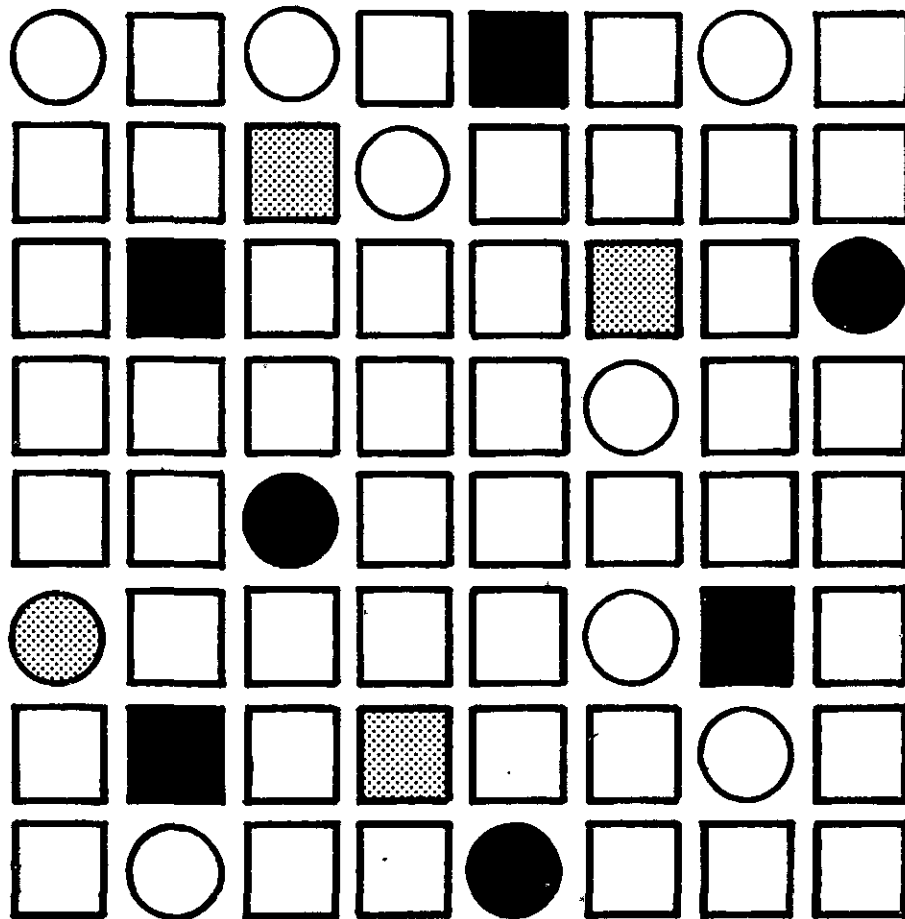


INSTITUTIONAL RACISM AUDIT



Commissioned by

THE UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION

APRIL 1981

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM AUDIT

A report to
**THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES
THE UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST
ASSOCIATION**

by
**THE INSTITUTIONAL RACISM
AUDIT TEAM**
and
COMMUNITY CHANGE, INC.

APRIL 1981

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM AUDIT OPINION FINDER ANNOTATION

(The following clarification of the Opinion Finder (pp. 24-30 and 54-57 of the Audit Report) has been provided by Community Change, Inc., the consultants).

This annotation resulted from the Racism Audit Team's presentation of the Opinion Finder data at the UUA Board meeting, April 24, 1981. Given the extensiveness of the Opinion Finder and its use of social science methodologies, the UUA Board requested a straightforward, "plain English" rendition of the Opinion Finder's results. Community Change, Inc. team members have compiled this addendum in an attempt to comply with this request.

This annotation presents a summarized version of the actual Opinion Finder's surveyed responses from UUA leaders and employees. As such it presents the general inclinations of these UUA members and employees, as a group, when their opinions on a series of issues were solicited and compiled. This survey does not attempt to give responses to individual questions but rather measures "general inclination" by clustering scores into five Issue areas or Categories. (E.g., the responses to questions 14-19 are clustered together to reach conclusions in this category).

The Issue areas or categories of the Opinion Finder include:

1. Employment -- (See Opinion Finder Statement Nos. 14 through 19)
2. Social Action -- (See Opinion Finder Statement Nos. 20 through 25)
3. UUA Programs -- (See Opinion Finder Statement Nos. 26 through 33)
4. Boards/Committees -- (See Opinion Finder Statement Nos. 34 through 37)
5. Budget Priorities -- (See Opinion Finder Statement Nos. 44 through 53)

EMPLOYMENT: The employment cluster probed the extent to which employment of people of color, within the UUA or its churches and fellowships, was seen as desirable by the respondents. Opinions regarding Affirmative Action policies, goals and timetables for the UUA also were clustered in this category. In general, less than "slight support" for increasing employment of people of color and Affirmative Action efforts at the UUA was indicated. Black responses to this cluster indicated "moderate support." White responses indicated less than "slight support." UUA employees (who work with a number of people of color daily) indicated more than "slight support," while non-employee responses to this cluster indicated less than "slight support." It can be said, in general, that Black people and UUA employees, are more inclined to support increased minority employment and Affirmative Action efforts than white people who are members of UUA Boards and Committees.

SOCIAL ACTION: This category clustered responses to questions dealing with implementing activities as a measure of commitment to social action. As such, respondents, in general, indicated that they desired social action activities as a measure of commitment to racial justice. It is interesting to note, however, that female scores indicated more than "slight support" and male scores indicated less than "slight support" for this cluster. White responses, in general, indicated more than "slight support" with Black responses indicating less than "moderate support." It can be said that Black and female

respondents to this UUA Opinion Finder were more inclined to support social action activities than their white male counterparts.

UUA PROGRAMS: Questions and responses in this cluster were designed and scored to measure "the extent to which there are or should be programmatic efforts within the continental structure of the UUA that speak to pluralism and racial justice." White responses to this cluster indicated less than "slight support" while Black responses indicated less than "moderate support" for such programmatic efforts. It should be noted that, as groups, urban, rural and suburban respondents each indicated less than "slight support" for such UUA programs. It is important, however, to state that the overall direction of responses in this cluster was positive, with Black people indicating the most support followed by urban people, rural people, and then suburban people.

BOARDS/COMMITTEES: This cluster of questions and responses was designed to measure the desirability of greater inclusiveness of people of color within the UUA leadership. Overall male responses indicated less than "slight support." It is also noted that those respondents to the Opinion Finder who are Unitarian Universalists and/or non-UUA employees, overall, indicated "slight opposition" to the notion of greater inclusiveness of people of color in UUA Boards and Committees. On the other hand, non-Unitarian Universalists and UUA employees, in general, indicated almost "slight support" on the measures of inclusiveness for people of color.

BUDGET PRIORITIES: Questions and responses in this cluster were designed and scored in keeping with the techniques used by the UUA Board of Trustees to assign budget priorities. When the results for each pair of items were summed and tabulated, then represented in graphic form, it was observed that categories D, F, and E, or Racial Justice, Affirmative Action for Women and Gay Concerns, were each ranked lower in priority than their institutional program counterparts. In sum, categories B, C, and A, or Ministry, Extension/Growth, and Religious Education were assigned a greater budget priority by the respondents than were Racial Justice, Affirmative Action for Women, or Gay Concerns. It can therefore be said that, according to the respondents to this Opinion Finder, institutional maintenance and growth programs received the highest priorities while institutional service and social action programs were ranked in the lower priorities.

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ORIGIN AND OVERVIEW OF THE AUDIT

At its meeting in April of 1980, the Board of Trustees of the Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA) voted to authorize the Administration to contract with Community Change, Inc., to conduct an Institutional Racism Audit of the UUA. The scope of the Audit was to be limited to the UUA structures centered at 25 Beacon Street, Boston, and was not to include local churches and fellowships of the constituency. The contract called for a preliminary report to be made to the Board of Trustees in January, 1981, and a final report in April, 1981.

To provide oversight and guidance for the Audit process, the Board of Trustees appointed an Internal Audit Team composed of twelve persons, representing the Board, and both exempt and non-exempt staff members: Rev. William A. DeWolfe, Mr. Wilfred J. Gagnon, Ms. Kathleen Hallman, Rev. Leon Hopper, Ms. Mary Ann Lash, Mr. John Morris, Mr. Theodore N.U. MacRae, Ms. Kerry O'Donnell, Dr. Dalmas A. Taylor, Dr. Gwendolyn A. Thomas, Dr. Loretta J. Williams, and Ms. Margaret Williams.

Community Change, Inc., appointed five persons to serve as members of its Audit Team: Ms. Nicole Bouvier, Ms. Joyce King, Ms. Lori Miola, Dr. Reinaldo Rivera, and Rev. Horace Seldon.

