curriculum. (read goals from flipchart page 4)

Distribute Handout 1- - if you want to just use the handout and skip flipchart page 4, you can do so. I think that bringing people’s eyes or attention to the same space in the room creates a sense of group unity in considering the goals.

**Flipchart page 4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Workshop Goals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Increase your self-awareness of your own class experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Increase sensitivity to other’s class experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Learn about forms of classism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Examine the congregation’s policies and culture for possible classism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Prepare for action towards a congregation truer to UU values.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FACILITATOR: We will meet these goals over the multiple sessions of this curriculum to include: (share the dates and times that follow.)

We need to also learn how to partner across class boundaries to engage in community action. Future modules will address income inequality and how to be a class activist and ally in more depth.

Go over the whole outline (handout 1) emphasizing that there will be lots of opportunity for discussion and that activities will vary.

VI. Why class is hard to talk about. 2 choices depending on group size.

If you have a small group, you can allow people to introduce themselves and why they signed up. Participant introductions 15 minutes or 2 minutes per participant Be firm with timing each person.

FACILITATOR: I would like you to briefly introduce yourself to the group as to what motivated you to participate in today’s workshop and why you may have found it hard to talk about class issues.

OR

Group discussion:

FACILITATOR: Why is class not talked about?

Let group generate responses and record on a flipchart page and then fill in with material below.

Why is class not talked about or hard to talk about?

FACILITATOR: Americans as a group like to think of ourselves as less affected by class formalities than other cultures like British or Indian. Americans have struggled around how to talk about many issues of diversity such as gender, race and sexual orientation but have had some success in those areas. Will Barratt (2011) suggests that social class is about hierarchy – who is better, and that gender, ethnicity etc are about difference, about belonging to some category. Many can presume the behavioral innocence of someone who belongs in a particular category, but in the realm of class, it is assumed that behavior has contributed to where the person lives on the hierarchy. Unexplored value assumptions contribute to our social class hierarchy constructions, such as materialism and assuming upward mobility is good. We also avoid class related discussions
because of the high risk of eliciting strong emotions in such dialogues. We lack a common language and understanding to approach our discussions. Our hope is that today’s workshop will offer the beginnings of a common language and understanding.

VII. Emotions and Social Class

Video clip: Opening Sequence: People Like Us Video 9 minutes (you can watch this on YouTube)
Purpose: Application for identifying emotional issues in class.

FACILITATOR: Emotions are a big component of social class experience. We are going to watch a video clip and please write down the different emotions that are expressed by the people in the film and emotions that you experience while watching. It is OK to have less than kind emotions at this point, just notice them. It is common for people to feel judgmental at some point. We will then look at those emotions in a framework.

VIII. Large group discussion of what emotions people noticed in the video 12 minutes

IX. Emotions and Social Class 10 minutes  Mini-Lecture/discussion

Purpose: Put their video experience in a framework that will help them understand why class issues elicit certain emotions.

FACILITATOR: We bring a variety of emotions to our experiences of social class. Psychology offers us one framework to understand our emotional reactions to people.

Don’t have to read this {this material is based on article by Michael Price, Monitor on Psychology, American Psychological Association, October 2010.}

FACILITATOR: When we meet someone for the first time, we automatically make two judgments: whether they’re a friend, and whether they have power. Psychologist Susan Fiske calls the first impression “warmth” and the second one “competence”. These two judgments then affect our emotions toward the other person. Fiske found that when you combine these thoughts and feelings into a two
by two table, you generate how people respond to each other on the basis of social class. This reaction pattern has been found in multiple studies in different countries.

Distribute Handout 2

**Flip chart page 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low Competency</th>
<th>High Competency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>High Warmth</strong></td>
<td>Disabled People, elderly people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PITY</td>
<td>PRIDE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low Warmth</strong></td>
<td>Poor people, homeless people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISGUST</td>
<td>ENVY</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FACILITATOR** Dr. Fiske looked at where activation occurs in the brain when people look at images of identifiably poor, homeless people and her findings indicated that participants may not be seeing them as fellow human beings. She then found that if you ask people to think about what vegetable that person might like, then the scorned individual at least moves from the DISGUST to the PITY box, but not to a full recognition of any competence.

Other emotions that are elicited around social class issues are: ENTITLEMENT, SHAME, ANGER and GUILT (write these under the table on the flipchart) The most dangerous emotion in human relations is CONTEMPT – in fact, marriages that are high in expressed contempt don’t make it. Contempt is some combination of anger and disgust. Robert C. Solomon places contempt on the same continuum as resentment and anger. He argues that the differences between the
three is that resentment is directed toward a higher status individual; anger is directed toward an equal status individual; and contempt is directed toward a lower status individual. (Solomon R.C. (1993). The Passions: Emotions and the Meaning of Life. Hackett Publishing.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person making judgment</th>
<th>Higher Status = Resentment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equal Status = Anger</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Status = Contempt</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**FACILITATOR:** Nonetheless, a person of lower socioeconomic status may still feel contempt for an upper class individual if they perceive them as being of a lower moral status due to their behaviors.

So with all these powerful emotions, one can understand why people may want to avoid these issues.

**X. Break**

**XI. Class Indicators**

**The Ladder: Self-Awareness Activity** - pass out Ladder Handout 3 (7 rungs) 18 minutes

Purpose: participants will reflect on their own class experience and will begin make connections between class and other isms. This will personalize the material and also begin sharing between participants about their different experiences.

Distribute Handout 4

**FACILITATOR:** read the instructions in the table below on the handout

1) Make a P on the ladder for where you believe you and your family were on the social class ladder when you were growing up in the past.
2) Make an N on the ladder where you believe you are now.
3) Make an F on the ladder for where you would want to be in the future.

**FACILITATOR:** “It is OK if you put letters in the same places.”
[Participants usually will ask how to define the rungs on the ladder, and encourage them to interpret that for themselves – it doesn’t matter. This way we don’t get into how people have different opinions about how to define the classes at this point.]

1) **Individual work:** Participants complete handout 5 minutes

2) **Paired:** Tell them to Pair up with someone they do not know well or assign them to pairs, and have them talk about what they put on the ladder. 6 minutes

3) **Large group sharing:** 6 minutes
   
   **Ask:** What did you use to determine or describe what social class you were or are in?

Write comments on the board or flipchart. Flipchart page 6 should be left blank for writing on.

**FACILITATOR:** What you have identified are “Class markers” or “Class indicators” – write that on the Flipchart sheet.

**XII. What is Class?**

**FACILITATOR:** “We are now going to look at some basic definitions.”

**Leader Action:** Review Definitions Handout 4 – distribute the handout What is Class? 20 minutes

**Purpose:** Start developing the shared language to discuss class issues.

**FACILITATOR** “These definitions come from the work of the organization Class Action, a national non-profit organization based in Massachusetts, psychology professor William Lui, and psychologist Suzanne Zilber “

You can have participants take turns or you can read all these out loud.
What is Class?

Social Class: Class is more than income. It takes into account wealth (wealth is what you own minus what you owe) as well as education, occupation, status, power, and worldview. Class is relative. In the U.S. there are no hard and fast divisions between class groups. Some people grow up in one class and live as adults in another.

Class Indicators: Things that determine an individual’s class OR perceived class.

Social mobility: refers to the ability to change positions within a social stratification system. When people improve or diminish their economic status in a way that affects social class, they experience social mobility. Mobility is low in the US now compared with most industrialized countries.

Class Straddler: Someone who grew up in one class and has moved into another class situation. Usually refers to people in the working class or in poverty who moved into the middle or upper class because of education, job, marriage, or other means.

FACILITATOR ADDS VERBALLY: Psychologist and writer Barbara Jensen, a white woman, came from a Minnesota working class background. She writes, “I looked at the crazy patchwork life I have fashioned, belonging nowhere but almost anywhere. I knew I would always be suspended between worlds: between Minneapolis and New York City; between theater, literature, world travel, and the rooted, easy-going, enduring pleasures of my working class life.”


Downwardly mobile: People from class positions who move into lower class positions due to divorce, job loss, disability, choice, lack of ability to get a job, or other means.

Upwardly mobile: People who are moving or aspiring to move to a higher social class or to a position of increased status or power through a variety of means.

Class Groups: People can struggle to create group labels. In this workshop, we acknowledge that class groups represent clusters of cultural values.

Culture: Culture is the learned and shared values, beliefs and behaviors of a group. Culture is the “rulebook of meaning” for adapting to the environment and survival. Cultural norms so completely surround people that few ever recognize the assumptions on which their lives and functioning rest. They are invisible.
In this workshop, we will be using a cultural norms approach in contrast to stereotyping.

**Cultural Norms Approach:** Person uses a “working hypothesis” based on accurate information about possible preferred values and behaviors of another.

**Stereotyping:** Involves overgeneralizing group information to an individual, a negative evaluation or overidealization of a group, and is often based on inaccurate information.

XIII. **Self Class Awareness**

**FACILITATOR:** “Our next two exercises are going to explore class-based cultural messages we have received from our childhoods.”

Sometimes we get messages about how to survive from our class background.

A survival message that Barbara Jensen learned from her upbringing was “try not to wish for things you can’t have, it only makes you feel bad.” P 12 . We will now read conflicting class based survival messages that may be given by the same family and be confusing.

**Examples of Conflicting Social Class Socialization Messages** – Read Around. 10 minutes

Purpose: to give examples of messages to help people complete their self assessment and to illustrate the messages can be in conflict.

(Facilitator- cut these into strips from the Facilitator Resources to be passed out and participants will read them aloud) They are listed below just so you know what the material is from this manual.

From Liu 2011 book pgs 212-213

- Be an independent person and don’t rely on anyone, but you may have to work with others to succeed.
- Saving is important, but you have to spend to succeed
- Don’t be gaudy (flashy is trashy), but flaunt it if you got it
- You should always strive for upward mobility, but you should also be happy with what you’ve got.
- Pull yourself up by your bootstraps, but look for ways to exploit the system.
- If you fail, it’s because you are lazy, but if I fail, it’s because the system is unfair.
• Only spend what you have, but sometimes you have to invest a little more to get a lot back.
• Good things in life come to those who wait, but you should take what you can now because who knows if it will come back.

(do not discuss these, go to the next activity)

XIV. Cultural Expectations: Self-exploration - Social Class Self Exploration Handout 5

Purpose: to increase individual awareness of class influences. (25 minutes)

FACILTATOR: You are now going to explore your own particular messages from your upbringing related to class, individually, in a trio and then with the large group. As you complete your form, remember to keep in mind both the strengths and the limitations of your upbringing.

Distribute Handout 5.

Individuals complete the form – give 7 minutes - watch for when people stop writing.

Trio activity: Instructions for this: Create a trio with some new people. Pick a note-taker to write down themes. Only discuss your responses to question 2 in your trio. 3 minutes a person 9 minutes

Large group sharing: Trios share interesting themes or new learnings. 6 minutes

Handout Questions Social Class Self Exploration Based on form in W. M. Liu 2011 book

1) My first memory of social class in my life.
2) Things I learned about how to survive in life related to my social class background (values and expectations).
3) My parents or grandparents motto about social class and classism would be: (e.g. when the going gets tough, the tough get going)
4) choice, lack of ability to get a job, or other means.
5) Conflicting messages I heard about class:
6) Social class is most relevant to my life in the following way:
7) The one thing I do that maintains my sense of social class:

10 minute LONG BREAK with SNACKS - be sure to accommodate various dietary needs - some options that are gluten free, non dairy, no nuts etc.
**MODULE 2: Classism**

Proposed timing for each element of this module.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Module 2 Overview</th>
<th>Classism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Video Clip – food and class</td>
<td>11 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Discussion of Video</td>
<td>5 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Review statistics</td>
<td>5 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Video Clip – intersections with class</td>
<td>10 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Definitions – Handout</td>
<td>5 min (41 min)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6. Break</strong></td>
<td><strong>5 min</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Read Around and discussion- Types of Classism</td>
<td>55 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Reading assignments</td>
<td>2 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Closing Circle and Extinguish Chalice</td>
<td>6 min (65 min)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Evaluation form</td>
<td>10 min <strong>Total = 115 minutes</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FACILITATOR: This next video will begin to show how class culture and power can begin to move into classist impacts. Then we will look more precisely at types of classism.

I. Video Clip  
Track 3 of DVD *People Like Us*: “The Trouble with Tofu”  11 minutes
Or you will use the internet site.

Purpose: To have the participants see how issues like food, liberal ideologies, and economics intersect with class culture.

II. Discussion  5 minutes

III. Handout 6: Statistics Related to Social Class in the United States

Purpose: Review current income inequalities and intersections with sex, race, disability, sexual orientation.

FACILITATOR: Look in any news publication and you will see another alarming statistic about how the gap between the rich and the poor keeps growing. This first statistic on this handout is just one of them.

( Now simply read quickly over the handout with the participants. )

**Statistics Related to Social Class in the United States**

The top 10 percent of earners last year collected more than half of the nation’s total income, including market income and capital gains. That’s the highest proportion since the government began recording income data more than a century ago. *The Week, 9-20-2013 p 31*

*Market income is one’s total income before tax minus income from government sources.*

In 2009, 14.3 percent of people in American lived in poverty with differences by geographic region. That is 44 million people.

**Race and Class**  
**Based on the 2010 Census**

Blacks were almost two times more likely to be living in poverty than Whites (25% v. 13%)

For Hispanics, the poverty rate was 23% and for Asian and Pacific Islanders 12%

The median household income measured in 2010 is $50,046  2010
Household income by racial group in 2010  Percentage of Families whose savings would run out in 3 months or less (by racial group)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Group</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>67,022</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian and Pacific Island</td>
<td>52,776</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>52,480</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>40,165</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>33,578</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian/Alaska Nat</td>
<td>35,062</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By sex 2010 data  Median Weekly earnings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Earnings</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>So women make 74.5 cents for every dollar that men make.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>824</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source of median household data: American Community Survey 1 year estimates US Census.

Disability and Class: In his book No Pity: People with disabilities forging a new civil rights movement, (1994) Joseph Shapiro shares that what people with disabilities want is access to being full participants in our communities such that we need to make employment possible for people with disabilities. Some people with disabilities can legally be paid less than minimum wage.

Gender and Sexual Orientations and Class: LGBT people are in every class and race. Individuals in same-sex couples have more college degrees and higher levels of employment than those in different-sex couples. Some studies that suggest that gay men earn less than similarly qualified heterosexual men, which strongly suggests the influence of workplace discrimination. Lesbian households often make much less than comparable gay male or heterosexual households. Transgender people experience much employment discrimination. (Census data and Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues)

African-American woman, bell hooks, encourages us to stay focused on the class issue.

“Class matters. Race and gender can be used as screens to deflect attention away from harsh realities class politics exposes. Clearly, just when we should all be paying attention to class, using race and gender to understand and explain its new dimensions, society, even our government, says let’s talk about race and racial injustice.” bell hooks, Where We Stand: Class Matters.

Read this below quoted section after reviewing that handout.

FACILITATOR: “UU Chuck Collins, a white owning class* man, is a senior scholar at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and directs IPS’s Program on Inequality and the Common Good. He is an expert on U.S. inequality and author of several books. Felice Yeskel was a co-founder of Class Action. They wrote:

“The values of the market operate on the notion of winners and losers. The values of a human economy recognizes the worth and dignity of all people and believe that everyone has a fundamental right to participate in the economy and the decisions that affect it.
The market economy measures its success by growth and outputs, and uses indicators like the gross domestic product and the expansion of wealth in the stock market as yardsticks. A sustainable economy measures success by the quality of life for all humans and the impact on the natural environment.” Chuck Collins and Felice Yeskel (p 224) 2005

*Owning class and capitalist class membership is defined in module 4. See Handouts 13 and 16.

IV. More Intersections with other isms

**FACILITATOR:** “In line with what Collins and Yeskel are saying, we will next listen to African-American community activist Majora Carter describe how she straddles two class positions as she tries to fight the environmental injustice that occurs at the intersection of racism and classism. She starts off describing what she has in common with those in the high power audience of her TED talk.”

**Video clip** Majora Carter TED Talk 5 minutes, but with set up etc 8 minutes

Purpose: Provide a concrete example of the intersections of oppressions and some types of classism.

(Side note: As she has risen in power, she has encountered challenges in maintaining her alliances in the South Bronx as outlined by a New York Times article published April 4, 2013.) The clip will be from minute 3:11-8:07.

After the clip:

**FACILITATOR** : We will now review some definitions of classism and you can reflect on and name some of these forms of classism in Ms. Carter’s story.

V. Handouts 7 What is Classism? 50 minutes

Purpose: Learn different forms of classism.

Distribute Handout 7 – can be printed back to back..
What is Classism?

Classism is similar to other “isms”: it comes down to prejudice plus power. It is a form of discrimination which is the outcome of prejudice being acted out with power resulting in devaluing, restricted opportunities, and violence toward members of another group.

A simpler definition is:

Classism: the systematic assignment of worth or access to power based on social class.