Recognizing that definitions can become temptations to endless semantic discussions, still the Audit Team felt the need of a working definition of racism, and used the following: Racism is *attitudes, beliefs, norms, and values reflected in institutional policies, practices, and procedures which deny to members of racial minority groups access to goods, services, and resources on the basis of race.* With that definition in mind, we of the Audit Team did not look for overt examples of prejudice; the emphasis was on the subtler forces active in institutional life. However, the institutional context in which policies, procedures, and practices are developed is structured and administered by people who hold opinions, have formed attitudes, and who work in relationship to one another. Those opinions, attitudes, and relationships become an integral part of the institution, and at times our Audit process has responded to them, though they have not been the primary focus of our efforts.

The combined "internal" and "external" Audit teams met six times to determine what kind of data was to be collected, to review and evaluate the data, and to decide upon recommendations to be included in the final report. Refinement of that report and the actual report process was conducted by Community Change, Inc.

Material for the Audit was gathered in two basic categories:

1. Quantitative, "Hard" Data --

- a. Statistics of the racial composition of major Boards and Committees of the UUA, from 1978, 1979, and 1980.
- b. Statistics of the racial composition of employed staff of UUA, both exempt and non-exempt categories, from 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, and 1980.
- c. Results of an Opinion Finder distributed among 276 persons employed by UUA or in positions of elected or appointed leadership. (A 62% "return" gave us 162 completed responses.)
- d. Minutes of Board and Committee minutes, wherever relevant.
- e. Information contained in the UUA Directory, job descriptions, and committee task assignments.
- f. Resolutions passed at General Assemblies since 1961.
- g. UUA publications such as UUA World, and articles specific to issues such as the Black Empowerment Controversy.
- h. Correspondence offering insight into specific matters under study.

2. Qualitative, "Soft" Data --

- a. Information drawn from interviews with staff, members and former members of the Board of Trustees, Committee members and other persons active in the life of the UUA. (Approximately 40 interviews were conducted.)
- b. Information drawn from meetings with groups of persons such as "exempt" and "non-exempt" staff and, in some cases, whole committees. (Six meetings were held, including approximately 60 people.)

While much of the data collection was shared jointly by members of the "internal" UUA Audit Team and the "external" Community Change Team, interviews were conducted solely by the representatives of Community Change. In all cases care was taken to protect confidentiality and anonymity, and only in cases where permission was given have interviewees been quoted. Interviews were based on a set of previously-defined questions and frequently persons being interviewed volunteered information and points of view that gave new direction to the interviews. In some cases, the "interviews" became more like conversations. Interviewers sought information relevant to UUA policies, procedures, and practices, and to the concerns of persons being interviewed. Most persons interviewed could be characterized as

"open," "eager," and "frank" in their responses. In one or two cases, interviewers felt they had been greeted by a "stonewall," and in one instance an interviewer was greeted by being told that he was a "phony." For the most part, interviews were free and flowed easily.

The nature of the data included in the Audit Report is both quantitative and qualitative. In all cases we believe the data deserves serious consideration. Shared feelings and opinions provide data equal in validity to that of graphs and statistics. There may be a temptation to dismiss an opinion voiced only by a small number of people, but when they are all people who hold positions of influence and trust in the UUA, that "small voice" must be taken seriously.

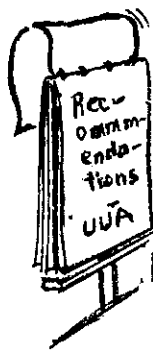
The major limitation has been one of time. There are many issues which people have wanted us to review in greater detail; avenues of concern where it has been suggested that we spend more time. The Audit Team has tried to make sensible judgments as to what it could best examine and what it would have to leave unexamined. Undoubtedly, at some future date we will wish we had spent that time a little differently, but we believe our choices have been basically sound.

Recommendations of the Audit Report are recorded in two ways. All recommendations are listed in a section labeled "Recommendations." Some of the recommendations in that list appear at other points in the Report where further rationale or greater detail is given.

A word of caution must be given to all who read this Audit Report. It is possible to read and respond to it in either of two ways, neither of which will be productive:

1. It is possible to respond by saying, "Things are so bad, we'll never be able to change!" or, "There is so much to do that we can't possibly do it!"
2. It is also possible to respond by saying, "UUA has done many good things. We are proud of where we are!"

Neither of these two responses will be helpful -- each of them could result in the UUA becoming stuck right where it is. Please avoid getting yourself "stuck"; information is offered here in small pieces, and the recommendations are mostly "bite-size." READ, DIGEST, EVALUATE, DECIDE, PLAN, ACT ! ! ! ! !



RECOMMENDATIONS, CONSERVING PRINCIPLES, AND COMPROMISE

Recommendations of the Audit Report are included in two ways. First, as indicated in the Audit Overview, there is a complete list of all recommendations which appears at the end of this section. These are *not* in any priority order. Second, there are some of those recommendations which *also* appear in other specific sections of the Report, where additional explanation or rationale is offered. In the listing which follows, readers are directed to those other sections of the Report when there is such expansion elsewhere. The recommendations which stand alone here are assumed to be straightforward and in need of no further elaboration.

Wise words from two sources have guided us as we have listed our recommendations. The first word comes from Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., as reported by Peter F. Drucker in his book, The Effective Executive. Drucker makes the point that one "has to start out with what is right rather than what is acceptable, precisely because one always has to compromise in the end." He goes on to tell this story:

"I was taught this when I started in 1944 on my first big consulting assignment, a study of the management structure and management policies of the General Motors Corporation. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., who was then chairman and chief executive officer of the company, called me to his office at the start of my study and said: 'I shall not tell you what to study, what to write, or what conclusions to come to. This is your task. My only instruction to you is to put down what you think is right as you see it. Don't worry about whether we will like this or dislike that. And don't, above all, concern yourself with the compromises that might be needed to make your recommendations acceptable. There is not one executive in this company who does not know how to make every single conceivable compromise without any help from you. But he can't make the right compromise unless you first tell him what 'right' is.'"^{*}

Aside from the sexist assumptions about who the executives are, those words from Sloan and to us through Drucker, are important guideposts.

* Peter F. Drucker, The Effective Executive (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), pp. 134-35.

Something of the same meaning comes from William Ellery Channing, as reported by Jack Mendelsohn in his book, Channing: The Reluctant Radical. At a point when Channing was supporting some principles which were designed to point to the need for change, he was criticized on the assumption that what might come after the change could be even worse than what existed. Channing's response is instructive for us: "I have no fear of revolutions . . . We have conservative principles enough at work here. What exists troubles me more than what is to come."*

Conserving principles are at work everywhere in abundance. The nature of organizations, including the UUA, is to conserve and to resist major change. There is wisdom in that fact. It is a proper function of institutions to conserve those things which are valued. There is also wisdom in the advice of a Channing or a Sloan acknowledging the need to state what is right to strive for without concern about compromise.

So the recommendations begin at the point of what we see to be "right." We believe these recommendations deserve earnest consideration and thought. They are offered for the institutional life of the UUA in its commitment to work actively against racism.

Before the Board of Trustees begins to consider what to do in response to these recommendations, we sound one note of caution. It is predictable that voices will be raised which will say in one form or another: "This is not the time to be doing these things." This may be a particularly loud voice in times when many institutions face fiscal constraints. It may also become a trap to confine or prohibit action. History reminds us that there never has been a "right" time for addressing racism. The arguments have been varied: "the people are not ready for this," "there are so many other things to do," "there is no money," or, "the way you are going about it is inappropriate, so come back another time." These are all forms of the same argument. They are all arguments which serve to evade the issue. Fighting racism is not a pleasant task, and there will never be a time that is "right" to do that. On the other hand, every time is precisely the RIGHT time to fight racism. If not NOW then WHEN?

IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION:

1. Increase the number of people of color on the Board of Trustees, through such mechanisms as increasing the number of at-large Trustees or reserving two of the current at-large seats for people of color.
2. Adopt an official statement of UUA intention to be involved in work against racism as an ongoing imperative. (See section on An Imperative for the UUA)

* Jack Mendelsohn, Channing: The Reluctant Radical (Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association, 1979), p. 202.

3. Adopt and implement a long-range plan for the renewal of UUA role in and through city churches, to include at least seven emphases.
(See section on UUA and the City)
4. Instruct the Office of the President to give major emphasis to identifying the things which have been learned about how to create more authentic black-white relationships within the structures of the UUA.
(See section on The Black Empowerment Controversy)
5. Instruct the Office of the President and other appropriately designated instrumentalities to plan a way to bring symbolic closure on the feelings left over from the Black Empowerment Controversy.
(See section on The Black Empowerment Controversy)
6. Establish and staff six new churches: two in predominantly Hispanic areas, two in predominantly black areas, two in areas of multi-racial populations, in different parts of the continental jurisdiction, by the year 1990.
(See section on Growth Issues for the UUA)
7. Fully implement the guidelines and policy recommendations of Project Equality, and urge societies and fellowships to also become active members of Project Equality.
8. Adopt an Affirmative Action Policy and Program for employment of people of color -- with plans for recruitment, goals, and timetables.
(See section on Affirmative Action and the UUA)
9. Designate a staff person to assume the total responsibility for the portfolio of Affirmative Action Officer with necessary support services to implement and monitor the Affirmative Action Plan.
(See section on Affirmative Action and the UUA)
10. Adopt an Affirmative Action Plan for volunteer leadership recruitment -- with goals and timetables.
11. Review all standards for fellowshiping ministers of color, with particular attention being given to ways of accepting non-Unitarian Universalist performance and experience in lieu of academic criteria.
12. Develop an intern program for ministerial students in already existing UU churches which are bi/multi-racial in composition.

13. Vigorously pursue a program to recruit ministerial students of color and provide necessary support services for them during training.
14. Establish an Office of Racial Justice charged with developing and implementing programs to eliminate racism.
15. Provide racism awareness training for all employed staff.
16. Cooperate with the programmatic efforts of other religious groups to eliminate racism.
17. Establish and maintain meaningful liaisons between UUA official structures and the National Urban League, as well as similar groups of Hispanic, Native American and Asian peoples.
18. Continue regular reporting of ways in which investment decisions have been based on guidelines for maximum social responsibility impact and report same through the UU World.
19. Develop and train teams of persons prepared to go into Districts, churches and fellowships to facilitate anti-racism actions, networks, and strategies.
20. Distribute a summary of this Audit Report to all UU churches, Districts, fellowships, and interested individuals.
21. Develop racism audit processes for use in member churches, Districts, and fellowships.
22. Establish a committee and empower it to conduct a study of current multi-racial churches, to determine the potentials and guidelines for the development of multi-racial UU churches.
23. Enter into negotiations with the author of Black America/White America: Understanding the Discord to determine the possibilities for timely publication.
24. Conduct an immediate review of existing printed and audio-visual materials by a team of persons representing different racial backgrounds, and a similar review of such materials prior to purchase or production.
25. Adopt criteria for the elimination of racism for use in evaluating all printed and audio-visual materials purchased or produced.

26. Develop study materials for use among UU's which will facilitate exploration of stereotypes and ways in which they might be behaviorally countered. (See section on Confronting Stereotypes)
27. Develop materials from a multi-cultural perspective, including bi-lingual works to interpret liberal religion among French and Hispanic people. (See section on Confronting Stereotypes)
28. Produce video cassettes, role plays, and other experiential learning instruments for use in churches, fellowships, and District meetings. (See section on Confronting Stereotypes)
29. Develop materials designed to communicate liberal religious views especially among people of color. (See section on Confronting Stereotypes)
30. Develop Spanish-language materials for use in interpreting liberal religion among Hispanic peoples.
31. Establish an Auditing Team to monitor the implementation of these recommendations.
32. Require the President to report on the implementation of audit recommendations to each General Assembly.

UUA CENSUS

Members of the Institutional Racism Audit Team gathered statistics to determine the racial composition of employed staff and most of the Boards and Committees of the UUA. The following pages show racial breakdowns for employed staff for the years 1978, 1979, and 1980, including both exempt and non-exempt categories of employees. The racial breakdown of Beacon Press employees is not shown here, but its records show 14-17 people employed over the past three years, all of whom have been white with the exception of a custodian who works 25 hours per week rather than a full week.

Most UUA Committee and Board appointments are made in odd-numbered years, which means that many of the most recent appointments were made in 1979. However, we wanted to show 1980 data also, so we arbitrarily chose three dates to give a picture of the UUA at those times. Figures charted in the following pages show the racial composition of Committees and Boards as of the end of General Assemblies in 1976, 1978, and 1980. Choosing these dates enabled us to get uniform data from all groups.

Graphs on the following pages show racial composition data from the following Boards or Committees: Board of Trustees, Executive Committee, Finance Committee, Nominating Committee, Ministerial Fellowship Committee, Investment Committee, and the GA Planning Committee.

Additional racial composition data was gathered from seven other committees of the UUA. A composite graph for these plus the seven listed above would show 123 positions, five of them occupied by black people, and all of the remainder by white people.

All of the minority people reported in the statistics are black with the exception of one Hispanic person. There are no Native Americans or Asian Americans. The 1980 statistics show that people of color serve on the Board of Trustees, the Urban Concerns Advisory Committee, and the Commission on Appraisal; other committees and boards are totally white in racial composition. Prior to 1980, the Program Liaison Committee showed one black female (dropped in the 1978 statistics), and the Nominating Committee showed one black male (dropped in the 1978 statistics).

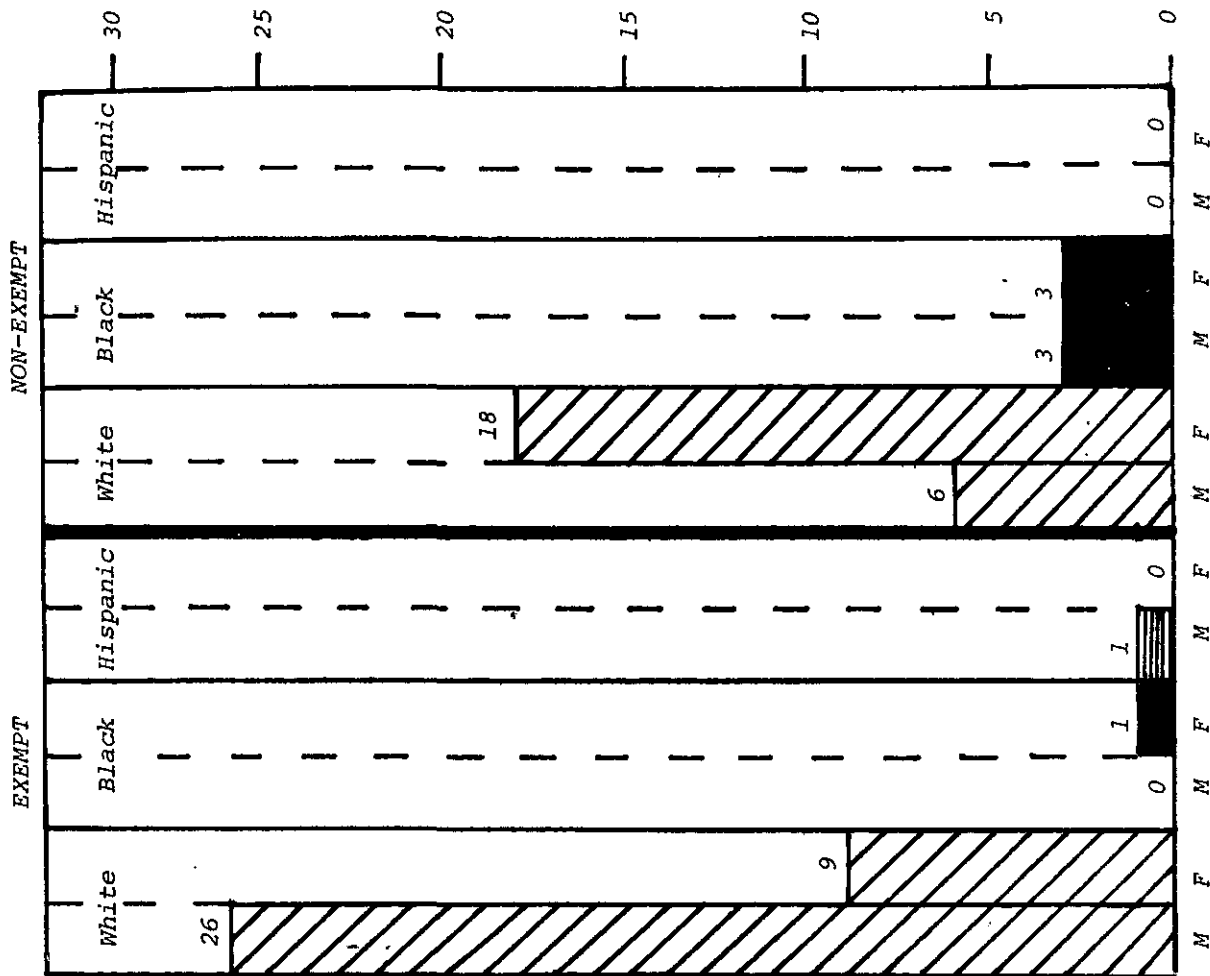
The data on the racial composition will probably surprise no one. These pages confirm only what many have known, but they confirm it in compelling and graphic terms.