At the institutional level, it is the policies and practices set up to benefit more class-privileged people at the expense of others. Activist Linda Stout defines this “as a system of oppression that gives one group power and privilege over another group based on income and access to resources.” (1996 xiii)

FORMS OF POWER

Class Capital: Sources of power that can contribute to class situations. (Pierre Bourdieu 1986)

ECONOMIC: control over monetary resources. What you own.

SOCIAL: access to resources based on group membership, relationships, support, and interpersonal networks of influence. Who you know.

CULTURAL: knowledge and skills (e.g. education, knowledge of social conventions and expectations) that confer advantages in a particular setting, group, or institution. What you know.

FACILITATOR ADD IN: For Social and Cultural Capital, Joe Kadi, an Arab-American, gives us an example of those forms of power from a working class experience base. He states:
“I grew up in an extended family and a small neighborhood where people frequently asked for help and always got it. Broken-down cars, leaky taps, or sick kids didn’t mean a phone call to a costly expert. We knocked on the door of the neighbor who had what we needed”. P 5

Regardless of class status, many people hold some form of social power. To take responsibility for our impacts on others, we have to recognize when we have power. Here are some additional forms to think about regarding yourself in different situations.

**Forms of Social Power**  
(John R. P. French and Bertram Raven 1959)

- **REWARD POWER**: controls rewards and resources
- **COERCIVE POWER**: controls punishments
- **LEGITIMATE POWER**: authority vested in a role or position
- **EXPERT POWER**: controls knowledge and information
- **REFERENCE POWER**: people like or find person attractive

When we think of classism, we most often think of downward classism, where someone with more class related power hurts someone with less. However, people with less can be harmful to those with more as they may have some of the power sources we have reviewed.

Given that people higher up the class hierarchy have embedded power, rather than using the term, upward classism, this training will use the term “upward class prejudice” to indicate when someone with less wealth-based power has a negative impact on someone with more wealth, due to their class differences. After the break we will go over more definitions of types of classism with specific examples.

**VI. Break**  
5 minutes

**VII. Activity: Classism Read Around** when you get to the types of individual classism, pass out cards for people to read out loud who are willing to read out loud and say the below text.
PURPOSE: The reason I created this read around is that I found that participants had a hard
time coming up with examples of types of classism on the spot. This approach also ensures
that the voices of people from different class backgrounds are represented.

I have built in 15 additional minutes for discussion that can occur either during or after the
examples are read.

FACILITATOR: “To illustrate some of these forms of classism, we will
be sharing some experiences that UU’s have had that attended the
Midwest UU Summer Assembly. These stories were collected the
summer of 2013. There will also be stories from community
activists.”

Prep before workshop: Cut them out and paste them on large index cards from the
Facilitator Resources. Number the cards. Hand them to participants, who are comfortable
reading aloud, read these after the definition is shared.

FACILITATOR: Downward classism and upward negative class impacts
are represented by most Americans having negative stereotypes and
attitudes about both the rich and the poor. They are also represented
by specific actions.

Downward classism examples:

(1) “Our church was raising funds for new chairs for the sanctuary. Each chair cost $110.
Many of us could not afford that much especially at Christmas. A board member who is
independently wealthy stuck a chair in the lobby with a bow and her name on it to show
that she had bought a chair. We eventually figured out how to contribute, but the chair
sat in the lobby for weeks as a reminder of the class divide in our church.”

(2) “A friend here in my large city had gone through the orientation at the UU church
downtown--she has no car and it is easier for her and her 3 children to get there on the
bus than walking from the end of the bus line out to my suburban church or setting up
Sunday rides with church members (her schedule is hectic with the children going some
weekends to their two different dad's homes). So, fine, they were attending downtown,
settling in, making friends, etc. for a few months. Right before the summer break of the
regular church year, she was registering the kids for fall RE and, then she was told about
the $50 per child RE fee (x3=$150). She said that was a lot of money for her and was told
there may be scholarships. So, she was very upset--called me to say she wouldn't have
gone through the orientation and gotten the kids liking their new church if she'd have
known about the fee. The first time she even heard about an RE fee was when she was
there signing up. She felt very embarrassed, sad, etc. I encouraged her to hang in there,
she liked the church, the bussing was making it easier to attend, and I was sure there
would be financial help. Yikes! Classism! I did make a call in her behalf and it has
worked out for her family to go there, but, golly, she has a struggle to live and didn't expect a problem at church.”

(3) “I have dealt with mental illness for many years and as a result have not been able to establish a real career. I’ve been taking classes at my local university for the past 6 years, and have worked on-and-off part time for the past 10 years. My latest position ended very recently. At camp I feel a little bit uncomfortable when people ask what I do. When I respond I talk as though my part-time work is ongoing, and I say that I am a university student without mentioning that I am taking a minimum number of credits.”

(4) A form of downward classism that middle class perpetrate on lower class people is the assumption of choice. Sadie Dingfelder (2010) wrote that “During Hurricane Katrina, many white, middle-class Americans were puzzled that so many New Orleanians “chose” to stay despite evacuation orders and reports of impending disaster” “As people know now, most of those who stayed in New Orleans did so because they had no choice. They had no transportation, funds or friends in other states, or they had to stay to care for others who didn’t have the means of escape, said psychologist Hazel Rose Markus.”

(5) Community Activist Linda Stout, who is White, wrote the book Bridging the Class Divide, which was published by the UU press- Beacon Press. She grew up in poverty to later develop her own very successful community organization. She had to drop out of college because the college raised room and board and would not offer her additional financial aid. She is angry at the school.

“I was so angry with them, and I still am. For years, I thought it was somehow my fault that I didn’t stay in school. When I tell middle-class folks this story, they ask “Why didn’t you do this?...But at that time I did not know what other options were. I believed I had no other options available to me.” “I often define poverty as a lack of options”. Middle-class people “don’t understand that it is a privilege to have options, and that a lot of people don’t have that privilege”. “They also cannot understand the intense pain and shame of not having those options available to you, and as a result, the sense of being a failure that it instills in you”. 25 Used with permission.

FACILITATOR: The next three examples are of upward class prejudice.

Upward class prejudice examples:

(6) “A former student of mine went to work at a prison as a psychologist. He was outnumbered by other workers who called him an “egghead” and socially excluded him.”

(7) “The staff at the Bus Riders Union is mostly college-educated people of color, though most of them grew up working-class. Sometimes there’s resentment of them by certain Latinos on the buses, particularly of Chicanos whose Spanish isn’t as good. “Who are you to come here educated and not speaking my language?” is the attitude. …Class tension comes out as ethnic tension. Manuel Criollo (p 32 Class Matters)
(8) Pick one of these UU examples to put on the card:
“...I was concerned when a member of my congregation stewardship committee said that if someone could pledge $10,000 to our operating fund, it should be no big deal for her to give another $2000 to make up for a shortfall in our campaign. I felt this assumed that this member had not made any sacrifices to make this pledge, and that this person had unlimited resources.”

OR
“...My friend was upset that the chair of a capital campaign assumed she had come into better circumstances financially when she made a generous donation to the campaign. In actuality, my friend had cut back her donations to other charities and made other sacrifices in her life to make the pledge. These sacrifices were invisible.”

FACILITATOR: According to psychologist William Liu “Lateral classism” is defined as negative feelings and actions towards those in the same class group that one is in. This can take the form of pressure from people in a class toward others in that same class to behave in ways they believe are consistent with maintaining class membership. For example, pressure to “keep up with the Joneses” among some groups or to “not get above your raisin” in other groups. In this curriculum, it is called it within-class classism, because the term lateral racism has a different meaning than Liu’s use of the term.

Indirect forms of within-class classism for wealthier people could include describing vacations, and in the UU context, environmentally correct but expensive actions like purchasing a hybrid car, or other emblems of social class. People have expressed concern about the downward and within-class classism that can occur in the Water Communion if people’s sharing of water from their summer focuses on their travels. At the UU Fellowship of Ames, Rev. Kent McKusick modified it so that people shared what commitments they were going to make to the congregation in the coming year.

Here are some examples of within-class classism from different class groups.

(9) “Gettin’ above your raisin’” is a phrase I’ve heard all my life. The notion is you want to change social classes. You try to change social classes, there’s this feeling that you’re forsaking the family, you’re forsaking place, you’re forgetting where you came from...and here’s this real fear that if you leave, that you’ll become ashamed of where you came from. — Michael Birdwell, history professor, Tennessee Technological University.
[quotation from an interview Louis Alvarez of New American Media conducted with Michael Birdwell for the PBS documentary "People Like Us". Used with permission]

(The movie People Like Us has a segment your group could view in the future called "Don't Get Above Your Raisin," in which Dana Felty, a rural Kentuckian who moved to Washington D.C., talks about being a rural girl in living in Washington D.C. and her family member's reactions and her difficulty fitting in either place.)

(10) “Our bridging ceremony for students graduating from high school included the students sharing what they would be doing after high school, and for many it has meant sharing where they are going to college. Given varying levels of school prestige and that not all students are going to college, this practice can have a classist impact.” A better approach is shared by Sarah Gibb Millspaugh on the Unitarian Universalists for Class Awareness Facebook page: “I was serving a congregation where it was not customary to say anything about where the students were going to college if they were. The senior reflections in the service were about their faith, who they were, and the values they were carrying with them. I thought it was handled very well and did not single out individuals who were not going to college.”

FACILITATOR: Next are internalized classism examples.

(11) Jim Bonilla grew up as a working class legally blind Puerto Rican and became a college professor. He wrote:
My internalized classism can be triggered by the fear that my writing or research will be criticized as “not scholarly enough.” The ever-present dread that someday I’ll be found out and judged as an impostor in the court of higher education is just below the surface. Even after twenty plus years in the ivory tower, the sense that someday I’ll be found out and judged as not worthy lingers. (120 Class Lives) Used with permission.

(12) Michael Yates was born in 1946 in a mining town. He states: “It is difficult to overstate the power of fear and poverty in shaping how working men and women think and act. Fear of losing a job. Fear of not finding a job. Fear of being late with bill payments. Fear of the boss’s wrath. Fear your house might burn down. Fear your kids will get hurt. I inherited these emotions. I have a PhD and have always had a job that brings forth instant respect from others. Yet I have a deep-seated lack of confidence and anxiety in the face of authority. I can confront the powerful in a group, even if I am a leader of it, but as an individual, I hate any kind of confrontation with authority and always wonder if I have the right to confront. I prefer to remain in the background, to be invisible.” Used with permission.

(13) Arab-American Joe Kadi, in Thinking Class: Sketches from a Cultural Worker (1996), has dedicated a whole chapter to “Stupidity “Deconstructed”. He writes:
“Many mechanisms have been created in this rigidly defined class-structured society to keep poor people in our place… One such message is the constant cross-racial image of the worker as stupid. … force fed images and words from TV shows, newspapers, magazines and movies… I grew up believing we’re thick-skinned, slow witted, impervious to pain, boring. … It is painful to acknowledge the fact that some of our brains have been fried. Not stupid from birth, but fried from decades of the most boring, idiotic, repetitive work imaginable. I’ve done it. I fought every minute to keep my mind away from the hovering void.

Stupid. They marked my family as stupid, and this confused me. My aunt went from grade school education to neighborhood CPA; she knew all the deductions, could add numbers ridiculously quickly and did everyone’s taxes for free. My grandfather, literate in three languages, poor, steered Lebanese immigrants through the morass of landlords, bosses, lawyers. My fathers and uncles, with their tenth grade educations, filled out daily crossword puzzles with pens and painstakingly planned, calculated, measured, added rooms on small houses with wiring, plumbing, support beams, ceilings, floor tiles, never a 16th of an inch out. “ pp.49-50 Used with permission. Joe published the book Thinking Class in 1996 with the name Joanna Kadi.

(14) Barbara Jensen shared how she moved out of internal classism by observing her college educated peers and concluding “It wasn’t that they were smarter, or better, it was that they had had privileges I had not. I moved away from a sense of individual shame, and blame, to seeing class as cultural, not just economic injustice.” P22 She adds “I also suggest that class has parceled out different aspects of humanity to different groups; everyone loses and gains something important as a result.” P26 Used with permission.

(15) At the cultural level, it is the ways in which classism is manifested through our cultural norms and practices, often found in the ideology behind something. For example, what counts as “good art”? Joe Kadi has something to say about that.

“Those in power in society have always asserted that art available to everyone isn’t much good.” P21. She described how her Aunt Rose taught others a dance called the debke, an Arab folk dance, and contrasts that to ballet. She stated. “In a sense, differences between debke and ballet generally capture differences between art/culture created and engaged in by rich people and poor people. Poor people are looking for group participation; rich people often chase performance and star status. Ballet dancers train for years in hopes of performing in high-priced venues; debke dances and two- steppers are usually happy dancing once a week with friends.” P.24 Used with permission.

SZ: The movie Billy Elliot presents ballet as a route into a higher social class in Britain.

XIII. What beliefs hold Classism in Place? The Myth of Meritocracy
FACILITATOR: “Many of us in this country hold certain beliefs that are the foundation of classism. One of those beliefs is in meritocracy. Religious leader Rabbi David Wolpe said the following about meritocratic beliefs: “

“We all know, deep down, that most of what we have is a product of good fortune. No matter how hard we work, we did not earn our functioning brains of the families into which we were born. We live in cities others created for us, organized by a government, protected by a military shaped by our predecessors. Yet we still point to our accomplishments and proudly proclaim, ‘I did this!’ The well-off salve their consciences by assuring themselves that it is hard work and merit that brought them success, which also leads them to conclude that it is a lack of merit that keeps others from succeeding.”

Rabbi David Wolpe in the Los Angeles Times (in THE WEEK, Sept 20, 2013 p 12)

IX. Three Reading Assignments for the next session. Pass out handouts.

Purpose: Offer a more in depth review of meritocracy without using class time. Review theologically how UU may or may not fit for different class groups and use out of class time for more content.

Summary on Meritocracy with excerpts from Twilight of the Elites: America After Meritocracy by Christopher Hayes (2012) by Suzanne Zilber Handout 8
Class and Unitarian Universalism by Mark Harris Handout 9
Not My Father’s Religion by Doug Muder Handout 10

FACILITATOR: Please bring these 3 readings items with you when you return for our follow up program on X date and time.

X. Closing Circle.

FACILITATOR: Let’s get in a circle. Please share one thing in one sentence you have learned from today. (facilitator models this)

Extinguishing the Chalice or closing words

FACILITATOR: One More Step, by Rev. Dorothy Emerson
Mindful of our highest aspirations,
Bound by common faith and purpose,
And, yet, beginning with ourselves as we are,
Let us take one more step, together,
in our unending quest for dignity, justice and love.

Used with permission

Thank you for your participation today.

XII. Please complete the evaluation form and be sure to write comments in the spaces below the activity titles.
## MODULE 3: Classism and Awareness Efforts in our Congregations

Proposed timing for each element of this module.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Module 3 Overview</th>
<th>Congregational Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Chalice Lighting and Covenant</td>
<td>5 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Thoughts from last session</td>
<td>10 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Discuss UU history and culture readings</td>
<td>10 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. UUA Growth – minilecture</td>
<td>3 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Congregational Classism handout</td>
<td>5 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Congregational Classism worksheet- group work</td>
<td>30 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Report backs from groups</td>
<td>30 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Paired sharing</td>
<td>5 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Preview next module and reading assignment</td>
<td>2 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Closing Circle and Extinguish Chalice</td>
<td>10 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Complete evaluation form</td>
<td>5 min</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

People can take breaks at end of group work time. Total = 110 min with 10 to spare.
EVENING PROGRAM 1  2 hours

I. Chalice Lighting  1 minute

*The Future*, by John Schaar

The future is not a result of choices among alternative paths offered by the present, but a place that is created—created first in the mind and will, created next in activity. The future is not some place we are going to, but one we are creating. The paths are not to be found, but made, and the activity of making them, changes both the maker and the destination. May we be active participants in changing the future for the better.

Reminder of Covenant – have that flipchart page posted  3 minutes

II. Thoughts from last session  10 minutes

Purpose: give people a chance to share something important that came up for them after the last workshop. Be very disciplined about this!

III. Discussion of UU history and culture readings  10 minutes

Purpose: Put our current goal of greater class inclusivity in the context of UU history and sociological trends. The introduction will hopefully help people prepare to discuss their readings.

**FACILITATOR:** As we look to become more inclusive, we need to understand how class has shaped the association and our congregations to where we are today. Our class diversity varies by location. Overall, our members are more highly educated and wealthy than many other religious organizations.

African-American UU Minister Rev. Mark Morrison-Reed expressed how class has become a race barrier for our association.

The issue is increasingly one of class and not race,” Morrison-Reed argues. Religions are always bound to culture and class, and Unitarian Universalism has been shaped by its upper-middle-class, liberal, North American values. The reason we don’t have many Afro-Americans is the same reason we don’t have many working-class or poor members. “Look at the average UU education level, 17.2 years, which is almost a master’s degree,” he says. “There are simply not that many Afro-Americans in that demographic.” But, he predicts, as the number of highly educated and middle-class people of color increases in the general
population at large, more will be drawn to Unitarian Universalism, as long as we are welcoming to them. “True to my lineage”, Article by Kimberly French, UU World Magazine, 2-15-2009

**FACILITATOR:** Some UU’s have expressed worry that if we shift our religion to accommodate a variety of class-based preferences then we will lose things that are valued by those who are currently active in this association.