As these "UUA Census" data are reviewed, it might be good to ponder the following words from a Beacon Press author, writing in 1969:

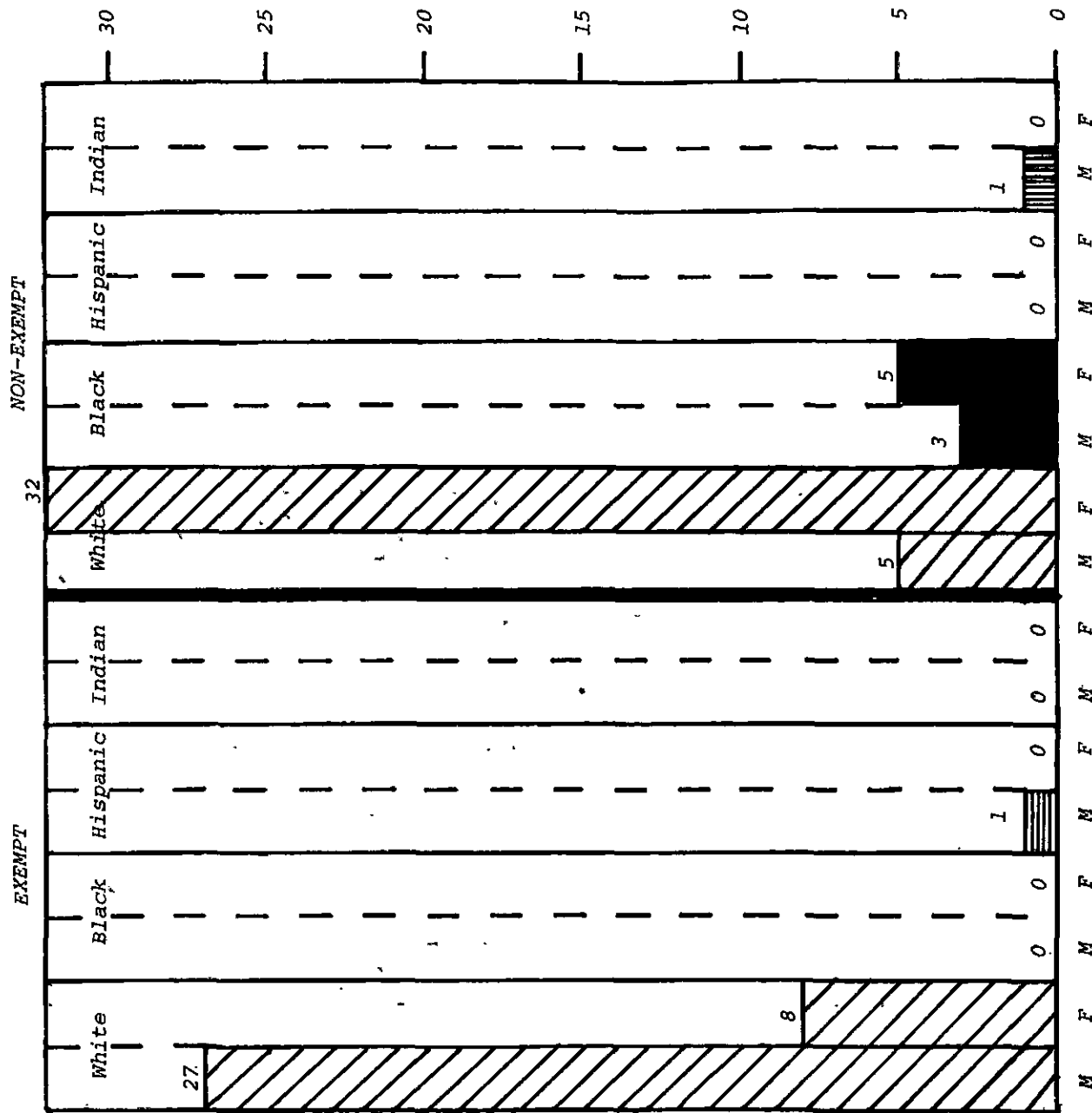
"Modern Unitarian Universalists have a reputation for radical social reform that may be undeserved. Partly it is inherited from the support of such reform by some of the ministers of the past, partly it is due to the lack of dogma even about the basic tenets on which Christian and Jew agree, but mainly it is due to their "tolerance" in racial matters. The church is a social haven for interracial and inter-religious couples, and in fact has been almost dogmatic about integration, having passed a resolution requiring that any organization desiring to be affiliated in good standing with the denomination may not be segregated. It has been uncompromising in the south and elsewhere on this issue, and can generally be counted on to support any social movement which has integration as its goal. However, the patterns and practices within the church itself have produced an all-white ministry and an all-white hierarchy that is indistinguishable from those denominations less outspoken for integration"



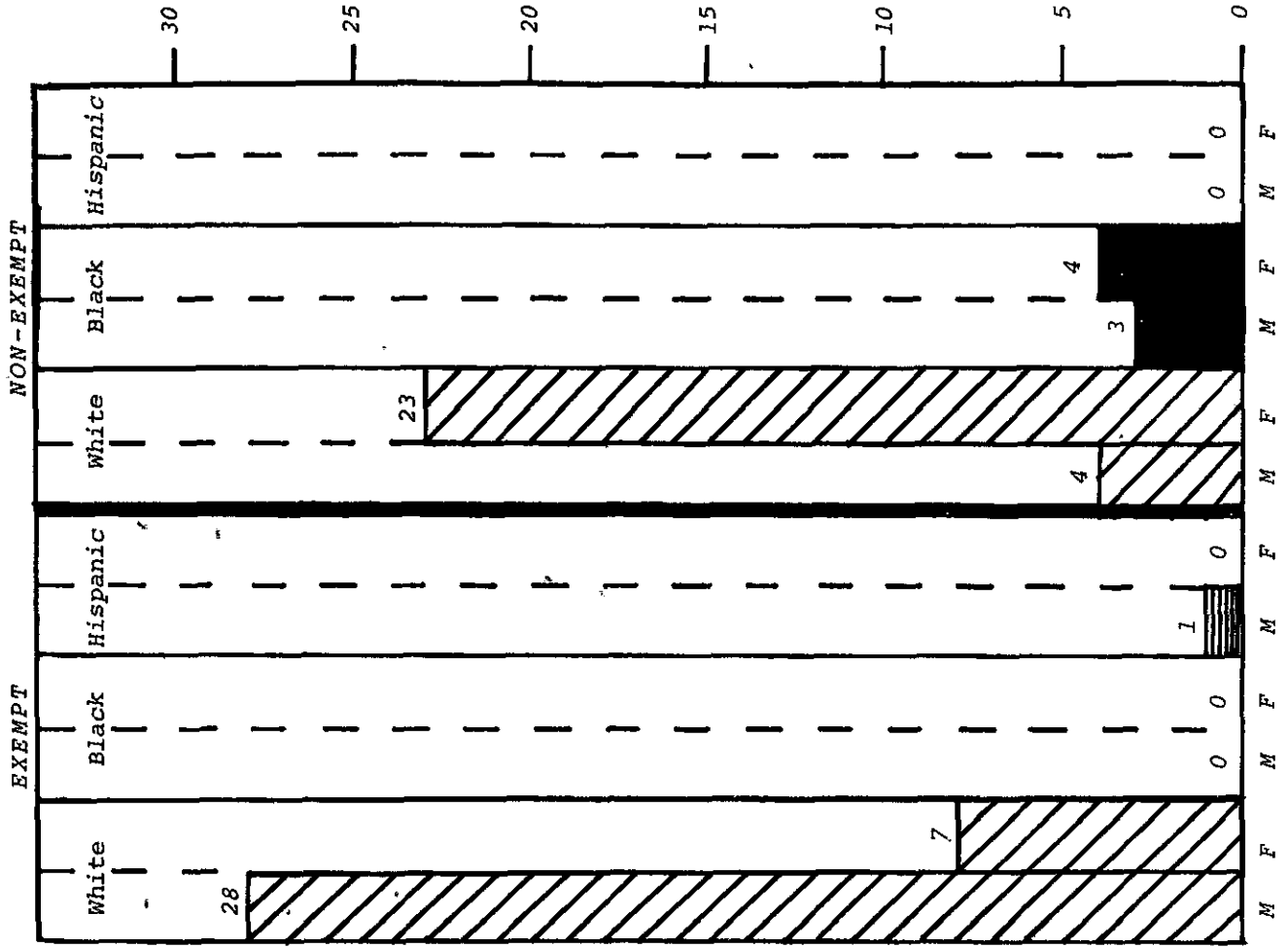
NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES, 1980