Nonetheless, psychologist Suzanne Zilber, the writer of this curriculum, says: “We don’t have to be all things to all people, but we can be more things to more people.”

UU Historian Mark Harris asks “How do we live out a faith where all are truly welcome? Who is our message for?” Our theology... “must be practiced in an ever-intentional manner and in ever-widening circles if our faith is going to be truly transformational. Perhaps this how Unitarian Universalism can fulfill its democratic vision and become more than a faith for a few.” 27

Participants discuss reactions to Mark Harris and Doug Muder’s articles. 10 minutes

Facilitator may ask participants to summarize the readings for those who never did them.

**IV. Mini Lecture: Why Unitarian Universalism needs to Grow Through Eliminating Classism in our Congregations.** 3 minutes

**Flipchart page**

| Membership in UUA is flat |
| High numbers religiously unaffiliated/spiritual but not religious |
| They value some aspects of religious communities |
| They are not actively looking for one |
| They share some UU values |

**Leader Action:** Read the following text out loud to go with flipchart. 3 minutes
FACILITATOR: Membership in the Unitarian Universalist Association was flat in 2013. The Association reported about 160,000 members and 1,048 congregations in 2013. (from UU World Magazine Fall 2013 page 44.)

We need to grow and we need the richness and benefits of a diverse membership.

If we believe that Unitarian Universalism is life sustaining, it is reasonable that we would want to make our religion available to more people. We have a significant opportunity to grow our association with the high numbers of people currently identifying as spiritual but not religious or not affiliated with a religion. One-fifth of the U.S. public – and a third of adults under 30 – are religiously unaffiliated today, the highest percentages ever in Pew Research Center polling.

What is interesting and hopeful, is that the religiously unaffiliated can see that religious institutions add value to our nation by “strengthening community bonds and aiding the poor.”

With few exceptions, though, the unaffiliated say they are not looking for a religion that would be right for them. Overwhelmingly, they think that religious organizations are too concerned with money and power, too focused on rules and too involved in politics.”

Nonetheless, the unaffiliated share UU values “Nearly three-quarters (72%) of religiously unaffiliated Americans say abortion should be legal in most or all cases, compared with 53% of the public overall. And 73% of the religiously unaffiliated express support for same-sex marriage, compared with 48% of the public at large.” Source: http://www.pewforum.org/2012/10/09/nones-on-the-rise/

Given our flexibility for spiritual exploration and our possible focus on addressing economic justice issues, UU congregations would be an ideal place for these religiously unaffiliated citizens. So we need to get our act together and be as welcoming as possible.
V. Congregational Classism (Handout 11) and discussion

Purpose: Apply what has been learned to one’s own congregation policies and procedures.

Participants will share their ideas based on their worksheet. Someone will take notes so that ideas can be shared with the social justice committee, or board, for follow up.

Distribute Domains for Possible Congregational Classism - Handout 11 5 minutes

FACILITATOR: Please take a few minutes to read this handout on the domains where organizational classism can show up in congregations. (help anyone who needs assistance with reading)

Influenced by an activity of Class Action  www.classsim.org

Domains for Possible Congregational Classism

Every organization is likely to have practices and policies that reflect classism in society. Each domain of congregational life can be examined in terms of whether it could have a classist impact. Changes can be made to reduce classism and move toward greater inclusiveness of people from all class backgrounds. The questions below are not necessarily to imply that one way is the best, but to get you thinking about possible impacts.

Welcoming New People

What brings new people to your congregation? How do they find out about you?
How are people greeted when they come?
What types of questions are asked?
What types of information is shared?
Is the congregation accessible by public transportation and is parking adequate?
What do people see on the walls? What type of art, photographs or written messages are present? What family structures are visually represented?
What types of clothing and styles might people see?
What level of language is in brochures, newsletters, emails.
Are new people asked to contribute financially right away, soon, or not at all?
How do people join the congregation?
Can children be in the service with parents on the first visit? Are parents welcome to stay in the nursery or RE on the first visit?

The Communal Observance (worship)

What type of music is favored? Is music professional, amateur, participatory?
Who leads or participates in the service?
Does the sermon assume prior knowledge of certain things? Use acronyms? What level of language is used?
How is the offertory handled?
Social Space Before and After communal events

- What types of refreshments are offered? Are they free or is a donation asked for?
- What types of humor and voice volume are acceptable?
- Who gets asked to do social things afterward or outside of congregation events?
- What eateries or coffee shops do members tend to gather at outside the congregation?
- Are there potlucks offered, communal meals, are there fees for meals or concerts?
- If there are fees, are certain members always volunteering to have fees waived and what impact does that have?

Children and Youth

- Is there a fee for participation in religious education or childcare?
- What are the behavioral rules? For example, are children allowed to run around?
- Is clothing available so all children can participate in activities outside?
- Is there funding for leadership and oversight of youth activities?
- Are there costs or fundraising demands on youth to participate in activities?
- Is childcare for events, meetings or adult religious education funded by the congregation or charged?

Leadership and Decision making

- How are leaders chosen? Who serves on the board? Who serves as committee chairs?
- How are times and dates set for volunteer work?
- Who does most of the volunteering?
- How are meetings structured to ensure all voices are heard?
- Whose voices seem to be heard more or less than others?
- How are decisions made? How are decisions communicated?
- Who gets thanked and praised, and who does not?

Social Justice Work

- What is the philosophy or attitude underlying the social justice work?
- Are you providing services or funds to people or organizing with people?
- Is social justice work funded in your budget?

Stewardship/Fundraising and Finances

- Who controls whether a fundraiser can occur at the building or in the congregation?
- How many fundraisers are occurring in your communal space?
- How are expectations for giving set and communicated?
- Is there a required financial contribution to maintain voting membership?
- Are some members recognized more than others for financial giving?
- Where is money spent in the budget?

Connections to regional and national UUA

- Who gets to participate at regional and national levels?
- Is funding provided for people to attend distant events?
- Is money from the budget given to regional and national UUA organizations?
VII. Congregational Classism Checklist Activity  

This activity is adapted from Class Action

Find out who wants to work on the 8 following topics to analyze how the congregation is doing.

If you have a small group, you can split into 4 groups and have groups take two topics. You can also select three topics of focus based on what you know about the congregation or what has emerged earlier in the workshop. Do not spend too much time on the group deciding.

- Welcoming new people
- Communal observance/worship
- Social Space
- Children and youth
- Leadership and decision-making
- Social justice work.
- Stewardship/ Fundraising and finances
- Connections to the regional and national UUA

Put out table tent signs or tape on walls for where these groups should meet- in Facilitator Resources

Distribute the Congregational Classism Checklist (Handout 12) to the groups once they are seated.
### Congregational Classism Worksheet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Domain you are studying</th>
<th>Areas for Concern</th>
<th>Possible Action steps</th>
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<tbody>
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Based on work by Class Action [www.classism.org](http://www.classism.org)
FACILITATOR: In your group, please select a note-taker for the whole group. To identify concerns, please first think about how people from a working class background or a poverty situation might experience the congregation. You may also identify issues that may emerge for people from an upper class background. Identify both concerns and action steps for the congregation. You can present your findings of classism and next steps in a creative way—such as a skit, cartoon, or song, or it is fine to just report back. You have 30 minutes.

Facilitator should roam and check in on how groups are doing and assist with repeating instructions or whatever is needed. At the 10 minute point, you will want to remind them to start creating their presentation. Then give 5 minute warning and 1 minute warning.

VIII. Report from Groups 30 minutes

If energy is high after the report from groups, have people get into pairs to share one action step they may take after today’s session. This will help people settle down.

IX. Preview of next module. 2 minutes

FACILITATOR: Next session we will review income inequality and class sensitive class activism. We will also look at possible next steps.

Reading assignment for next session

Purpose: Review a model of economic class membership

Class Divisions by Michael Zweig Handout 13

X. Closing Circle. 5 minutes

FACILITATOR: Please think about one action step you will take after today and write it down on this (paper, index card). Come to a circle to share your next step in one sentence and I will start by sharing mine. (facilitator models this)

Extinguishing the Chalice or closing words
From Rev. Mark Morrison-Reed  (Singing the Living Tradition  UUA: 1993)

The central task of the religious community is to unveil the bonds that bind each to all. There is a connectedness, a relationship, discovered amid the particulars of our own lives and the lives of others. Once felt, it inspires us to act for justice.

It is the church that assures us that we are not struggling for justice on our own, but as members of a larger community. The religious community is essential, for alone our vision is too narrow to see all that must be seen, and our strength too limited to do all that must be done. Together, our vision widens and our strength is renewed.

XI. Please take a moment to complete the evaluation form and be sure to write comments in the spaces below the activity titles.
MODULE 4: Income Inequality and Preparing for Action

There is a lot of material in this module. It would probably work to make it into two sessions if you wanted to.

Proposed timing for each element of this module.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Module 4 Overview</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Income Inequality and Preparing for Action</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Chalice Lighting and reminder of covenant</td>
<td>2 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Updates from last module</td>
<td>5 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Intro to Economic Inequality with video</td>
<td>5 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Video- Why it matters &amp; discussion &amp; handout</td>
<td>15 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Videos on how people end up in difficulty &amp; discussion</td>
<td>20 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Class culture in organizations – handout</td>
<td>2 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Becoming class allies- group discussion</td>
<td>5 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Class ally - Handout review</td>
<td>3 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Readers’ Theater</td>
<td>10 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Continuum exercise</td>
<td>15 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Closing Circle</td>
<td>15 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Extinguish Chalice</td>
<td>1 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Evaluation Form</td>
<td>5 min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total = 105 with 15 min to spare. You can put a break in where it feels right.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Evening Program 2  2 hours

I.  Chalice lighting  2 minutes

*The Vision we Share*, by Eric Hausman, Deutsche Unitarier Religionsgemeinschaft

**FACILITATOR:**

Sometimes, the vision we share for compassion and community is bigger than our actual hearts.

Often, our hopes for a just society that is both free and responsible exceeds what we actually do to create it.

But may we never let our failing and floundering keep us from seeking, again and again, to live out in concrete deeds the hopes and dreams of our collective heart.

May the light of this flame give us courage for the journey.

Remind the group of the covenant – use flipchart page from module 1

II.  Thoughts from last module  5 minutes

Participants share anything pressing.

III.  Income Inequality

Note: If your congregation has already participated in a viewing of the feature length documentary by Robert Reich, *Inequality for All*, you can skip some of the videos in this module. I still feel that the video of Richard Wilkinson is important as I don’t believe that material is covered in Reich’s movie. You can also choose to watch the full documentary at a later date.

**Facilitator:** We have a situation in which

- There is class stratification by race, ethnicity and gender
Class mobility has gone down, meaning it is harder for people to move to higher class levels.

Consumerism is promoted in all media creating aspirations for more goods.

The elite are living very separately from others while making decisions that affect many.

Today we will be looking at income inequality and class sensitive class activism. There will be more educational content through videos and handouts and less activities in this session but we will end with an activity. We will not be going over every detail of the handouts but you can use them to share some of the content from tonight with others.

“In their 1986 Pastoral Letter on the Economy, the U.S. Roman Catholic bishops judged the moral dimensions of an economy with three questions:

What does the economy do for the people?
What does it do to the people?
How do people participate in it? “  (from Collins and Yeskel book)

27 years later, Pope Francis suggests what the goals of economies should be: "Every economic and political theory or action must set about providing each inhabitant of the planet with the minimum wherewithal to live in dignity and freedom, with the possibility of supporting a family, educating children, praising God and developing one's own human potential. This is the main thing; in the absence of such a vision, all economic activity is meaningless." -- Letter to Prime Minister David Cameron for the G8 Meeting, June 17-18, 2013

Right now, the US has too big of a gap between the rich and the poor. This gap violates many of our UU principles including the right to the democratic process, as those with more wealth unduly influence the political process, and the inherent worth and dignity of each person, as people are not being paid fair wages for their work. The ratio of rich to poor can be calculated by something called the Gini Index. The greatest inequality is represented by the value 100, and total equality would be 0. The United States in 2007 was at 45 compared to Sweden at 23 and the UK at 34. The CIA provided
these numbers because the higher the number, the more likelihood for problems in those countries.

So how did we get into our current mess?

Robert Reich Explains America's Inequality Problem In 150 Seconds (VIDEO) 3 minutes  Posted: 06/21/2013 3:21 pm EDT  Robert Reich is a UC Berkeley Professor, former Labor Secretary and a current HuffPost blogger. As you'll see in the video, he's also really good at explaining complicated topics in simple terms. (CARTOON)

Discussion of the video 3 minutes

IV. Why inequality matters 15 minutes

FACILITATOR: Why does it matter that we have growing income inequality? Richard Wilkinson will tell us why.

Show Richard Wilkinson: How economic inequality harms societies, TED talk uploaded on October 24, 2011 show only first 9.5 minutes


Pass out Handout 14 this provides an overview of what Wilkinson said to assist with discussion

Question: Why has income inequality increased since 1970?  Answer: A power shift led to rule changes.
Rule Changes since the 1970s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unions</th>
<th>Anti-union climate weakens the power and voice of workers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>Global treaties benefit corporations, not workers or communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>Taxes shifted from big investors and corporations to workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget</td>
<td>Public services cut. Corporate subsidies expand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum Wage</td>
<td>Not raised to keep up with inflation and increased cost of living.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privatization</td>
<td>Government outsourcing plus no-bid contracts hurts taxpayers, workers, and public safety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big $ in Politics</td>
<td>PACs and other major campaign contributors have undue influence on legislators and increasingly undermine democracy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

United for a Fair Economy  [www.faireconomy.org](http://www.faireconomy.org) Growing Divide program. Used with permission.

From Richard Wilkinson’s TED talk. How economic inequality harms societies

In summary, bigger income gaps lead to increased problems in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Relations</th>
<th>Human Capital</th>
<th>Health</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Child conflict</td>
<td>• Child well being</td>
<td>• Drug abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Homicide</td>
<td>• High school drop outs</td>
<td>• Infant mortality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Imprisonment</td>
<td>• Math &amp; literacy scores</td>
<td>• Mental illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Social Capital</td>
<td>• Social Mobility</td>
<td>• Obesity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Trust</td>
<td>• Teenage Births</td>
<td>• Life expectancy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Large group Discussion. 5 minutes
V. Economic Struggles and What keeps people in poverty: Personal Stories

**FACILITATOR:** So let’s look more closely at how people are falling into poverty or being stuck in poverty.

You can choose one of the three clips below- you can decide which would be most effective with your congregation or you can pick what speaks to you.

Another video clip  [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MdbHEZp0WPA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MdbHEZp0WPA)  11:24 minutes

Employed but still homeless, December 28, 2012  Shown on Rock Center with Brian Williams, produced by Tim Sandler, Edited by Tim Al-Harby, and the interviewer was Ann Curry.

Another possible clip is  [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ly718xGmeBk](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ly718xGmeBk)  5:13 minutes

Poverty’s new address in America.  This addresses poverty in American suburbs. I believe this was produced by the BBC.  It is available through the Economist.  July 23, 2013.

**Living Wage  Waging a Living** is an excellent film but does not make all its segments available for use in a way that easily segmented! In both that film and in the film A Place at the Table, there are good examples of African-American women who push to find full time employment and then are further in poverty after gaining employment and losing government benefits.  I wish we could show one of those stories.

What we can show, which also includes unionization, is Jerry’s story from Waging a Living.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clip</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**FACILITATOR:** Barbara Ehrenreich in Nickel and Dimed says: "When someone works for less pay than she can live on--when, for example she goes hungry so that you can eat more cheaply and conveniently--then she has made a great sacrifice for you. She has made you a gift of her abilities, her health, and her life. The 'working poor' . . . are in fact the major philanthropists of our society....To be a member of the working poor is to be an anonymous donor, a nameless benefactor, to everyone else." (p. 49)

Now you may be wondering what we can do to make things better. United for a Fair Economy has some ideas for us. Let’s go over them together.

**Handout 15  New rules to Reduce Wealth and Income Inequality**

Used with permission from United for a Fair Economy and Chuck Collins (2012) 99 to 1: How wealth inequality is wrecking the world and what we can do about it.
We need new rules to Reduce Wealth and Income Inequality

1) Lift the floor for Lower Income People
   - Establish Living Wage standards
   - Raise the Federal minimum wage
   - Invest in job creation and training
   - Increase the supply of affordable housing
   - Enforce basic labor standards and protections

2) Level the Playing Field for Everyone
   - Fair taxed that treat income from investments and work the same
   - Medicare for All – provide universal health care
   - Trade policies that benefit wage-earners, consumers & the environment
   - Quality education as a constitutional right

3) Address the Concentration of Wealth and Power
   - Progressive taxation of wealth and income.
   - Reduced subsidies for excessive CEO pay
   - Campaign finance reform to get big money out of politics
   - Reclaim our financial system
     - Break up big banks
     - Provide rigorous oversight of the financial sector
   - Accountability for corporations receiving public subsidies
VI. **Class Culture in Organizations**

**FACILITATOR:** In order to do engage in justice work, it will be helpful to review some class culture differences more systematically than we did in our first module. This review will allow us to be sensitive of how class will affect our interactions in planning and implementing our actions.

**FACILITATOR:** Dr. Betsy Leondar-Wright is the program director of Class Action and an Advisory Group member of UU Class Conversations. Handout 16 reflects her work on cross-class organizing. Let’s first have someone read out loud the First Principle of Movement Building.

Now let’s review the read the rest of the handout.

Distribute handout 16 - they can be printed back to back

**Cross Class Organizing**


**The First Principle of Movement Building**

*Anyone* who steps out of political passivity to give time to any progressive effort deserves to be honored, appreciated, and treated with complete respect. Disagreements, mistakes, and oppressive behavior call for supportive feedback; they are not justification for abandoning a respectful stance. Solidarity is our only strength. Betsy Leondar-Wright

As it relates to activists working together: “I put the following class culture generalizations forward humbly, generalizing primarily about activists and expecting contradictory evidence from others’ experience to enrich them. My goal in risking generalizations is to make visible some class-culture-based coalition behaviors and dynamics that are often invisible.“ (17)

Class culture differences emerge from life experiences such as whether steady work is not attainable, inevitable, or optional, whether one has access to, the expectation of and the experience of getting a four year college degree, and whether people stay in the same community or move a lot.
Ways members of class groups may approach working in social change organizations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low Income</th>
<th>Working &amp; Lower Middle Class</th>
<th>Professional Middle Class</th>
<th>Owning Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thinking outside the box, less convention bound, discouraged by hardship or motivated by anger</td>
<td>Rooted, pragmatic steady workers</td>
<td>Unrooted, competitive steady workers</td>
<td>Thinking outside the box, less convention-bound, unrooted, entitled</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table terms defined:

Rooted – living where you grew up and strong ethnic and/or religious identities  
Pragmatic – dealing with things realistically based on practical rather than theoretical considerations. Using experience as a base of information  
Competitive – fostered by competing for and in colleges - self worth may depend on feeling smarter than other people – “a major obstacle to cross-class alliance building!” (23)  
Entitlement – a sense of empowerment to create change, sometimes self funded, which can lead to less feedback and less constraints. This sense can also include arrogance. “Low income activists’ goods ideas too often go nowhere; owning class activists’ bad ideas too often don’t flop.” 21  
Steady work versus not steady work “fosters pride in our pragmatism and in our disciplined work habits.”… “Lacking the expectation and experience of steady work (low income and owning class) leads people to be unconventional and to think outside the box (i.e. creative)  

Combining the gifts of all class cultures  
“To be able to organize successfully, low-income and working-class activists need more of the resources they are short on: money, decision-making power, skills, and information. Middle-class and owning-class activists need to share their resources and learn to follow the leadership of those without class privilege. And we need to realize that our motivation to be allies is not some kind of nice political correctness, but rather to increase the size and effectiveness of the movements we care about.” (23)

VII. Group brainstorm on being class allies 5 minutes

**FACILITATOR:** what advice would you give to middle or upper class allies about how to behave in cross class projects with working class or people in poverty? 

Write answers on blank flipchart page
VIII. **Handout 17 review** 3 minutes

Handout 17 reflects the advice of several contributors to the book *Class Matters*, written by Betsy Leondar-Wright.

**On being a middle-class Ally**

In this workshop, we do not assume that all participants are from the middle class. However, the book this material comes from was written for middle class activists.

**Tips for middle-class activists working with other class groups.**

- Put relationships first – allow time for story telling
- Talk less, listen more
- Don’t let guilt make you foolish – use your judgment
- Hang in and keep going back
- Support working class issues and be knowledgeable about class issues
- Watch your language – use accessible language and don’t correct other’s spoken grammar
- Use your privilege strategically
- Have a little humility
- Don’t “call people out” publically on their isms, approach them educationally
- Let go of control. A trend is the group with the most resources takes control
- Recognize poverty and working-class people’s constraints
- Read Howard Zinn’s *The People’s History of the United States* and other books about low-income revolts, labor struggles, and life stories.
- Join Jobs with Justice ([www.jwj.org](http://www.jwj.org)) and read their alerts about local labor struggles that need support. Act on them when you can.
- Join the email list for Class Action ([www.classism.org](http://www.classism.org)). (from SZ)
- Join 9 to 5 – for Working Women’s issues ([9to5.org](http://9to5.org)) (from SZ)

To learn more detail about these items, see *Class Matters* p 132-138 and p 145.

**On the Ally’s Balancing Act:** People recognize that it is a balancing act to be an effective ally. Here is a helpful summary from Dorian Warren.

Dorian Warren is an African American from a working class background. He was a graduate student in Political Science at Yale University when quoted for this book. He is currently an Associate Professor of Political Science and International and Public Affairs at Columbia University in New York.

He wrote: “It’s a tricky balance. I don’t think middle-class people should be silent, because if we do have some skills or insights of strategies, I think we should put them on the table. That doesn’t mean that our way is what will happen. But we should be able to contribute, and say ‘what about this, what about that?’ But I do think it is a hard balance to use our skills, but in a way that is ethical and that is not exercising power by virtue of our class status. It is a balancing
act to believe that people can decide for themselves, to critically interrogate your power relations, and not to lose your critical faculties.” (p 145)


IX. Stages of Social Class and Classism Awareness Readers’ Theater 10 minutes

Preparation – Print off one set of the large type stages from the Facilitator’s materials packet – pages 13-20. Write the Stage number on the back of the sheets large and in black.

FACILITATOR: OK, we are reaching the end now. We are now going to review a stage model of social class and classism awareness developed by William Ming Liu. He is a first generation Chinese-American psychology professor at the University of Iowa. Suzanne combined some of his original 10 “statuses” and gave them voices to create 7 stages and Dr. Liu has approved her revision.


FACILITATOR: As with any stage model, individuals may express feelings and attitudes from several stages and move between stages depending on their current experiences.”

ACTIVITY INSTRUCTIONS: Have participants stand in a row next to each other. They will read out loud what attitudes their stage represents. Give them their readings.

FACILITATOR: These stages can apply to different social class levels and try to imagine what they might mean for those differences. The “I” in these statements is referring to a person who is at that stage of awareness.

Written by Suzanne Zilber, Ph.D. This is not part of the handouts for participants, but you can give it to them if they ask for it. Make sure the reference is with it.

Stage 1 “Social class is not a big deal to me. I don’t pay attention to it much. People get what they deserve. There is some unfairness in the system, but that is unavoidable. The people on top have earned what they have and the poor need to work harder or manage their money better. “ (Unawareness)
Stage 2 “I can see that there are social class differences and am not sure what to make of it. It bothers me. How did I get into this social class status? All my friends are the same class status as me. It seems that some classes are “in” and some are “out”. (Questioning)

Stage 3 from position of privilege “It is too much trouble to figure all the social class stuff out. I seek out materials and friends that will support my right to be in my social class position but am also unsure what information I can trust. I am going to ignore these issues and focus on my day to day life.” (Exploration and Justification)

Stage 4 lower income “There are powerful forces, much greater than me, that have created unfairness in my life. I cannot escape this poverty. People should not try to get “above their raisin’” and get uppity. There are rich and poor and society is made to make the rich richer and the poor poorer”. (Despair)

Stage 4 higher income “I have earned what I have and deserve any privileges I have. Because this world can’t be changed, I have to look out for myself and my family. Our society is just and inequality is a natural product of how people behave.” (The World is Just)

Stage 5 “I can’t believe the level of inequality in this nation and world! Why won’t others wake up?! I have joined “radical group” to address these issues but have not had a chance to read or think about these issues much but I want to be active now and learn as I go. I do not believe I have contributed to inequality- it is all other’s fault- society’s fault. We need to fight the oppressors on behalf of the oppressed. We need to take revolutionary action and change the whole system.” (Anger and Frustration)

Stage 6 “I have learned a lot now about class and classism and have felt humbled to learn that my own actions have had negative impacts on others, sometimes from another “ism”. I will try to put myself in situations that expose me to people from different classes. I need to learn more about my own class experience to prepare to do sensitive community action and unlearn my “isms”. I am going to try to make a difference in my local community to learn more about how change can happen from others already doing this work and develop my skills. Society will probably be changed by people working in smaller contexts. “ (Reinvestment)

Stage 7 “I have been working with a group that does grass roots community activism for a while now and have learned a lot. I keep up my awareness by seeking out readings and other experiences that keep me up to date on class issues. I pay attention to how I negotiate power and privilege in my life. I have made new friends from other social classes and have learned what we all uniquely bring to the cause. Sometimes I still say or do “ist” things and I get anxious about my negative impact on others and that I will be told I shouldn’t be doing this work. I have learned about some cultural differences and to be more flexible so I can be with different groups. I believe that society is largely unjust, classist, and marginalizing of people from poverty and the poor. The whole of society cannot be changed immediately, but it is important to be part of or start a process of change.” (Engagement)
X.  Social Class and Classism Consciousness Model - Continuum Exercise  15 minutes

Facilitator decides whether to do this step based on how things have been going. After the reading, the cards can be placed on the floor or taped to a wall, for all people to walk to first – what stage they were at the beginning of the training, and then second - what stage they believe they are currently at. People can be encouraged to be humble and honest about where they are at, with the understanding that we can only be where we are at and move from there. If you do not do this, go to Closing circle.

XI.  Closing Circle or they can stand where they are  15 minutes

FACILITATOR: “It is understood that not everyone needs to become a social class activist in particular. There are lots of causes people are involved in! Please still share one thing you will do to move yourself toward a higher level stage around class after this workshop.

Thank participants.

One concern that several UU leaders have expressed is that this curriculum not be used to say- We did this and so we don’t have to do anything else or we now have to go out and “save” or “rescue” other people. We won’t do those things. We are going to follow up with our committees and board and choose some actions. Handout 18 suggests some possibilities for future actions. You can review those after the workshop.

XII.  Closing Words /Extinguish Chalice  1 minute

Standing with the 99%, adapted from Prayer Service for Supporting Occupy Together, Interfaith Worker Justice

FACILITATOR:
We stand on the side of love with the 99%. We want a society that works for 100%. How we care for one another is a moral question. How we divide the nation’s prosperity is an ethical question. How we witness to injustice is a faith question. Let us go forth to do our part in creating a vision for a more just America.

XIII.  Evaluation forms
References

that contributed to this even if not specifically cited:


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Harris, Mark (2011) Elite: Uncovering Classism in Unitarian Universalist History. Skinner House Press. A discussion guide was created for the book by Gail Forsyth-Vail and Susan Dana Lawrence, both of the UUA.


Kadi, Joe (1996) Thinking class: Sketches from a cultural worker. Boston, MA: South End Press. This books was published under the name Joanna Kadi.


Leondar-Wright, Betsy (2014) Class Matters:Cross-Class Alliance Building for Middle-Class Activists. 2nd Ed. Class Action www.classism.org

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S. Zilber; Class Conscious: Class & Classism in UU Life


Muder, Doug (2007, Fall) Not my father’s religion. UU World Magazine.


UU World Magazine (2013) UUA membership is flat again. Fall issue. p 44.


Zilber, Suzanne (1998) Becoming a Cultural Explorer. Workshop given at Iowa State University to first year students by trained peer facilitators.

Zilber, Suzanne (2011-2012) Social Class Issues on Our Congregation. Workshops giving at the Midwest Unitarian Universalist Summer Assembly, and at the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Ames. She also developed a high school curriculum.

Zilber, S. (July 2013) MUUSA Social Class Stories. Based on a request for written and verbal social class stories at the 2013 MUUSA. 24 adult responses, 5 high school youth
REFERENCES

S. Zilber; Class Conscious: Class & Classism in UU Life

A yet to be explored resource Lisa Keister (2011) Faith and Money: How Religion Contributes to Wealth and Poverty. NY: Oxford University Press. She has an article on Huffington Post with the same title. 11/02/11


Additional resources.

Unitarian Universalists for a Just Economic Community - http://www.uujec.com

“The Economically Just Congregation program provides a path for congregational study, reflection, and action in response to the economic changes that face us all, but adversely affect millions in our country. If your congregation chooses to embark on this path, you will start by forming a team and conducting a self-assessment of current practices and programs. Based on that assessment, you will plan congregational projects to address specific areas of interest or concern. Your congregation will then complete these projects over a period of one to two years, with the goal of becoming an Economically Just Congregation, a designation granted by the Unitarian Universalists for a Just Economic Community, which oversees the program and grants accreditation. “

UJJEC is developing its own workshops separately from this curriculum.
Given that people have diverse social class experiences and different worldviews about themselves and others, this workshop aims to offer ways to think and talk about social class as it operates in our lives.

**Workshop Goals:**

- Increase your self-awareness of your own class experience
- Increase sensitivity to other’s class experiences.
- Learn about forms of classism
- Examine the congregation’s policies and culture for possible classism
- Prepare for action towards a congregation truer to UU values

**Weekend Afternoon – 4.5 hours**

**Module 1:** Class as Culture  
Ground the workshop in UU principles  
Increase self awareness of class influences  
Explore cultural differences related to social class

**Module 2:** Classism  
Learn about forms of classism  
Learn about classist events in UU life  
Learn about ideology that holds classism in place (meritocracy)

**Evening program – 2 hours**

**Module 3:** Classism and Awareness Efforts in our Congregations.  
UU history and culture  
Congregational Classism  
Generating new solutions for our congregation

**Evening program – 2 hours**

**Module 4:** Becoming Class Explorers and Preparing for Action  
Income Inequality  
Class Culture Differences and being a Class Ally  
Learn about one’s own stage of class activism development  
Review options for congregational further learning  
Closing Words  
Evaluation
Emotions and Class  Based on the work of Susan Fiske reported on in, Monitor on Psychology American Psychological Association October 2010.

When we meet someone for the first time, we automatically make two judgments: whether they’re a friend, and whether they have power. Psychologist Susan Fiske calls the first impression “warmth” and the second one “competence”. These two judgments then affect our emotions toward the other person. Fiske found that when you combine these thoughts and feelings into a two by two table, you generate how people respond to each other on the basis of social class. This reaction pattern has been found in multiple studies in different countries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low Competency</th>
<th>High Competency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>High Warmth</strong></td>
<td>Disabled People, elderly people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>People with similar backgrounds and economic status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PITY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PRIDE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low Warmth</strong></td>
<td>Poor people, homeless people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wealthy and Powerful people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DISGUST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ENVY</td>
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</tbody>
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Dr. Fiske looked at where activation occurs in the brain when people look at images of identifiably poor, homeless people and her findings indicated that participants may not be seeing them as fellow human beings. She then found that if you ask people to think about what vegetable that person might like, then the scorned individual at least moves from the DISGUST to the PITY box, but not to a full recognition of any competence.

Other emotions that are elicited around social class issues are: ENTITLEMENT, SHAME, ANGER and GUILT. The most dangerous emotion in human relations is CONTEMPT – in fact, marriages that are high in expressed contempt don’t make it. Contempt is some combination of anger and disgust. Robert C. Solomon places contempt on the same continuum as resentment and anger. He argues that the differences between the three is that resentment is directed toward a higher status individual; anger is directed toward an equal status individual; and contempt is directed toward a lower status individual. (Solomon R.C. (1993). The Passions: Emotions and the Meaning of Life. Hackett Publishing.)

Higher Status = Resentment
Equal Status = Anger
Lower Status = Contempt
Nonetheless, a person of lower socioeconomic status may still feel contempt for an upper class individual if they perceive them as being of a lower moral status due to their behaviors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSTRUCTIONS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4) Make an P on the ladder for where you believe you and your family were on the social class ladder when you were growing up in the past.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Make a N on the ladder where you believe you are now.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Make a F on the ladder for where you would want to be in the future.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What is Class?

Social Class: Class is more than income. It takes into account income, wealth (wealth is what you own minus what you owe) as well as education, occupation, status, power, and worldview. Class is relative. In the U.S. there are no hard and fast divisions between class groups. Some people grow up in one class and live as adults in another.

Class Indicators: Things that determine an individual’s class OR perceived class.

Social mobility: refers to the ability to change class positions. When people improve or diminish their economic status in a way that affects social class, they experience social mobility. Mobility is low in the US now compared with most industrialized countries.

Class Straddler: Someone who grew up in one class and has moved into another class situation. Usually refers to people in the working class or in poverty who moved into the middle or upper class because of education, job, marriage, or other means.

Downwardly mobile: People from class positions who move into lower class positions due to divorce, job loss, disability, choice, lack of ability to get a job, or other means.

Upwardly mobile: People who are moving or aspiring to move to a higher social class or to a position of increased status or power through a variety of means.

Class Groups: People can struggle to create group labels. In this workshop, we acknowledge that class groups represent clusters of cultural values.

Culture: Culture is the learned and shared values, beliefs and behaviors of a group. Culture is the “rulebook of meaning” for adapting to the environment and survival. Cultural norms so completely surround people that few ever recognize the assumptions on which their lives and functioning rest. They are invisible.