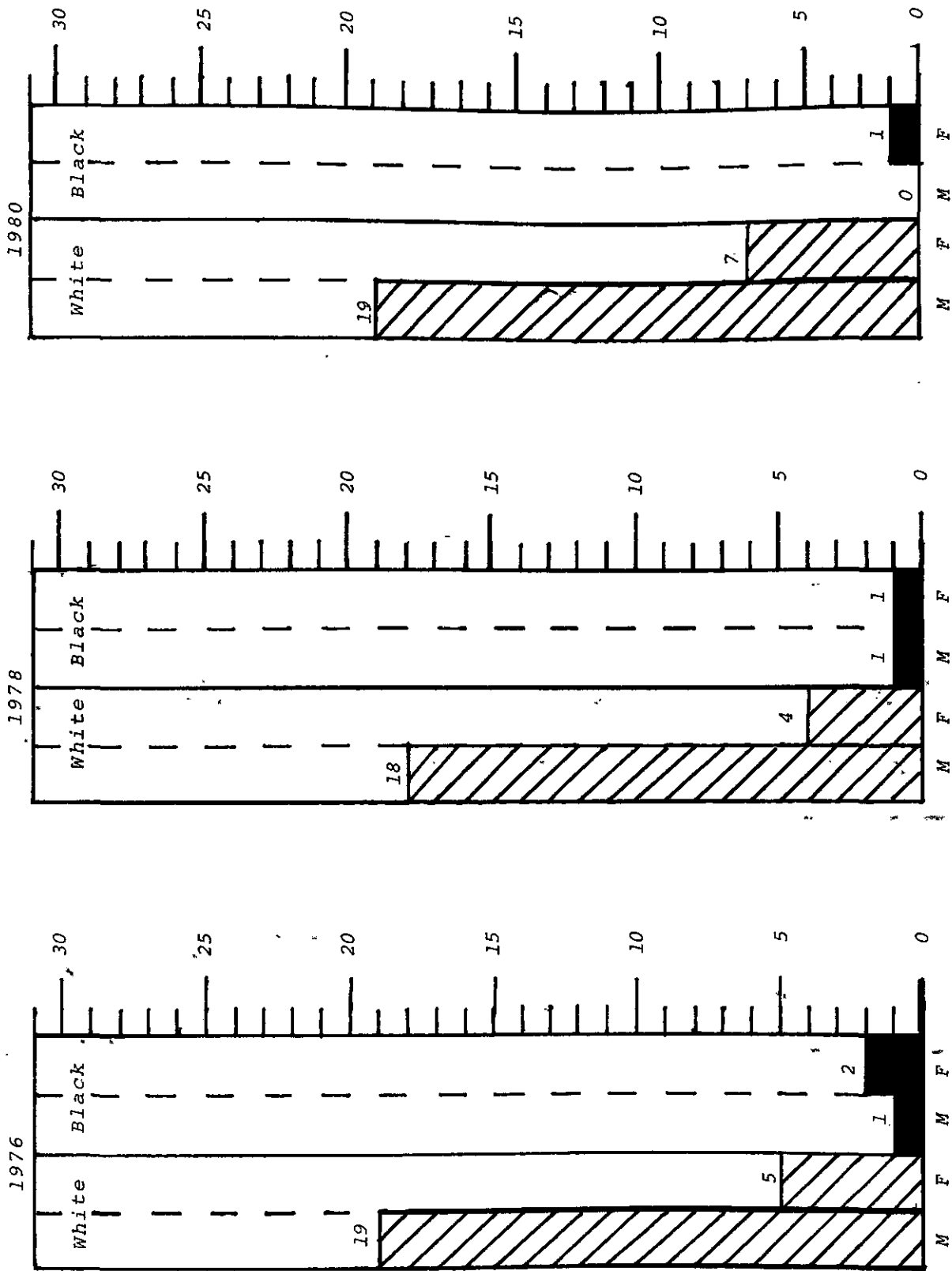
NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES, 1979



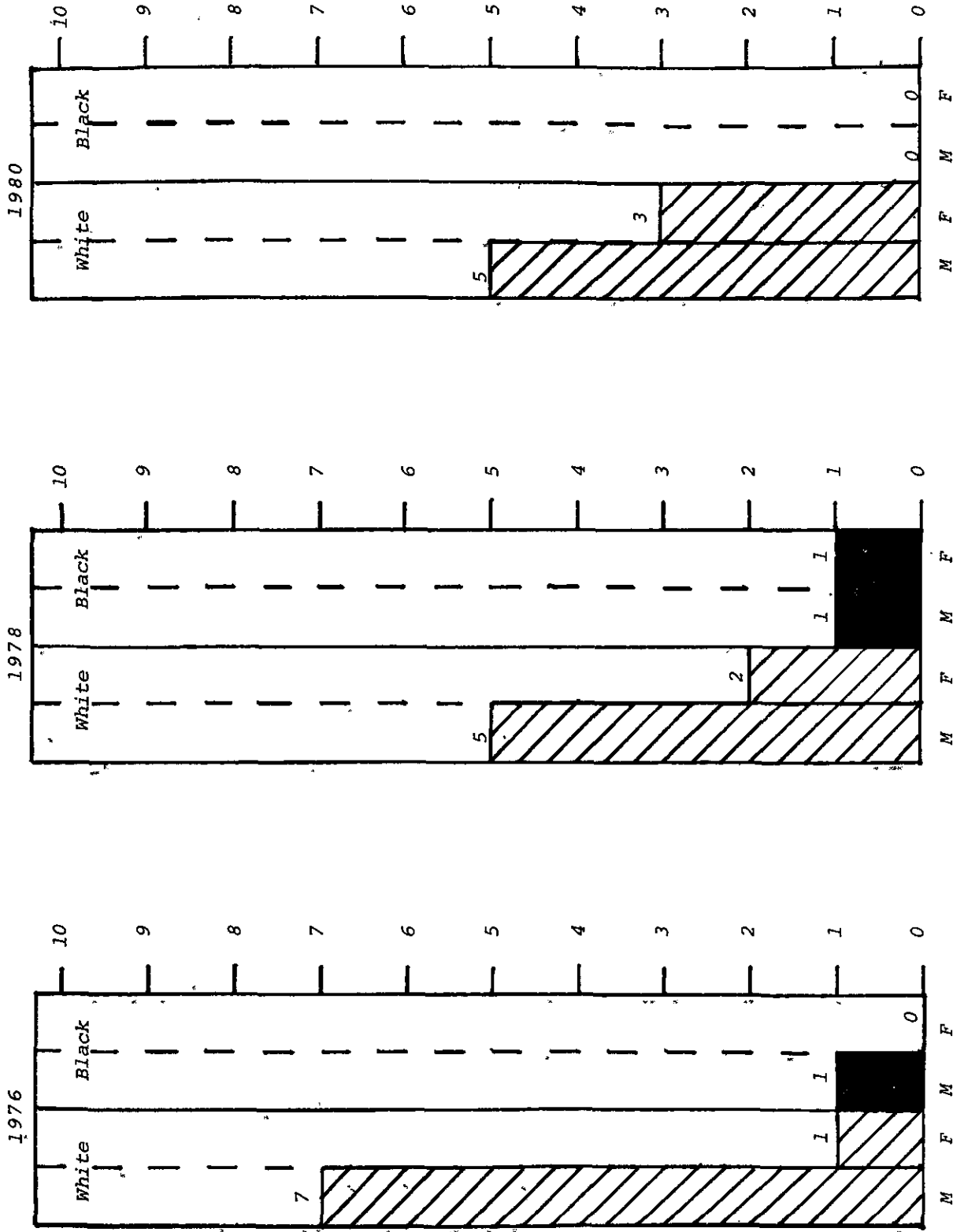
NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES, 1978