In this workshop, we will be using a cultural norms approach.

Cultural Norms Approach: Person uses a “working hypothesis” based on accurate information about possible preferred values and behaviors of another.

Stereotyping: Involves overgeneralizing group information to an individual, a negative evaluation or overidealization of the other group, and is often based on inaccurate information.
Social Class Self Exploration Based on a form in Social Class and Classism in the Helping Professions by W. M. Liu

1) My first memory of social class in my life.

2) Things I learned about how to survive in life related to my social class background (values and expectations). Consider both strengths and limitations of your background. We will discuss your answers to this question in groups.

3) My parents or grandparents motto about social class would be: (e.g when the going gets tough, the tough get going)

4) Conflicting messages I heard about class:

5) Social class is most relevant to my life in the following way:

5) The one thing I do that maintains my sense of social class:
Statistics Related to Social Class in the United States

The top 10 percent of earners last year collected more than half of the nation’s total income, including market income and capital gains. That’s the highest proportion since the government began recording income data more than a century ago. The Week, 9-20-2013 p 31 Market income is one’s total income before tax minus income from government sources.

In 2009, 14.3 percent of people in America lived in poverty with differences by geographic region. That is 44 million people.

Race and Class

Based on the 2010 Census

- Blacks were almost two times more likely to be living in poverty than Whites (25% v. 13%)
- For Hispanics, the poverty rate was 23% and for Asian and Pacific Islanders 12%
- The median household income measured in 2010 is $50,046 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Median household income by racial group in 2010</th>
<th>Percentage of Families whose savings would run out in 3 months or less (by racial group)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>67,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian and Pacific Island</td>
<td>52,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whites</td>
<td>52,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>40,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>33,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian/Alaska Nat</td>
<td>35,062</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

By sex 2010 data Median Weekly earnings

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>824</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So women make 74.5 cents for every dollar that men make.

Source of median household data : American Community Survey 1 year estimates US Census.

Disability and Class: In his book No Pity: People with disabilities forging a new civil rights movement, (1994) Joseph Shapiro shares that what people with disabilities want is access to being full participants in our communities such that we need to make employment possible for people with disabilities. Some people with disabilities can legally be paid less than minimum wage.

Gender and Sexual Orientations and Class: LGBT people are in every class and race. Individuals in same-sex couples have more college degrees and higher levels of employment than those in different-sex couples. Some studies that suggest that gay men earn less than similarly qualified heterosexual men, which strongly suggests the influence of workplace discrimination. Lesbian households often make much less than comparable gay male or heterosexual households. Transgender people experience much employment discrimination. (Census data and Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues)

African-American woman, bell hooks, encourages us to stay focused on the class issue.

“Class matters. Race and gender can be used as screens to deflect attention away from harsh realities class politics exposes. Clearly, just when we should all be paying attention to class, using race and gender to understand and explain its new dimensions, society, even our government, says let’s talk about race and racial injustice.” bell hooks, Where We Stand: Class Matters.
What is Classism?

Classism: Similar to other “isms” it comes down to prejudice plus power. It is a form of discrimination which is the outcome of prejudice being acted out with power resulting in devaluing, restricted opportunities, and violence toward members of another group.

FORMS OF POWER

Class Capital: Sources of power that can contribute to class situations. (Pierre Bourdieu 1986)

- ECONOMIC: control over monetary resources. What you own.
- SOCIAL: access to resources based on group membership, relationships, support, and interpersonal networks of influence. Who you know.
- CULTURAL: knowledge and skills (e.g. education, knowledge of social conventions and expectations) that confer advantages in a particular setting, group, or institution. What you know.

Forms of Social Power (John R. P. French and Bertram Raven 1959)

- REWARD POWER: controls rewards and resources
- COERCIVE POWER: controls punishments
- LEGITIMATE POWER: authority vested in a role or position
- EXPERT POWER: controls knowledge and information
- REFERENCE POWER: people like or find person attractive

Classism is: the systematic assignment of worth or access to power based on social class.

At the institutional level, it is the policies and practices set up to benefit more class-privileged people at the expense of others. Activist Linda Stout defines this “as a system of oppression that gives one group power and privilege over another group based on income and access to resources.” (1996 xiii)

At the individual level, classism is negative behavior or attitudes related to class which can be conscious and intentional or unconscious and unintentional.
Chinese-American Psychologist William Liu states that a person will engage in this type of classism when other’s behaviors are not congruent with the values and expectations of that person’s own economic culture. He suggests four types of classism based on the assumption that all individuals may have some form of power even if institutionally their group does not have power. There is some controversy as to whether those in less power can engage in classism, so I have relabeled Liu’s upward classism to upward class prejudice.

**Downward classism and upward class prejudice** are represented by most Americans having negative stereotypes and attitudes about both the rich and the poor and negative actions based on those attitudes.

**Within-Class classism,** meaning negative feelings and actions towards those in the same class group that one is in.

**Internalized classism,** meaning feelings of frustration, anger, guilt, shame or depression resulting from social class expectations and pressures. Individuals use a combination of human, social and cultural capital to be congruent with others in their perceived social class group or groups above them, and when they cannot do so, they experience stress or “social class strain” (Liu, 2001).

At the cultural level **Cultural Classism:** the ways in which classism is manifested through our cultural norms and practices, often found in the ideology behind something. For example, what counts as “good art.”

**Cultural Reproduction:** how existing advantages and disadvantages are passed down from one generation to the next, partly due to the education system and other institutions.

Sources:


Meritocracy is a system in which the talented are chosen and moved ahead on the basis of their achievements. It is a system of leadership based on educational and intellectual criteria.

Meritocracy is appealing on the surface. It makes sense for a community to invest resources in developing the talents of the people most likely to develop them at the highest level and to entrust leadership to those who have developed special knowledge and skills. It seems fair that people be rewarded for fulfilling roles that require uncommon skills, extra effort, sacrifice, or risk. It creates motivation for acquiring knowledge and putting in effort.

It assumes that if people work hard, that they will be rewarded, and if they don’t, then they will experience natural consequences. Meritocracy also presumes that membership in a certain group should not influence whether someone gets rewarded – it should just be based on ability and effort.

Christopher Hayes wrote: “In order for it to live up to its ideals, a meritocracy must comply with two principles.
1) The Principle of Difference: people differ in ability and we need to match the hardest working and most talented to the most difficult, important and best paid tasks.
2) The Principle of Mobility: Over time, there must be some continuous competitive selection process that ensures that performance is rewarded and failure punished. That is, the delegation of duties cannot be simply made once and then fixed in place over a career or between generations. People must be able to rise and fall along with their accomplishments and failures. . . . But this ideal, as appealing as it may be, runs up against the reality of what I’ll call The Iron Law of Meritocracy. The Iron Law of Meritocracy states that eventually the inequality produced by a meritocratic system will grow large enough to subvert the mechanisms of mobility.” (56-57, Hayes 2012)

As the wealth gap increases, and with the ongoing presence of many “isms”, meritocracy does not function as we might wish it would. This disconnect is due to the fact that attributes such as cognitive ability and self discipline are not fully in most people’s control to develop. Those qualities are influenced by existing class membership - in terms of access to high quality education, actual job opportunities, non-polluted environments, safety, and perceived opportunity. As Christopher Hayes noted, “The pyramid of merit has come to mirror the pyramid of wealth and cultural capital.” (54)

Meritocracy eventually leads to less social mobility. Those who get to the top act in ways to preserve and pass down their existing advantages from one generation to the next, resulting in cultural reproduction. Those at the top are likely to believe that meritocracy works because it “worked” for them and continue to support structures based on meritocratic assumptions.

So why does this matter to America? It matters because decisions based on the assumption that we have a meritocracy are destroying democracy. People who get to the top become isolated from those at the bottom limiting the information they need to engage in good leadership of companies, educational institutions or governments. They may also act in self-serving ways,
rather than for the common good. These institutions then have failures, cause harm, and lose the trust of their communities, consumers, or employees.

So why will it be hard to fix this? “Ultimately the meritocratic creed finds purchase on both the left and right because it draws from each. From the right it draws its embrace of inequality… and from the left it draws its … disregard for inheritance and old established order, a commitment to diversity and openness and hostility to the faith, flag, family credo of traditional conservatism. …The areas in which the left has made the most significant progress – gay rights, inclusion of women in higher education, the end of de jure racial discrimination – are battles it has fought or is fighting in favor of making the meritocracy more meritocratic. The areas in which it has suffered its worst defeats – collective action to provide universal public goods, mitigating rising income inequality – are those that fall outside the meritocracy’s purview. The same goes for conservatives. Those who rail against unions and for reduced taxes on hedge fund bonuses have the logic of meritocracy on their side, yet those who want to keep gay men and women from serving openly in the military do not. “ (47-48)

Another challenge is that true democracy is hard to pull off. To survive over time, even radical organizations will begin to delegate to a smaller group of more active workers/volunteers and they will inevitably lose touch or not be able to fully share information and decision making with the mainline folks. A cadre or elite is formed, creating organizational separation. You have probably observed that shift in some of your congregations. Theologian, H.Richard Niebuhr, noted this trend for denominations and congregations to become more formally structured and move up class levels over time in his book The Social Sources of Denominationalism. He documented this trend over many centuries of religious history but had hopes that it could somehow be overcome.

To resist the negative influences of meritocratic assumptions, we must look not just at equality of opportunity, but seek more equality of outcomes. Hayes cautions us against putting too much hope in the educational system as an “equal opportunity” solution to low wages and other forms of structural inequality. He suggests that we need a cross-class coalition to seek taxation and legislation to redistribute wealth more similarly to the 1970s in this country and similar to current systems in other developed nations.

“Equality is never a final state, democracy never a stable equilibrium: they are processes, they are struggles. Our task now is to recognize the struggle is ours.” (240)

The Social Sources of Denominationalism By H.Richard Niebuhr (1929) Meridian Books

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There is a pervasive stereotype about the class of people attending Unitarian Universalist congregations in America. This stereotype suggests that UUs are a wealthy, highly educated, urbane elite. It is often presumed that all Unitarians in 19th century Boston were an educated and wealthy elite who controlled the factories, the politics, the culture, and most especially Harvard College. These Unitarians created a rational and unemotional faith that emphasized salvation by education. Individual success and status became important signs of salvation. Furthermore, the belief is that Unitarianism expanded west through outposts where the movers and shakers in new communities could establish churches like the one in Boston.

But the picture both historically and now is much more diverse and complex than the mere replication of the Boston stereotype all over the country. Think of your own experience in our congregations today. In terms of income and class background we seem more diverse than the elite stereotype, and yet, compared to other religious groups, we ranked very highly in the 1990 National Survey of Religious Identification in terms of education levels, median income, home ownership, and suburban lifestyles. Our profile was an exact match for an L.L. Bean mailing list. We have the social and environmental conscience, too.

My book *Elite: Uncovering Classism in Unitarian Universalist History* looks at different aspects of UU history from a class perspective. In England, class distinction was a result (not a cause) of religious belief. Unitarianism was against the law even after 1688, when most other dissenters were given the right to assemble for worship. Catholicism and Unitarianism remained illegal in Britain until 1813, and there were attempts to seize Unitarian property almost until the mid-19th century. Being illegal prevented them both from organizing as a religion, and from attending university. This meant that any profession that required a degree, such as law or medicine, was not a possibility for Unitarians. Shut out from the learned professions, they entered trades, became business people, and created a new kind of rising middle class.

Nevertheless, British Unitarianism was plagued by a desire to be accepted by the Anglican Church. Their most famous 19th century leader, James Martineau, wanted to simply broaden the established church so that those who didn’t believe in the divinity of Jesus would be accepted. He shunned the working classes, hoping to gain social status and be identified with the Anglicans. Other Unitarians were far more interested in ministering to everyone, such as William Gaskell whose wife Elizabeth used stories and novels to critique the stratification of society and highlight the plight of the very poor.

In America, early Unitarianism tended to emphasize the idea that God is pleased by material success if earned by right morality. Thus they valued order, harmony, and the freedom to be rich, not the freedom to be equal. One minister who advocated for a Unitarian faith that would appeal to all classes was Arthur Buckminster Fuller, whose sister Margaret used her newspaper columns to raise the consciousness of the American people about the social conditions of a broad range of people. Arthur tried to reach a broad audience by preaching in an evangelical extemporaneous style.
Meanwhile, Hosea Ballou promoted a classless heaven of Universalism. His theology is, I think, especially appealing to UUs today. He gave us grounding in the idea that God’s love embraces the whole human race, regardless of who you are. This has widespread implications in terms of class differences, but also race, gender, and sexual orientation. In addition, it is a theology based on grace, and not merit. Worth is based on love, not whether you went to the best school or not, or make the most money.

The mid-20th century Fellowship Movement provided the most profound Unitarian growth in our history. However, the communities specifically targeted for growth were white, primarily wealthy neighborhoods, while cities with large concentrations of immigrants and African Americans were specifically avoided. This may be part of what led some congregations to abandon cities and move to the suburbs. However, other existing urban congregations continued to maintain a downtown presence.

The Rev. David Rankin objected to the trend to move to the suburbs and away from cities. In 1967 he was minister of my present church in Watertown, Massachusetts, a congregation that had declined precipitously as the city became more and more industrialized, urban, and full of immigrants. Rankin responded to the UUA Committee on Goals report that year by noting that the denomination did not support “with any intensity the inner-city churches, nor did it recruit into the ministry those who understand or who are able to deal with the problems of the city.” He claimed the UUA was biased towards the suburbs and showed “a strong class orientation that cannot be concealed by such phrases as ‘emerging religious liberalism’ and ‘universal free faith.’” He said the report “reflected a profound class prejudice that has always characterized Unitarianism. A religious movement that represents only a small segment of a small percentage of one class in a total population cannot be expected to develop broad sympathies and understandings. A class church is a narrow church. Survival takes priority. The weak are eliminated.” (David Rankin, “The Cry They Do Not Hear,” The Unitarian Christian, Fall 1967).

I have often wondered how we could reconcile the rhetoric of a universal free faith with the reality of our present class-bound composition. In this era of widening gaps between rich and poor, scapegoating others, and looking out for ourselves, we need to make personal connections with all those who might find meaning in our liberal faith regardless of class background, and promote a vision for the common good, a vision not for a perfect, successful individual, but for a world village where we take care of each other. Do we welcome everyone to our congregations? -- not just those who own their homes, but those who rent, those who suffer from mental illness, those who live in group homes, those who are lonely and need our caring friendship, those who have lost their jobs, have huge credit card debt, but also retired bank presidents, restaurant workers, and college professors, carpenters and cab drivers. I think will be more diverse than we have ever been before, as soon as we stop asking who belongs here or who is one of us.
Not my father's religion: If my working-class father started attending a UU church, I'm not sure who he'd talk to.
By Doug Muder
Fall 2007 8.18.07  UU World Magazine.  Used with permission.

My hometown is in downstate Illinois, in farm country. We had one high school, so whether your dad was a millionaire or ran off when you were three never to be seen again, that’s where you went. My father did something in between: He worked in a factory, the same factory for my entire childhood. You could do that in those days, if you showed up on time every day and did what they told you.

It was a good job. The factory made cattle feed, and cattle always need to eat, so the work was steady. If you were careful with your money, it paid well enough to support a family.

It was also a bad job. Dad came home stinking of fish oil. Over time the noise ruined his hearing. And the schedule fluctuated. He worked the day shift one week and the night shift the next—back and forth every other week until he retired. All the workers in that factory did that.

If the night shift was working overtime, I didn’t see him all week. But otherwise I got off school about an hour before he had to leave for work. I’d race home on my bike, and we’d play baseball. He taught me to hit by throwing tennis balls in the front yard.

Dad had a method for teaching me not to be afraid of the ball. “Let it hit you,” he said. Because that’s how Dad thinks: If the worst has happened already and you survived, what’s to be afraid of?

I’m a Unitarian Universalist, but my Dad isn’t. My parents seem quite happy in the same conservative branch of Lutheranism in which they raised my sister and me. It teaches the literal truth of the Bible, and its God is real, personal, and powerful. The God I met at home was more liberal than the God of my Lutheran grade school, but not by much. He was, at the very least, secure enough to be amused rather than threatened by my human attempts to be clever. At home, my heretical theological speculations were always matters for discussion rather than reprimand. But nonetheless, God had spoken, and His word was law. If reason and conscience told me something different from what was written in the Bible, then I’d better think things through again.

That theology, as I said, works for my parents, which is one reason I’ve never tried to convert them. But there’s another reason: If they did start going to a UU church, I’m not sure whom they’d talk to.

Unitarian Universalism has a class problem. We rarely discuss it, and when we do, we often focus on the very poor: the homeless, panhandlers, people on welfare. But we also have a problem with the working class, particularly the ones suffering from what Marx called alienation. If you’re a skilled craftsperson and like to work with your hands, you might be a UU.
But if you make a living by renting your muscles and selling your time—permanently, not just until your novel gets published—you probably aren’t.

My UU church is in a Boston suburb, and like all the UU churches I’ve attended, it has a lot of professionals with advanced degrees—people like me. But most UU congregations don’t have a lot of people like Dad. I think that’s a problem.

This problem rarely even makes it onto an agenda. At my church Martin Luther King Jr. Sunday is an annual reminder to meditate on our race problem and the paucity of African Americans in UU congregations. Labor Day? We’re closed. It’s the last weekend of our summer break, time for one last trip to the vacation home on the Cape.

But that’s in the class-segregated suburbs of Boston. What about my hometown in farm country? Growing up, I didn’t know we had a UU church, but we do. I’ve preached there twice now, and I try to stop in whenever I’m in town on a Sunday. It’s full of wonderful people, but as best as I can determine they are also more like me than like Dad. I’ve met the newspaper editor, the superintendent of schools, and a professor from the local university there, but nobody from the factory where Dad worked or any other local factory. No truck drivers. No waitresses. Nobody who works checkout or has calloused hands.

I hope one or two working-class people are there somewhere, but I haven’t met them yet. Neither has Dad. He came to hear me preach the first time, but he hasn’t been back.

Unitarian Universalism has a class problem.

Like our race problem, the class problem seems paradoxical to many UUs: We try to stand for all people, but when we look around, we’re usually standing with people like ourselves. We promote equality, but perversely, the less privileged would rather join conservative churches, churches that seem to us to serve the interests of the rich and to tell everyone else that it’s their own damn fault their lives are such a struggle.

One reason this paradox is hard to talk about, I think, is that a lot of us believe an explanation that we don’t want to say out loud: Working-class people are stupid. The powers-that-be have duped them into pining for Heaven instead of changing Earth.

It’s a tempting explanation because it absolves us. When the working class doesn’t listen to us, we don’t have to ask if we’re being stupid—if we’re really talking only about our lives, not theirs.

To understand why people might choose not to be with us even though we’re trying to be for them, let’s go back to baseball for a minute. Consider batting helmets. The major leagues didn’t make batting helmets mandatory until 1971. You know who fought that rule? Hitters. The league had to grandfather the active hitters in, so that they could keep facing Nolan Ryan’s fastballs without helmets until they retired. The last batter who didn’t wear a helmet was Bob Montgomery in 1979. The same thing happened in hockey, whose last helmetless player retired in 1997.
Now, from the outside it sounds crazy that the players would fight against people who were trying to protect them, but it makes an odd kind of sense. You see, the players knew the lesson my Dad taught me in the front yard: If you’re afraid of the ball, you can’t hit it. They just took it one step further: If you’re really not afraid, why do you want a helmet?

When you’re doing something hard like hitting a baseball, sometimes the mind-set you need, the one that works, is not the objective, big-picture view. It’s the one that tells you to be brave, not the one that tells you to wear a helmet.

Here’s another sports example: I remember hearing Muhammad Ali say, “I am the greatest. Ain’t never been another fighter like me. Ain’t never been no nothing like me.” If you ask whether those statements were objectively true, you miss the point. Ali was doing something hard. He needed to think that way to do what he did.

Working-class people are doing something hard. Sometimes that means they need to think differently and ask different questions from the ones that seem obvious to those of us who look at their situation from the outside.

Picture it like this: Imagine society as a giant maze, with success as a prize at the end. Some people are born right by the exit. Others start in more difficult places. They can’t just wander out. They have to make all the right moves.

Now, if you imagine yourself standing in a high place overlooking the maze, compassion for the people deep inside might raise questions like these: Why does it have to be so hard to find the prize? Couldn’t we knock out a few walls? Why can’t the minimum wage be higher? Why can’t the government hire the unemployed? Why can’t college be free?

From a God’s-eye view, those are great questions. But if you’re inside the maze, that mind-set won’t get you out. Why does this maze have to be so hard? Why does that wall have to be there? Why can’t I have a clear path to the prize? It doesn’t help. No matter how good those questions are objectively, if I’m so deep in the maze that I seriously doubt I’ll ever get out, I don’t need them in my head.

Ten or twelve years ago I was in Tennessee visiting my sister, who also got a college education and joined the professional class. That Saturday night I got her husband, Ed, talking. He was an engineer researching clean ways to burn coal. It was a demanding job, but he believed in it and thought it was important. So he worked long hours and traveled a lot. He was also finance chair of their church, in the same Lutheran synod we grew up in. They were raising money for a new building, and that also seemed important. At the same time his sons, my nephews, were both in elementary school. Ed worried that he wasn’t spending enough time with them.

Job, church, family—every part of his life wanted more from him. What to do?
The next morning I went to church with them. The sermon topic was “Resisting Temptation.” In my mind I boiled the entire 20-minute sermon down to three words: Don’t be bad.

I felt smug that morning because I knew that Ed would have been so much better off in my church. We talk about real life, his real life. He didn’t need to be told not to be bad. His issue wasn’t Good versus Evil; it was Good versus another Good versus a third kind of Good. And that’s the issue in my life and in the lives of all my professional-class friends. The primary spiritual challenge of the professional class is discernment. There are so many good things we could do with our lives. How do we choose?

That’s the kind of issue a UU sermon talks about.

But I don’t think discernment was Dad’s issue. Because the factory was not a competing Good. It was a necessary Evil.

When he was pitching me tennis balls in the front yard, I don’t believe that any part of him actually wanted to go off to that dirty, hot, noisy, dangerous factory. He went because if he didn’t something bad would happen. He’d be punished. And in the long run, if he lost his job, I’d be punished, too.

Dad didn’t need help discerning what to do. He just needed to make himself do it.

And that’s working-class life in a nutshell. You’re not following your bliss. You’re not pursuing your calling. You’re selling your time for money. The way out of the maze, and the way to get your kids out of the maze, is to get up every day and do something you’d rather not do.

Professionals have trouble understanding the depth of that chasm because we imagine that we also do things we don’t want to do. We don’t get that extra hour of sleep in the morning. We have meetings with people we don’t like. We fill out forms that we know are pointless. But does that give us comradeship with people who are losing their hearing in 100-degree heat?

Here’s what sums it up to me: When professionals retire, we keep dabbling. The retired newspaper editor in my hometown still writes. When the professor retires, he’ll keep reading journals and going to talks. But in the thirty years since my Dad took early retirement, he has never brought home some fish oil and mixed up a batch of cattle feed in the garage. When you retire from Wal-Mart, you don’t set up a bar-code scanner in the basement, just to stay busy. You do that stuff for money, and when they stop paying you, you never, ever do it again.

UU churches also help with the second major spiritual challenge of the professional class: inspiration. The whole point of discernment is to find a consistently inspiring path through life. The ideal profession is a calling, and inspiration is how you work those 12-hour days without burning out. Inspired people bounce out of bed in the morning with ideas and ambitions. They stay late because there’s always one more thing they want to try. Those are the people who really make it in the professions. If you have to push yourself, and you’re competing with somebody who’s inspired, you’re at a huge disadvantage.
That’s why professionals tell their children: Find something you love, so that you’ll be brilliant and creative and energetic. You’ll run rings around the guys who are just doing what they have to do.

In the professional class, inspiration is the road to success. It’s the way out of the maze. Or at least it’s one way out, the bright way. There’s also a dark way out, for those professionals who are driven by fear and greed rather than pulled by love. They sell their time and energy for a lot more money than factory workers—and a lot more than many idealistic professionals—but they can get just as alienated. They also don’t seem to respond well to the UU message. Or at least I don’t run into many of them in my church.

In the working class, the road to success is self-control. That’s what you want to teach your children: Resist temptation. Walk the narrow path. Do the hard thing you don’t want to do, so that you and the people who are counting on you won’t be punished.

That almost sounds like a theology. But not a UU theology.

Let’s throw one more idea into the mix: Second chances. Rich kids, professionals’ kids—they get them. If your parents have money, the door never completely closes on you. Don’t worry if you flunk out of two or three colleges. It’ll work out. Children of the very rich and powerful don’t have to get serious until they’re 40. The sky is still the limit.

In the working class it’s not that way. Eminem’s song “Lose Yourself” asks: What if you had one shot? To a professional-class kid, imagining that you get only one shot is a way to add drama to your life. But in the working class, the fantasy is that you get one shot. What if you had one shot? You wouldn’t blow it, would you?

Let’s put these pieces together: Imagine yourself deep in the maze, standing between two churches. One church tells you there’s Good and there’s Evil. And because somebody has done something incredibly generous, you get a chance to choose Good. One chance. You get it wrong, you go to hell forever.

The other church tells you there are a lot of ways to be good. And if the good you pick doesn’t turn out to be the best good, pick again. It’ll work out.

Which church is talking about the world you live in? Which message do you want your kids to hear? Which one gives you the mind-set you need to get out?

We sometimes describe conservative churches as otherworldly because they talk about supernatural realms. Their harsh theology, we worry, can justify harshness in this world. But the connection between harsh theology and a harsh world goes both ways. If you live in a harsh world, a church with a harsh theology is talking about your life. The church with the easy theology is the otherworldly one.

Of course, if you’re so close to the maze’s exit that you can already picture yourself in the high place surveying the big view, then the whole good-and-evil, heaven-and-hell theology doesn’t
sound so impressive. It’s crazy. It’s stupid. Almost as stupid as batting against Nolan Ryan without a helmet.

So this is what the question comes down to for me: Does Unitarian Universalism say something about life or just about life in the professional class? Can we speak in words that make sense everywhere, from the high place to the darkest, trickiest passages of the maze? Can we teach both subtle discernment and making yourself do the obvious hard thing? Inspiration and self-control?

I hope so. Because otherwise we’re a boutique religion. Otherwise we’ve surrendered the working class to conservative religion. My hunch, my faith—or maybe just what I need to believe to do what I do—is that we can find such a message, that there can be a truth that encompasses all situations, a wisdom big enough for all people.
Domains for Possible Congregational Classism

Every organization is likely to have practices and policies that reflect classism in society. Each domain of congregational life can be examined in terms of whether it could have a classist impact. Changes can be made to reduce classism and move toward greater inclusiveness of people from all class backgrounds. The questions below are not necessarily to imply that one way is the best, but to get you thinking about possible impacts.

Welcoming New People

• What brings new people to your congregation? How do they find out about you?
• How are people greeted when they come?
  o What types of questions are asked?
  o What types of information is shared?
• Is the congregation accessible by public transportation and is parking adequate?
• What do people see on the walls? What type of art, photographs or written messages are present? What family structures are visually represented?
• What types of clothing and styles might people see?
• What level of language is in brochures, newsletters, emails.
• Are new people asked to contribute financially right away, soon, or not at all?
• How do people join the congregation?
• Can children be in the service with parents on the first visit? Are parents welcome to stay in the nursery or RE on the first visit?

The Communal Observance (worship)

• What type of music is favored? Is music professional, amateur, participatory?
• Who leads or participates in the service?
• Does the sermon assume prior knowledge of certain things? Use acronyms? What level of language is used?
• How is the offertory handled?

Social Space Before and After communal events

• What types of refreshments are offered? Are they free or is a donation asked for?
• What types of humor and voice volume are acceptable?
• Who gets asked to do social things afterward or outside of congregation events?
• What eateries or coffee shops do members tend to gather at outside the congregation?
• Are there potlucks offered, communal meals, are there fees for meals or concerts?
• If there are fees, are certain members always volunteering to have fees waived and what impact does that have?
Children and Youth

- Is there a fee for participation in religious education or childcare?
- What are the behavioral rules? For example, are children allowed to run around?
- Is clothing available so all children can participate in activities outside?
- Is there funding for leadership and oversight of youth activities?
- Are there costs or fundraising demands on youth to participate in activities?
- Is childcare for events, meetings or adult religious education funded by the congregation or charged?

Leadership and Decision making

- How are leaders chosen?
- Who serves on the board? Who serves as committee chairs?
- How are times and dates set for volunteer work?
- Who does most of the volunteering?
- How are meetings structured to ensure all voices are heard?
- Whose voices seem to be heard more or less than others?
- How are decisions made? How are decisions communicated?
- Who gets thanked and praised, and who does not?

Social Justice Work

- What is the philosophy or attitude underlying the social justice work?
- Are you providing services or funds to people or organizing with people?
- Is social justice work funded in your budget?

Stewardship/Fundraising and Finances

- Who controls whether a fundraiser can occur at the building or in the congregation?
- How many fundraisers are occurring in your communal space?
- How are expectations for giving set and communicated?
- Is there a required financial contribution to maintain voting membership?
- Are some members recognized more than others for financial giving?
- Where is money spent in the budget?

Connections to regional and national UUA

- Who gets to participate at regional and national levels?
- Is funding provided for people to attend distant events?
- Is money from the budget given to regional and national UUA organizations?
## Congregational Classism Worksheet

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Based on work by Class Action [www.classism.org](http://www.classism.org).
A description of Class Divisions in the United States


1. We need to change the understanding of class in the United States, going from the division of “rich and poor” to the division of “worker and capitalist.” When we popularize this more accurate and useful terminology, we will convey a better grasp of class dynamics and make it easier to address the continuing operation of racism and sexism in American society. We will also contribute to the construction of political movements capable of reversing the decades-old trend toward ever more consolidated corporate power at the expense of working people, regardless of race and gender.

We should identify the class divisions as between the working class, 62 percent of the U.S. Labor Force— a substantial majority of the American people— and the corporate elite (or capitalist class), who make up only 2 percent. In between these classes is the middle class (36 percent of the U.S. Labor Force).

The “Two Americas” John Edwards identified in 2004 and the “Two New Yorks” Fernando Ferrer identified in his 2005 mayoral bid refer to crucial realities that should be front and center in our political conversations and social policy. But these divisions are not best understood as simply the difference between “rich and poor.”

“Class” must be understood in terms of power rather than income, wealth, or lifestyle, although these do vary by class. Using power as the starting point allows us to see class as a dynamic relationship rather than as a static set of characteristics. Investigating class as a question of power also makes it possible to find the organic links among class, race, and gender. Looking at class in terms of income, wealth, lifestyle, or education separates it from race and gender, which are best understood as power relationships rather than inherent characteristics individuals possess.

The working class are those people with relatively little power at work— white collar banktellers, call-center workers, and cashiers; blue collar machinists, construction workers, and assembly line workers; pink-collar secretaries, nurses, and home-health care workers— skilled and unskilled, men and women of all races, nationalities, and sexual preferences. The working class are those with little personal control over the pace or content of their work and without supervisory control over the work lives of others. There are nearly 90 million working-class people in the U.S. labor force today. The United States has a substantial working-class majority.

The capitalist class are the corporate elite, senior executives, and directors of large corporations, whose job it is to give strategic direction to the company, who interact with government agencies and other corporate executives while leaving the day-to-day operation of their company to intermediate levels of management and the workforce. In this they are different from small business owners, who tend to work beside their relatively few employees and manage them directly. These small business owners while literally capitalists in that they employ wage labor, are better understood to be in the middle class, as will be discussed below.
The ruling class is considerably smaller than the full capitalist class and includes non-capitalists as well. If we think of the ruling class as those who give strategic direction to the country as a whole, extending their own business or institution we can identify those corporate directors who sit on multiple boards, thus having an opportunity to coordinate capitalist activity across enterprises, and add to them the political elites of the three branches of national government and cultural and educational leaders who contribute to the furtherance of corporate interests. The entire U.S. ruling class could fit into the seats at Yankee Stadium (capacity: 54,000)

The middle class are professionals, small business owners, and managerial and supervisory employees. They are best understood not as the middle of an income distribution but as living in the middle of the two polar classes in capitalist society. Their experiences have some aspects shared with the working class and some associated with the corporate elite.

Small business owners, for example, share with capitalists an interest in private property in business assets, defeated unions, and weak labor regulations. But they share with workers the work itself, great vulnerability to the capitalist market and government power, and difficulty securing adequate health insurance and retirement security.

Professionals are also caught in the idle of the crossfire in the principal class conflict between labor and capital. If we look at the experience over the last thirty years of professionals whose lives are closely intertwined with the working class—community college teachers, lawyers in public defender offices or with small general practices, doctors working in working-class neighborhoods, and public school teachers – their economic and social standing have deteriorated, along with the class they serve. But if we look at those whose lives are more fully involved in serving the capitalist class – corporate lawyers, financial service professionals, Big Four CPAs, and doctors who practice beyond the reach of HMOs’ and insurance companies’ oversight—these professionals have risen in fortune with the class they serve, albeit to a lesser extent, absolutely and proportionately.

Professionals in most part of the academic community (especially colleges closely linked to working-class constituencies) are experiencing the pain of corporate pressure as working-class people do. In the process, many academic jobs have been degraded. They are no longer relatively secure tenure-track middle-class positions, but adjunct and visitor positions staffed by a growing second tier of people working at will with virtually no professional standing, a new academic working class.

“Working class” is best understood differently from the Department of Labor (DOL) category “production and non-supervisory” employee. This DOL category includes every employee who is not a supervisor, like most professors and other middle-class professionals working for a salary. However, lumping all employees who have no supervisory power over others into the working class masks the real differences in social position that professional people enjoy, beleaguered as they may be. Appreciating the contradictory class location of professional and other middle-class employees helps to understand the political vicissitudes characteristic of this section of the population and suggests ways of approaching them as allies to working-class politics.