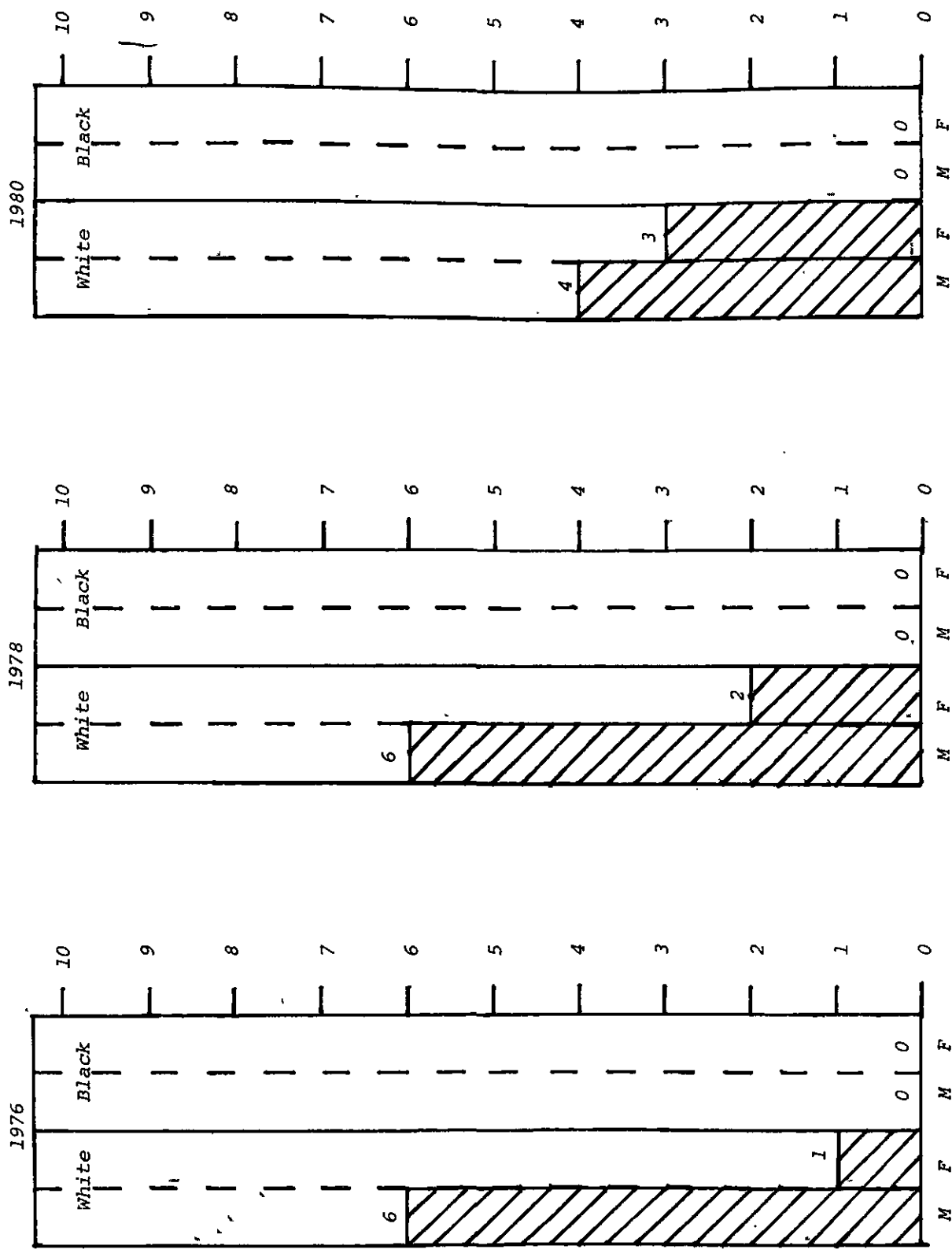
TRUSTEES, 1976 - 1980



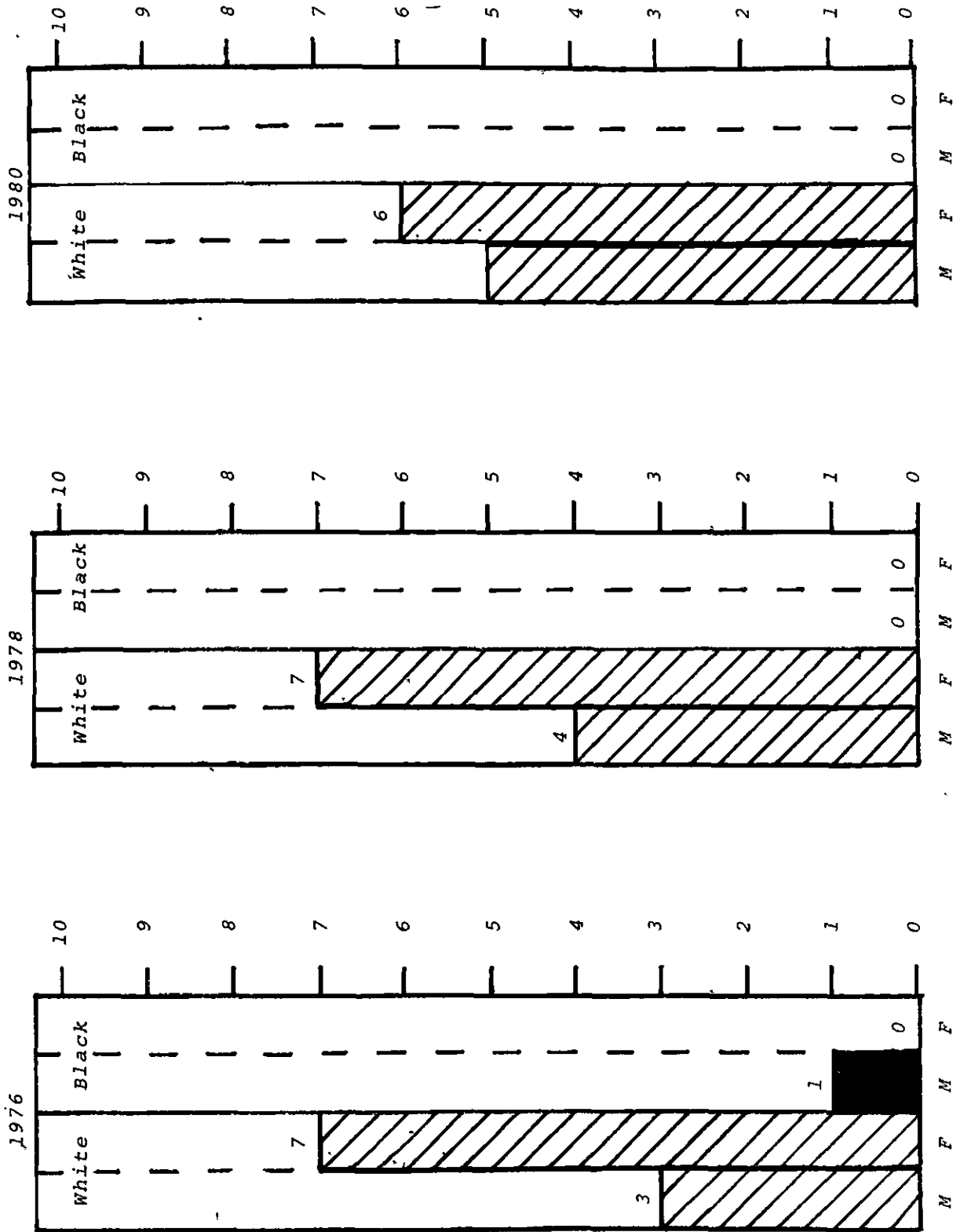
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1976 - 1980