2. The usual talk of a mass middle class with some rich and poor at the fringes is deeply misleading and contributes to two central problems in American politics.
A. We get trapped in confusions about race and lose sight of class. In the popular imagination and in political campaign speeches “the poor” usually stand for “black and Hispanic” or “minority.” But in the United States two-thirds of all poor people are white and three-quarters if all black people are not poor. Racism continues to operate and accounts for the fact that poverty is experienced disproportionately among blacks and Hispanics (and among women because of sexism). But we should not allow their comparatively heavy burden to blind us to the full realities of poverty in America.

Poverty is something that happens to the working class. Most poor people in the United States are in families where the adults experience periodic spells of unemployment or work only part-time or at low wages. A family with two wage earners, one year-round full-time and one year-round half-time, each earning minimum wage, does not make enough to bring a family of three of out of poverty. To address and reverse poverty we need to improve the conditions working-class people experience. The “underclass”—people entirely marginalized from the legal economy—is only a small fraction of the poor and does not characterize most poor people. The “underclass” has special needs which must be understood and addressed, but a majority of the poor are not in this “underclass”—they are working-class people experiencing hard times.

Michael Zweig is white and teaches economics and is director of the Center for Study of Working Class Life at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. He is the author of *The Working Class Majority: America’s Best Kept Secret* (2000) and the editor of *What’s Class got to do with it? American Society in the Twenty-first Century* (2004)
Question: Why has income inequality increased since 1970?
Answer: A power shift led to rule changes.

Rule Changes since the 1970s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unions</th>
<th>Anti-union climate weakens the power and voice of workers.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>Global treaties benefit corporations, not workers or communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>Taxes shifted from big investors and corporations to workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget</td>
<td>Public services cut. Corporate subsidies expand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum Wage</td>
<td>Not raised to keep up with inflation and increased cost of living.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privatization</td>
<td>Government outsourcing plus no-bid contracts hurts taxpayers, workers, and public safety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big $ in Politics</td>
<td>PACs and other major campaign contributors have undue influence on legislators and increasingly undermine democracy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

United for a Fair Economy [www.faireconomy.org](http://www.faireconomy.org) Growing Divide program. Used with permission.

From Richard Wilkinson’s TED talk. How economic inequality harms societies

In summary, bigger income gaps lead to increased problems in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Relations</th>
<th>Human Capital</th>
<th>Health</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child conflict</td>
<td>Child well being</td>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homicide</td>
<td>High school drop outs</td>
<td>Infant mortality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imprisonment</td>
<td>Math &amp; literacy scores</td>
<td>Mental illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Capital</td>
<td>Social Mobility</td>
<td>Obesity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>Teenage Births</td>
<td>Life expectancy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The USA is the worst or 2nd worst on these compared to other developed countries.
We need new rules to Reduce Wealth and Income Inequality

4) Lift the floor for Lower Income People

- Establish Living Wage standards
- Raise the Federal minimum wage
- Invest in job creation and training
- Increase the supply of affordable housing
- Enforce basic labor standards and protections

5) Level the Playing Field for Everyone

- Fair taxed that treat income from investments and work the same
- Medicare for All – provide universal health care
- Trade policies that benefit wage-earners, consumers & the environment
- Quality education as a constitutional right

6) Address the Concentration of Wealth and Power

- Progressive taxation of wealth and income.
- Reduced subsidies for excessive CEO pay
- Campaign finance reform to get big money out of politics
- Reclaim our financial system
  - Break up big banks
  - Provide rigorous oversight of the financial sector
- Accountability for corporations receiving public subsidies
Cross Class Organizing


The First Principle of Movement Building

Anyone who steps out of political passivity to give time to any progressive effort deserves to be honored, appreciated, and treated with complete respect. Disagreements, mistakes, and oppressive behavior call for supportive feedback; they are not justification for abandoning a respectful stance. Solidarity is our only strength. Betsy Leondar-Wright

As it relates to activists working together: “I put the following class culture generalizations forward humbly, generalizing primarily about activists and expecting contradictory evidence from others’ experience to enrich them. My goal in risking generalizations is to make visible some class-culture-based coalition behaviors and dynamics that are often invisible.“ (17)

Class culture differences emerge from life experiences such as whether steady work is not attainable, inevitable, or optional, whether one has access to, the expectation of and the experience of getting a four year college degree, and whether people stay in the same community or move a lot.

Ways members of class groups may approach working in social change organizations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low Income</th>
<th>Working &amp; Lower Middle Class</th>
<th>Professional Middle Class</th>
<th>Owning Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thinking outside the box, less convention bound, discouraged by hardship or motivated by anger</td>
<td>Rooted, pragmatic steady workers</td>
<td>Unrooted, competitive steady workers</td>
<td>Thinking outside the box, less convention-bound, unrooted, entitled</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table terms defined:

Rooted – living where you grew up and strong ethnic and/or religious identities
Pragmatic – dealing with things realistically based on practical rather than theoretical considerations. Using experience as a base of information
Competitive – fostered by competing for and in colleges - self worth may depend on feeling smarter than other people – “a major obstacle to cross-class alliance building!” (23)
Entitlement – a sense of empowerment to create change, sometimes self funded, which can lead to less feedback and less constraints. This sense can also include arrogance. “Low income activists’ goods ideas too often go nowhere; owning class activists’ bad ideas too often don’t flop.” 21

Steady work versus not steady work “fosters pride in our pragmatism and in our disciplined work habits.”... “Lacking the expectation and experience of steady work (low income and owning class) leads people to be unconventional and to think outside the box (i.e. creative)
Combining the gifts of all class cultures
“To be able to organize successfully, low-income and working-class activists need more of the resources they are short on: money, decision-making power, skills, and information. Middle-class and owning-class activists need to share their resources and learn to follow the leadership of those without class privilege. And we need to realize that our motivation to be allies is not some kind of nice political correctness, but rather to increase the size and effectiveness of the movements we care about.” (23)
On being a middle-class Ally

In this workshop we do not assume that all participants are from the middle class. However, the book this material comes from was written for middle class activists.

Tips for middle-class activists working with other class groups.

- Put relationships first – allow time for story telling
- Talk less, listen more
- Don’t let guilt make you foolish – use your judgment
- Hang in and keep going back
- Support working class issues and be knowledgeable about class issues
- Watch your language – use accessible language and don’t correct other’s spoken grammar
- Use your privilege strategically
- Have a little humility
- Don’t “call people out” publically on their isms, approach them educationally
- Let go of control. A trend is the group with the most resources takes control
- Recognize poverty and working-class people’s constraints
- Read Howard Zinn’s The People’s History of the United States and other books about low-income revolts, labor struggles, and life stories.
- Join Jobs with Justice (www.jwj.org) and read their alerts about local labor struggles that need support. Act on them when you can.
- Join the email list for Class Action (www.classism.org). (from SZ)
- Join 9to5 – for Working Women’s issues 9to5.org (from SZ)

To learn more detail about these items, see Class Matters p 132-138 and p 145.

On the Ally’s Balancing Act: People recognize that it is a balancing act to be an effective ally. Here is a helpful summary from Dorian Warren.

Dorian Warren is an African American from a working class background. He was a graduate student in Political Science at Yale University when quoted for this book. He is currently an Associate Professor of Political Science and International and Public Affairs at Columbia University in New York.

He wrote: “It’s a tricky balance. I don’t think middle-class people should be silent, because if we do have some skills or insights of strategies, I think we should put them on the table. That doesn’t mean that our way is what will happen. But we should be able to contribute, and say ‘what about this, what about that?’ But I do think it is a hard balance to use our skills, but in a way that is ethical and that is not exercising power by virtue of our class status. It is a balancing act to believe that people can decide for themselves, to critically interrogate your power relations, and not to lose your critical faculties.” (p 145)

Joint Statement on Raising the Minimum Wage - A Moral Imperative

July 18, 2013

The Rev. Peter Morales, president of the Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA), and the Rev. Bill Schulz, president and CEO of the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee (UUSC), have issued this joint statement in support of legislation to raise minimum wages in the United States:

We’ve been told we’re in the middle of an economic recovery. But the truth is that while the stock market is closing at unprecedented highs, workers who make minimum wage are not recovering — they’re barely putting food on the table. Millions of low-wage workers in our country work hard day in and day out and still can’t afford life’s basic necessities. They are the restaurant servers feeding us, the people caring for our elderly or sick loved ones, and the workers keeping our buildings clean. They are our brothers, mothers, friends, congregants, and community members — and they are suffering silently, choosing between buying food, getting to work, and paying the rent.

This is an outrage that our moral values insist be remedied. And there is a simple common-sense solution: we must raise the federal minimum wage to a living wage.

How can we expect hardworking people to support themselves and their families on $7.25 an hour? That’s just $15,080 a year for a full-time worker, which is $3,000 below the poverty line for a family of three. While minimum wage has stagnated and left workers further and further behind, income inequality is now at an all-time high. The CEOs of the 500 largest U.S. companies make an average salary of $10.5 million.

It is time to ask that everyone share in corporate success, not just a handful of executives. As people of faith, we believe in the inherent worth and dignity of every person, and raising the minimum wage is vital in ensuring that dignity.

We believe in models in which employers treat their workers as human beings rather than as just another cost of doing business. We believe in putting purchasing power back into the hands of workers, who will spend those dollars in their local communities. We believe in an economy that is strong because workers have enough to live on and create demand for business. Better wages mean a real recovery: sustainable jobs, thriving families, and flourishing economies.

Legislation that raises the minimum wage is an important part of creating this vision. We will hold our legislators to the highest standard in pressing for laws that do the following:
• Raise the minimum wage closer to a living wage, ensuring working families can meet their basic needs with dignity
• Index the minimum wage to inflation, so that worker purchasing power is no longer eroded as a result of Congressional inaction
• Significantly increase the minimum wage for tipped employees, which currently is an abominable $2.13 an hour, and anchor it to at least 70 percent of the regular minimum wage

This is more than a political issue — it is a moral imperative. And legislation is just the starting point. We must act as our faith dictates; we must be true to the values that we hold dear.

We stand in solidarity with people throughout the country struggling to survive on minimum wage. We call upon all people of faith to join us. And we come together to urge this: stop making workers pay the price for corporate greed — raise the minimum wage!

Additional notes from Zilber

The federal minimum wage is $7.25  Some state minimum wages are going up in 2015. 2014: Lowest state wage is Wyoming $5.15 and highest is $9.32 in Washington state. Some are exempt from the minimum wage. These include workers for tips and those with disabilities. You can go to this website and print off the living wage charts for your county as handouts for your future work on living wages. http://livingwage.mit.edu/

Writings on or by UUs about Class

Conversations on Race, Class and Theology Advance Congregational Dialogues on Urban Issues: http://www.uua.org/multiculturalism/history/urbanministries/20522.shtml

Bray, Rosemary L. Unafraid of the Dark: A Memoir. Book by UU minister who grew up in poverty and on welfare


Documentaries and Online videos recommended by S. Zilber

- *Inequality for All* (free)
- *People Like Us*
- *Poor Kids*
- *Waging a Living*

• *The End of Poverty?* (free: about global issues)
• *A Place at the Table*
• *Unnatural Causes*
• *Tavis Talks* panel

http://www.tavistalks.com/remakingamerica/
Siebel Scholars: *Class in America*
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PEdY2OZXVd4


Get Involved with UU Class Conversations! www.uuclassconversations.org
Share your class story and stories about class in your UU experiences. UU Class Conversations is available for ongoing consultation with your congregation or organization.

Bring in a workshop from UU Class Conversations. Descriptions are after the Class Action materials.

Join the Unitarian Universalists for Class Awareness facebook group.

Join UU’s for a Just Economic Community - http://www.uujec.com

Classism Materials Available from Class Action www.classism.org/store
Class Action is available to provide workshops for non-UU audiences.

**New!** *Class Lives: Stories from Across Our Economic Divide.*

**Missing Class: Strengthening Social Movement Groups by Seeing Class Cultures**
New book by Betsy Leondar-Wright describes activist class culture differences. Learn how to solve common group problems by tapping the gifts of all classes.

**Reading Classes: On Culture and Classism in America** by Barbara Jensen

**Created Equal** - High school/middle school curriculum on class and classism

**Cross-Class Dialogue Manual**
Class Action’s founders guide others to replicate their transformative experience

**99 to 1: How Wealth Inequality is Wrecking the World and What We Can Do About It** by Chuck Collins

**The Color of Wealth: The Story Behind the U.S. Racial Wealth Divide**
UU Class Conversations currently offers three workshops. Our facilitators come to your congregation or organization in order to ensure the maximum number of participants. We have seen that the work to build an institution free of classism is more robust when more congregation or organization members are involved.

Organizing for Change: Addressing Classism in Your Faith Community
Six-Hour Workshop

This full-day workshop provides an opportunity explore the implications of class and classism and begin the process of becoming less classist and more class inclusive, and learning to organize more effectively across class lines.

Part 1 - The first part of the workshop will help participants become familiar with the concepts of class and classism and better understand their own class backgrounds. Strengths and challenges of each class background will be identified and participants will develop language, concepts, and strategies to bridge class differences. We will discover the intersection between class, race and other issues of diversity and explore the role of classism in escalating inequality.

Part 2 - The workshop will also help participants develop skills needed to begin to shift their faith community toward greater awareness of class and classism by examining how classism affects their group’s written and unwritten policies and practices. Strategies for change will help groups begin the process of organizing for change both internally and in their social justice work in the wider community.

Facing Class and Classism
Three-hour Workshop

The first half-day (or evening) workshop will help participants become familiar with the concepts of class and classism and better understand their own class backgrounds. Strengths and challenges of each class background will be identified and participants helped to develop language, concepts, and strategies to bridge class differences. We will illuminate the intersection between class and race and other issues of diversity and explore the role of classism in escalating inequality.

Tools for Change
Three-Hour Workshop

The second half-day (or evening) workshop will help participants develop skills needed to begin to shift their faith community toward greater awareness of class and classism by examining how classism shows up in their group’s written and unwritten policies and practices. Strategies for change will be presented and an opportunity provided to begin the process of organizing for change both within the group and in their social justice work in the wider community.
Examples of Conflicting Social Class Socialization Messages. Cut into strips.

From William Liu 2011 Social Class and Classism in the Helping Professions pgs 212-213

- Be an independent person and don’t rely on anyone, but you may have to work with others to succeed.

- Saving is important, but you have to spend to succeed

- Don’t be gaudy (flashy is trashy), but flaunt it if you got it

- You should always strive for upward mobility, but you should also be happy with what you’ve got.

- Pull yourself up by your bootstraps, but look for ways to exploit the system.

- If you fail, it’s because you are lazy, but if I fail, it’s because the system is unfair.

- Only spend what you have, but sometimes you have to invest a little more to get a lot back.

- Good things in life come to those who wait, but you should take what you can now because who knows if it will come back.
Classism examples to be cut up and put on cards.

You can give these sheets out if participants ask for them after the workshop.

**Downward classism example:**

(1) “Our church was raising funds for new chairs for the sanctuary. Each chair cost $110. Many of us could not afford that much especially at Christmas. A board member who is independently wealthy stuck a chair in the lobby with a bow and her name on it to show that she had bought a chair. We eventually figured out how to contribute, but the chair sat in the lobby for weeks as a reminder of the class divide in our church.”

(2) “A friend here in my large city had gone through the orientation at the UU church downtown--she has no car and it is easier for her and her 3 children to get there on the bus than walking from the end of the bus line out to my suburban church or setting up Sunday rides with church members (her schedule is hectic with the children going some weekends to their two different dad's homes). So, fine, they were attending downtown, settling in, making friends, etc. for a few months. Right before the summer break of the regular church year, she was registering the kids for fall RE and, then she was told about the $50 per child RE fee (x3=$150). She said that was a lot of money for her and was told there may be scholarships. So, she was very upset--called me to say she wouldn't have gone through the orientation and gotten the kids liking their new church if she'd have known about the fee. The first time she even heard about an RE fee was when she was there signing up. She felt very embarrassed, sad, etc. I encouraged her to hang in there, she liked the church, the bussing was making it easier to attend, and I was sure there would be financial help. Yikes! Classism! I did make a call in her behalf and it has worked out for her family to go there, but, golly, she has a struggle to live and didn't expect a problem at church.”

(3) “I have dealt with mental illness for many years and as a result have not been able to establish a real career. I’ve been taking classes at my local university for the past 6 years, and have worked on-and-off part time for the past 10 years. My latest position ended very recently. At camp I feel a little bit uncomfortable when people ask what I do. When I respond I talk as though my part-time work is ongoing, and I say that I am a university student without mentioning that I am taking a minimum number of credits.” Curriculum note: UU members should be trained to not ask about occupation or job as a first thing when meeting visitors to reduce classist impact.