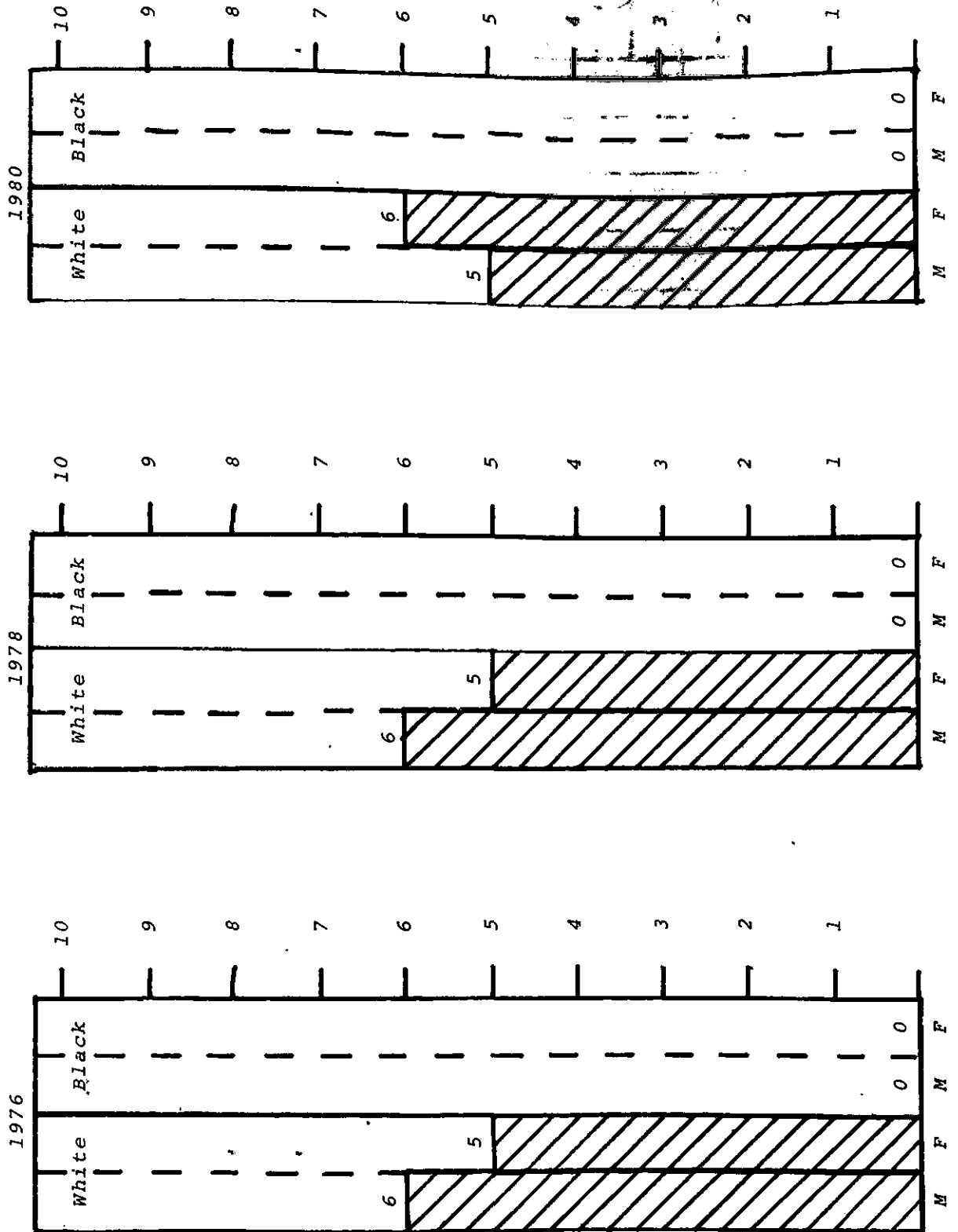
FINANCE COMMITTEE, 1976 - 1980



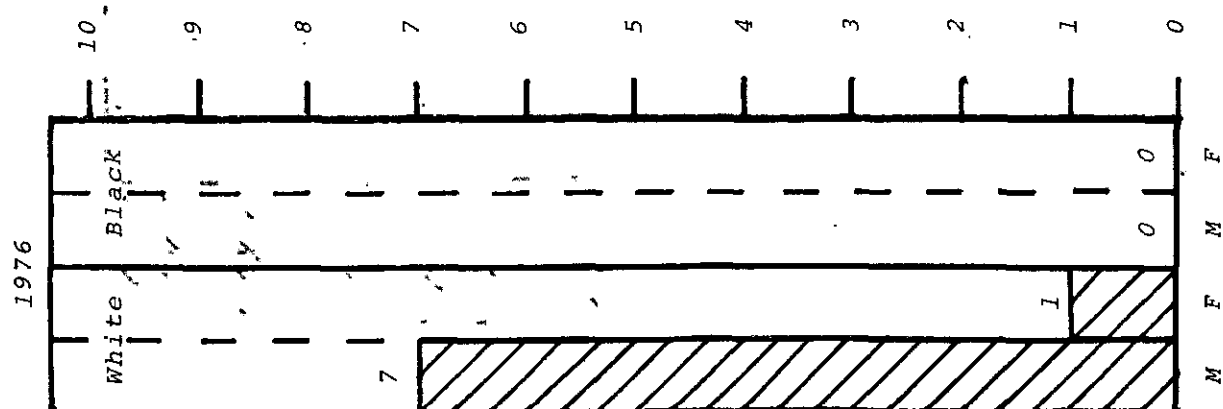
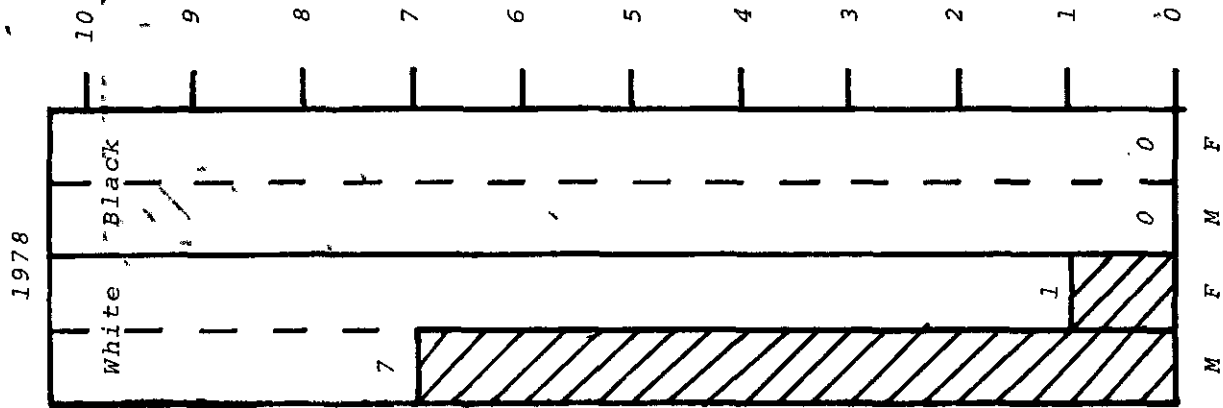
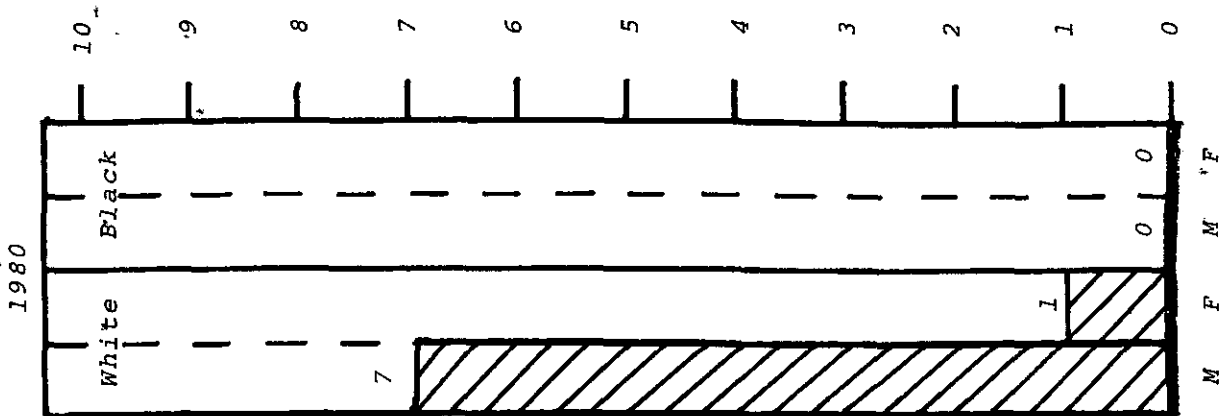
NOMINATING COMMITTEE, 1976 - 1980



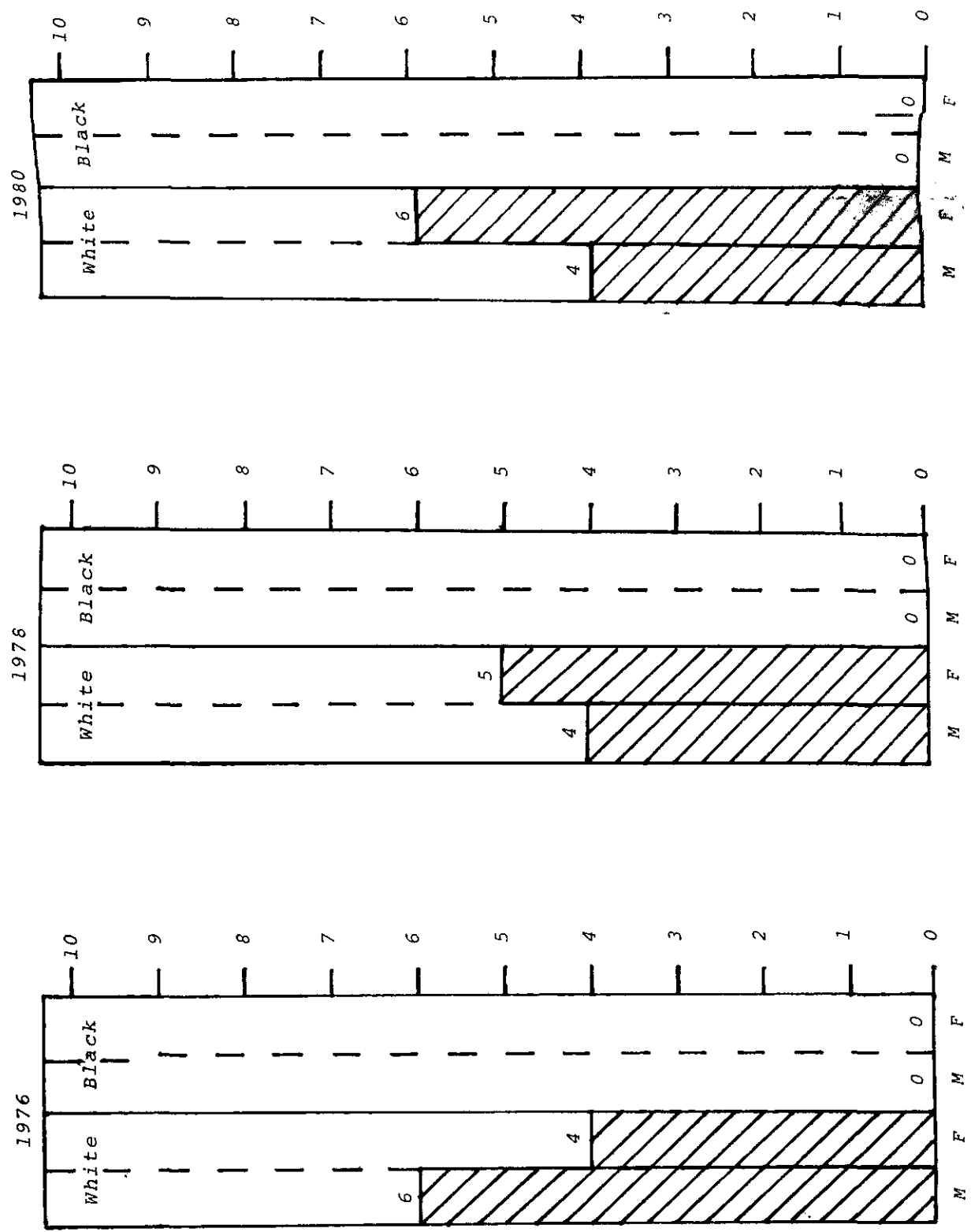
MINISTERIAL FELLOWSHIP COMMITTEE, 1976 - 1980



INVESTMENT COMMITTEE, 1976 - 1980



GENERAL ASSEMBLY PLANNING COMMITTEE, 1976 - 1980



AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND THE UUA

To set a context for a discussion of Affirmative Action and the UUA, we refer to some long-standing resolutions which represent positions relevant to Affirmative Action. The first is general in nature but certainly has implications for Affirmative Action and represents a stance which was probably far in advance among church groups for the year 1964. The second is from 1973 and represents specific UUA intention to implement equal employment opportunities within its structure.