(4) A form of downward classism that middle class perpetrate on lower class people is the assumption of choice. Sadie Dingfelder (2010) wrote that “During Hurricane Katrina, many white, middle-class Americans were puzzled that so many New Orleanians “chose” to stay despite evacuation orders and reports of impending disaster” “As people know now, most of those who stayed in New Orleans did so because they had no choice. They had no transportation, funds or friends in other states, or they had to stay to care for others who didn’t have the means of escape, said psychologist Hazel Rose Markus.” P 40
Community Activist Linda Stout, a white woman, wrote the book *Bridging the Class Divide*, which was published by the UU press- Beacon Press. She grew up in poverty to later develop her own very successful community organization. She had to drop out of college because the college raised room and board and would not offer her additional financial aid. She is angry at the school.

“I was so angry with them, and I still am. For years, I thought it was somehow my fault that I didn’t stay in school. When I tell middle-class folks this story, they ask “Why didn’t you do this?...But at that time I did not know what other options were. I believed I had no other options available to me.” “I often define poverty as a lack of options”. Middle-class people “don’t understand that it is a privilege to have options, and that a lot of people don’t have that privilege”. “They also cannot understand the intense pain and shame of not having those options available to you, and as a result, the sense of being a failure that it instills in you”. 25

Upward negative class impact examples:

(6) “ A former student of mine went to work at a prison as a psychologist. He was outnumbered by other workers who called him an “egghead” and socially excluded him.”

(7) “The staff at the Bus Riders Union is mostly college-educated people of color, though most of them grew up working-class. Sometimes there’s resentment of them by certain Latinos on the buses, particularly of Chicanos whose Spanish isn’t as good. “Who are you to come here educated and not speaking my language?” is the attitude. …Class tension comes out as ethnic tension. Manuel Criollo (p 32 Class Matters)

(8) Pick one of these UU examples to put on the card:

“I was concerned when a member of my congregation stewardship committee said that if someone could pledge $10,000 to our operating fund, it should be no big deal for her to give another $2000 to make up for a shortfall in our campaign. I felt this assumed that this member had not made any sacrifices to make this pledge, and that this person had unlimited resources.”

OR

“My friend was upset that the chair of a capital campaign assumed she had come into better circumstances financially when she made a generous donation to the campaign. In actuality, my friend had cut back her donations to other charities and made other sacrifices in her life to make the pledge. These sacrifices were invisible.”
Workshop Materials  S. Zilber: Class Conscious: Class & Classism in UU Life

Within-Class Classism Examples

(9) “Gettin’ above your raisin’” is a phrase I’ve heard all my life. The notion is you want to change social classes. You try to change social classes, there’s this feeling that you’re forsaking the family, you’re forsaking place, you’re forgetting where you came from…and here’s this real fear that if you leave, that you’ll become ashamed of where you came from. — Michael Birdwell, a white man, history professor, Tennessee Technological University.

[quotation from an interview Louis Alvarez of New American Media conducted with Michael Birdwell for the PBS documentary "People Like Us"][quotation]

(The movie People Like Us has a segment your group could view in the future called "Don't Get Above Your Raisin," in which Dana Felty, a rural Kentuckian who moved to Washington D.C., talks about being a rural girl in living in Washington D.C. and her family member’s reactions and her difficulty fitting in either place.)

(10) “Our bridging ceremony for students graduating from high school included the students sharing what they would be doing after high school, and for many it has meant sharing where they are going to college. Given varying levels of school prestige and that not all students are going to college, this practice can have a classist impact.” A better approach is shared by Sarah Gibb Millsphaugh Millsphaugh on the Unitarian Universalists for Class Awareness Facebook page: “I was serving a congregation where it was not customary to say anything about where the students were going to college if they were. The senior reflections in the service were about their faith, who they were, and the values they were carrying with them. I thought it was handled very well and did not single out individuals who were not going to college.”

Internalized Classism examples

(11) Jim Bonilla grew up as a working class legally blind Puerto Rican and became a college professor. He wrote:
My internalized classism can be triggered by the fear that my writing or research will be criticized as “not scholarly enough.” The ever-present dread that someday I’ll be found out and judged as an impostor in the court of higher education is just below the surface. Even after twenty plus years in the ivory tower, the sense that someday I’ll be found out and judged as not worthy lingers. (120 Class Lives) Used with permission.

(12) Michael Yates, a white man, was born in 1946 in a mining town. He states: “It is difficult to overstate the power of fear and poverty in shaping how working men and women think and act. Fear of losing a job. Fear of not finding a job. Fear of being late with bill payments. Fear of the boss’s wrath. Fear your house might burn down. Fear your kids will get hurt. I inherited these emotions. I have a PhD and have always had a job that brings forth instant respect from others. Yet I have a deep-seated lack of confidence and anxiety in the face of authority. I can confront the powerful in a group, even if I am a leader of it, but as an individual, I hate any kind of confrontation with authority and always wonder if I have the right to confront. I prefer to remain in the background, to be invisible.”
13) Arab-American Joe Kadi, in *Thinking Class: Sketches from a Cultural Worker* (1996), has dedicated a whole chapter to “Stupidity “Deconstructed”. He writes:

“Many mechanisms have been created in this rigidly defined class-structured society to keep poor people in our place… One such message is the constant cross-racial image of the worker as stupid. … force fed images and words from TV shows, newspapers, magazines and movies… I grew up believing we’re thick-skinned, slow witted, impervious to pain, boring. … It is painful to acknowledge the fact that some of our brains have been fried. Not stupid from birth, but fried from decades of the most boring, idiotic, repetitive work imaginable. I’ve done it. I fought every minute to keep my mind away from the hovering void.

Stupid. They marked my family as stupid, and this confused me. My aunt went from grade school education to neighborhood CPA; she knew all the deductions, could add numbers ridiculously quickly and did everyone’s taxes for free. My grandfather, literate in three languages, poor, steered Lebanese immigrants through the morass of landlords, bosses, lawyers. My fathers and uncles, with their tenth grade educations, filled out daily crossword puzzles with pens and painstakingly planned, calculated, measured, added rooms on small houses with wiring, plumbing, support beams, ceilings, floor tiles, never a 16th of an inch out. “ pp.49-50 (Joe published his book under the name Joanna Kadi in 1996)

(14) Barbara Jensen shared how she moved out of internal classism by observing her college educated peers and concluding “It wasn’t that they were smarter, or better, it was that they had had privileges I had not. I moved away from a sense of individual shame, and blame, to seeing class as cultural, not just economic injustice.” P22 She adds “I also suggest that class has parcelled out different aspects of humanity to different groups; everyone loses and gains something important as a result.” P26

(15) At the cultural level, it is the ways in which classism is manifested through our cultural norms and practices, often found in the ideology behind something. For example, what counts as “good art”?

Joe Kadi has something to say about that.

“Those in power in society have always asserted that art available to everyone isn’t much good.” P21. She described how her Aunt Rose taught others a dance called the debke, an Arab folk dance, and contrasts that to ballet. She stated. “In a sense, differences between debke and ballet generally capture differences between art/culture created and engaged in by rich people and poor people. Poor people are looking for group participation; rich people often chase performance and star status. Ballet dancers train for years in hopes of performing in high-priced venues; debke dances and two-steppers are usually happy dancing once a week with friends.” P.24

SZ: The movie Billy Elliot presents ballet as a route into a higher social class in Britain.
Welcoming new people
Communal observance/worship
Social Space
Children and youth
Leadership and Decision-making
Social Justice Work
Stewardship/
Fundraising
and Finances
Connections to the regional and national UUA
Stage 1

“Social class is not a big deal to me. I don’t pay attention to it much. People get what they deserve. There is some unfairness in the system, but that is unavoidable. The people on top have earned what they have and the poor need to work harder or manage their money better.” (Unawareness)
Stage 2

“ I can see that there are social class differences and am not sure what to make of it. It bothers me. How did I get into this social class status? All my friends are the same class status as me. It seems that some classes are “in” and some are “out”. (Questioning)
Stage 3  (from position of privilege)

“ It is too much trouble to figure all the social class stuff out. I seek out materials and friends that will support my right to be in my social class position but am also unsure what information I can trust. I am going to ignore these issues and focus on my day to day life.“ (Exploration and Justification)
Stage 4

Representing low income

“There are powerful forces, much greater than me, that have created unfairness in my life. I cannot escape this poverty. People should not try to get “above their raisin’” and get uppity. There are rich and poor and society is made to make the rich richer and the poor poorer”. (Despair)
Stage 4

Representing high income

“ I have earned what I have and deserve any privileges I have. Because this world can’t be changed, I have to look out for myself and my family. Our society is just and inequality is a natural product of how people behave.” (The World is Just)
Stage 5

“ I can’t believe the level of inequality in this nation and world! Why won’t others wake up?! I have joined “radical group” to address these issues but have not had a chance to read or think about these issues much but I want to be active now and learn as I go. I do not believe I have contributed to inequality- it is all other’s fault- society’s fault. We need to fight the oppressors on behalf of the oppressed. We need to take revolutionary action and change the whole system.” (Anger and Frustration)
Stage 6

“I have learned a lot now about class and classism and have felt humbled to learn that my own actions have had negative impacts on others, sometimes from another “ism”. I will try to put myself in situations that expose me to people from different classes. I need to learn more about my own social class experience to prepare to do sensitive community action and unlearn my “isms”. I am going to try to make a difference in my local community to learn more about how change can happen from others already doing this work and develop my skills. Society will probably be changed by people working in smaller contexts. “

(Reinvestment)
Stage 7

“I have been working with a group that does grass roots community activism for a while now and have learned a lot. I keep up my awareness by seeking out readings and other experiences that keep me up to date on class issues. I pay attention to how I negotiate power and privilege in my life. I have made new friends from other social classes and have learned what we all uniquely bring to the cause. Sometimes I still say or do “ist” things and I get anxious about my negative impact on others and that I will be told I shouldn’t be doing this work. I have learned about some cultural differences and to be more flexible so I can be with different groups. I believe that society is largely unjust, classist, and marginalizing of people from poverty and the poor. The whole of society cannot be changed immediately, but it is important to be part of or start a process of change.” (Engagement)
Class Conscious:
Congregations:
Class and Classism
in UU Life

Presenter Name(s)

12:45 PM to 5:15 PM
• affirm the inherent worth of every person
• value compassion, justice and equity in human relations, and
• support the use of democratic processes in our congregations and society

Looking Inward
Looking Outward
Inclusivity in our Congregations
Social justice Actions
Covenant

• Share from life experience, use I statements
• Listen deeply and assume good intentions
• Participate and ensure other’s participation
• It’s OK to say “pass” to reading out loud or sharing
• All questions are welcome
• Put away cell phones and laptops
• Confidentiality
• Anything else?
Workshop Goals

1) Increase your self-awareness of your own class experience
2) Increase sensitivity to other’s class experiences.
3) Learn about forms of classism
4) Examine the congregation’s policies and culture for possible classism
5) Prepare for action towards a congregation truer to UU values
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<td><strong>Low Warmth</strong></td>
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Person Making Judgment:
- Higher Status = Resentment
- Equal Status = Anger
- Lower Status = Contempt

Zilber: Class Conscious: Class & Classism in UU Life
Membership in UUA is flat

High numbers religiously unaffiliated/spiritual but not religious

They value some aspects of religious communities

They are not actively looking for one

They share some UU values
## Evaluation Form: Class Conscious: Class and Classism in UU Life

You can write comments underneath the title of the component and then there will be additional space to write more detailed comments at the end. Please place check marks or X’s in boxes.

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**Evaluation Form: Class Conscious: Class and Classism in UU Life**
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**Overall, what will you take from this experience?**
EVALUATION: Module 3  S. Zilber: Class Conscious: Class & Classism in UU Life

Field Test Evaluation Form: Class Conscious: Class and Classism in UU Life
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## EVALUATION: Module 3

**S. Zilber: Class Conscious: Class & Classism in UU Life**

### Workshop Component

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Overall, what will you take from this experience?
Class Conscious:
Class and Classism in UU Life

Saturday, October 4, 12:45 pm - 5:15 pm
Thursday October 9     7-9 pm
Thursday October 16    7-9 pm

Channing Hall, First Unitarian Church of Des Moines

Facilitator: Linda Barnes, Intern Minister

Join congregation members to explore how socio-economic class influences our values, coping styles, and expectations about others. A combination of self reflection, small group sharing, large group discussion and videos will be provided. We will review more specifically how we can make our congregation an even more welcoming place for people of all social class backgrounds.

Here are some comments about social class issues in congregational life made at a workshop at the UU Fellowship in Ames:
I liked it when people greeted me with the question of why I came to the congregation to visit and did not ask what I did for a living.
I am uncomfortable with the water communion because it emphasizes that some people have resources to travel that not everyone has.
Our silent auction offers dinners that are too expensive for many, so socializing at those events is limited to one social class. Rather than eliminating them, we added in less expensive events so more can participate.
A lot of the membership goes regularly after services to this one restaurant that sells expensive "yuppy" food that I am not interested in. I wish that there was more flexibility to meet at other places.

Suzanne Zilber, the author of the workshop materials, is a psychologist and 25 year UU. The UUA has recommended this workshop in the Study guide for the Escalating Inequality Congregational Study Action Issue. Suzanne is a member of the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Ames.

We need at least 10 people to attend to make this most effective, so please pre-register and encourage someone to attend with you. Drinks and cookies will be provided.
Register on the website at http://ucdsm.org/workshops.
Activities for MUUSA Youth related to Social Class and Privilege

Baby Egg - by Faye Reimers  (market supplies modified by Suzanne)

Divide group into 3 groups of 3-5 kids each. You can expand this for larger groups.

Distribute index card voucher with amount hidden that each group will have to work with:
High SES=$300, middle SES=$150  low SES= $75

(do not tell them what group they are assigned to)

Tell students their goal is to purchase what they need to assure that their embryo or baby will have the best life has to offer in regard to safety and well being.

The amounts below were originally for 9 groups (45 youth) so you may want less.

Create market :
- 5 padded mailers           $100 each
- 6 newborn size disposable diapers  $75 each
- 6 pieces bubble wrap       $75
- 12 Newspaper sections     $25
- 20 Pieces of String       $5

Before purchasing begins, have all economic groups preview merchandise for sale. Then give each economic group one raw egg to represent the “baby” they are attempting to shield from harm. Have them name the baby. Allow the students from the highest income groups to make all of their purchases first. Next, the middle income, and last the lower income group can purchase from whatever merchandise is left and/or they can afford.

You may want to play music during the time that some groups are just sitting and waiting their turn.

Instruct all groups to protect their raw egg with their supplies from the market. After they have had time to wrap their eggs to shield them from harm, ask a representative from each group to stand on a balcony and drop their egg to the ground where the rest of you will be standing. Have a facilitator on the ground to unwrap the eggs.

Discuss thoughts or emotions that this exercise brought up. Point out truths about difficulties living in poverty represented and how social resources or other noncapital resources helped some “babies” survive. You can also point out that careless or neglectful high income parents can sometimes have “babies” that break, which is what happened with the Midwest UU Summer Assembly group.
Class Privilege Exercise (adapted by Jumea Shorter-Gooden) and also items from working and middle class women in Sonoma County and Suzanne Zilber.

Exercise works best with 8-35 participants

Tell participants that you will read a privilege and that they are to consider whether it applies to them. Put a big pile of some small item—could be plastic beads or something else, in the middle of the group in a circle. (original instructions are to put slips of paper that have the privileges written on them and have to clear and put them out each time. I am choosing to give the entire handout at the end to save time)

Encourage participants to be mindful of their thoughts and feelings as they decided whether to pick one up, and no one is obligated to “out themselves”. After reading the first privilege, invite those it applies to, to grab one object and step back to the circle. I added some facts along with the privileges that I read from the adult class workshop materials. See handout 6 in the adult curriculum. You may also want to look up facts about access to health care, the cost of orthodontia, and other items on the list.

Have participants count how many they have.

Optional: Have them organize themselves in a circle from most to least with the youth with the least.

Ask youth to share what feelings they had when hearing the privileges, deciding on whether to pick one up? Counting them? Sharing the number with others? Lining up based on number of privileges? Was there discomfort? Hesitancy? Shame? Pride? What do they think is behind those feelings? What surprised them and what did they learn from this? List of Privileges on next page. Make copies of this for youth to take with them at end.
List of privileges

As a child, I never shared a bedroom
My family has always had health insurance to cover my medical needs.
Neither of my parents ever collected unemployment benefits
If something breaks in my house, we can afford to repair it right away
I have traveled to a country outside the U.S. where I have no relatives
My family has never shopped with food stamps
I have never lived in a neighborhood that I considered unsafe
No one in my immediate family has ever been on welfare.
I have a college fund or stocks and bonds in my name.
My family owns a summer home or second home.
I will have a choice about which college or job I do after high school.
I have been offered a good job or training opportunity because my parent had an association or connection.
I have not had to rely primarily on walking or public transportation.
I have always felt there would be enough money to meet my needs
My family can afford to get me fashionable name brand clothing and shoes.
My family could afford orthodontia.
I have been able to participate in sports or arts activities that required some costs.
I have been able to participate in activities that require frequent travel costs.
My family provides fresh fruits and vegetables.
My family can afford to purchase organic and fair trade foods.
I attend a private school.
If I work, I can spend my earnings on fun things, rather than essentials.