GENERAL RESOLUTIONS

Text of General Resolutions adopted at the Closing Session of the Third General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association held in the Grand Ballroom of the Jack Tar Hotel, San Francisco, California, on Saturday, May 16, 1964, commencing at 9:00 o'clock a.m.

CIVIL RIGHTS

RESOLVED: that the Unitarian Universalist Association, at its 1964 General Assembly, reaffirm, defend and promote the supreme worth of every human personality, the dignity of man, and the use of the democratic method in human relationships, as stated in the Purposes and Objectives of its Constitution, and as reaffirmed in the annual meetings of the Association and urge its member churches and fellowships and their individual members to demonstrate their support of these principles by:

- 1. Defending the right of individuals to engage in non-violent demonstrations and non-violent civil disobedience for greater racial justice;*
- 2. Supporting the legislation currently under debate in the U.S. Senate and urging no weakening of fair and equal employment and public accommodations sections and elimination of the amendment excluding atheists (Ashbrook amendment);*
- 3. Urging the use of Executive Orders to direct all federal agencies to administer federal programs without discrimination; and also urge the Federal government to withhold the expenditure of Federal funds from such state or local programs and agencies which discriminate against persons on the basis of race or religion in the granting or disbursement of their facilities, property, finances or services;*
- 4. Seeking to influence state and local governing bodies and officials to end apathy, police brutality and the use of unwarranted curfews wherever they exist; and to enact adequate state and local legislation toward ending racial discrimination in voting, employment, housing, education, and in places of public accommodation;*

5. Urging every citizen to work for freedom of residence in his own neighborhood;
6. Working in human relations councils and other groups formed to further better understanding among peoples;
7. Investing their funds in non-discriminatory enterprises; and,
8. Perfecting their non-discriminatory practices in all areas of human relationships.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN UUA EMPLOYMENT (GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1973)

RESOLVED: That the Unitarian Universalist Association publish each year in a manner intended to achieve wide notice a report of its efforts to provide equal employment opportunity to women and racial minorities at all levels of its staff, said report to include a statistical summary similar in scope and content to that reported by Federal agencies and most U.S. corporations, and shall include goals it has set for the following three years.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the Unitarian Universalist Association in its employment and promotion practices, continue to make every effort to provide equal employment opportunities, particularly in key decision-making positions.

The unfortunate truth about the Unitarian Universalist Association's record on Affirmative Action is that not many items have been entered onto the ledger. The preceding General Assembly resolutions appear as artifacts of a time in American history when issues of racial and social justice were keenly in the forefront of our thinking. As such, these resolutions document the well-reasoned arguments and broad scope of the General Assembly membership concerns, at that time. What makes for "unfortunate truth" is that today these resolutions more represent testimonials of affirmative intent than concrete results of affirmative action.

During our interviewing and data-gathering efforts, the Institutional Racism Audit Team did not find evidence of a formal Affirmative Action Policy. This conspicuous absence, along with the absence of an Affirmative Action Program, Plan or Procedures for people of color within the Unitarian Universalist Association, makes the earlier General Assembly Resolutions void of tangible meaning or realistic possibilities for implementation.

Business at the UUA, its member churches and fellowships, seems to continue as usual. Laments over "needing to do something about urban churches and black ministries . . ." in the absence of concrete steps or processes for resolution, emerge as the new statements of affirmative intent.

Another problem area is that some notably influential segments of the UUA say they are uncertain as to what to do or how to do it. Others feel as though they have no power to do anything at all about Affirmative Action programs.

On an informal, ad hoc basis, members of the present UUA administration have made some gestures toward relief. A meeting was initiated with ministers of color to discuss issues of recruitment, placement, and other problems faced by ministers of color. Several of these ministers have also been solicited to help in the occasional recruitment of non-exempt employees. Announcements of non-exempt employee openings have been circulated to the Arlington Street Church. Occasional advertisements have been placed in the Bay State Banner, a Boston minority newspaper, and notes have, at times, been printed in the UUA newsletter. However, these efforts are often personal, admittedly limited in scope to local (Boston) non-exempt employment opportunities and too sporadic to be effective.

The recent Finance Committee report on future budgeting and UUA Board action must also be noted. At the January, 1981, Board meeting, it was voted:

To advise the Affirmative Action for Women in Ministry UUA Advisory Committee that it will be funded for one more year (i.e., 1981-82) and that the Board is not prepared at this time to recommend funding for more than one year.

While women's issues are not the charge of this Racism Audit Team, Board actions as noted can have negative impact upon the UUA climate and receptivity to Affirmative Action for people of color. To substitute affirmative intent for Affirmative Action and shroud the discussion in fiscal constraint language would be both a misrepresentation of true beliefs and socially reprehensible. An equivalent disservice would be to pit the areas of women's concerns and issues relevant to people of color against one another -- to fight for a few spoils of recognition and financial support from the UUA Board and membership. Such a scenario may well mark the first occasion within the church itself where women's rights and the rights of people of color were orchestrated toward adversarial relationships.

WE RECOMMEND THAT THE UUA:

1. Develop and adopt an Affirmative Action Policy and Program for employment of people of color, with plans for recruitment, goals, and timetables, and procedures and guidelines for implementation and effective monitoring of progress.
2. Designate a staff person to assume the total responsibility for the portfolio of Affirmative Action Officer with necessary support services to implement and monitor the Affirmative Action Plan.
3. Fully implement the guidelines and policy recommendations of Project Equality, and urge societies and fellowships to also become active members of Project Equality.

THE OPINION FINDER

In an effort to determine how UUA employees and persons active in leadership positions in UUA felt about a number of important issues, the Audit Team initiated an Opinion Finder. The instrument that was developed sought opinions on a variety of issues under the categories of Employment, Social Action, UUA Programs, Boards/Committees/General Assembly, and Budget Priorities. Respondents were also asked to supply demographic and biographical information so that responses could be analyzed in a number of different ways. The Social Distance Experience of respondents was ascertained by another set of questions. (A copy of the Opinion Finder is included in the Appendix of this Report.)

The Opinion Finder was sent to 276 persons, including employees, elected and appointed UUA leaders. Total responses came from 162 people, representing an unusually high response rate of 62%. Of this number, a total of 137 responses were received in time to be tabulated for the results reported here.

Respondents returned their completed Opinion Finders to an impartial professional statistician for coding and tabulation. Every effort was made to insure the confidentiality of responses. Audit Team members did not see any of the Opinion Finders themselves -- only the collated results. The raw data inputs remain available for future considerations by the UUA. Here we report only what seem to be the major results of the polling of opinions. Undoubtedly, discussion will raise questions to which answers can be gained by further analysis of the data. This section of the Report reflects some of the Respondent Categories, Social Distance Experiences, Budget Priorities, and responses to the major Issue Areas about which opinions were sought.

RESPONDENT CATEGORIES (Number of Respondents: 137)

BY RACE

87.6%	(120)	identified themselves as White
8.0%	(11)	identified themselves as Black
3.0%	(4)	identified themselves as Native American or American Indian
1.4%	(2)	identified themselves as "Other"

BY SEX

50.4%	(69)	were Male
47.4%	(65)	were Female
2.2%	(3)	gave no response

UUA MEMBERSHIP

84.7% (116) were members of UUA congregations
 15.3% (21) were not members of UUA congregations

UUA EMPLOYEES

34.3% (47) were UUA employees
 65.0% (89) were not UUA employees
 0.7% (1) gave no response

ENVIRONMENT

51.1% (70) were Urban people
 43.1% (59) were Suburban people
 5.8% (8) were Rural people

OTHER MAJOR CATEGORIES

Most respondents were married -- 62.8% (86)
 Most respondents were either born or currently reside in the Mass.
 Bay District -- 21.2% (29) and 41.6% (57), respectively
 The median age of respondents was 40.5 years
 Average years of UU affiliation was 29.5 years
 Average years of UU membership in a congregation was 15.8
 The lowest response rate was in the category of UUA committees
 served -- 41.6% (57)

RACE AND EDUCATION

Of Black Respondents 20.0% reported 18 years of formal education
 Of White Respondents 12.6% reported 18 years of formal education
 Of Black Respondents 50.0% reported 20 years of formal education
 Of White Respondents 26.0% reported 20 years of formal education

SOCIAL DISTANCE EXPERIENCE

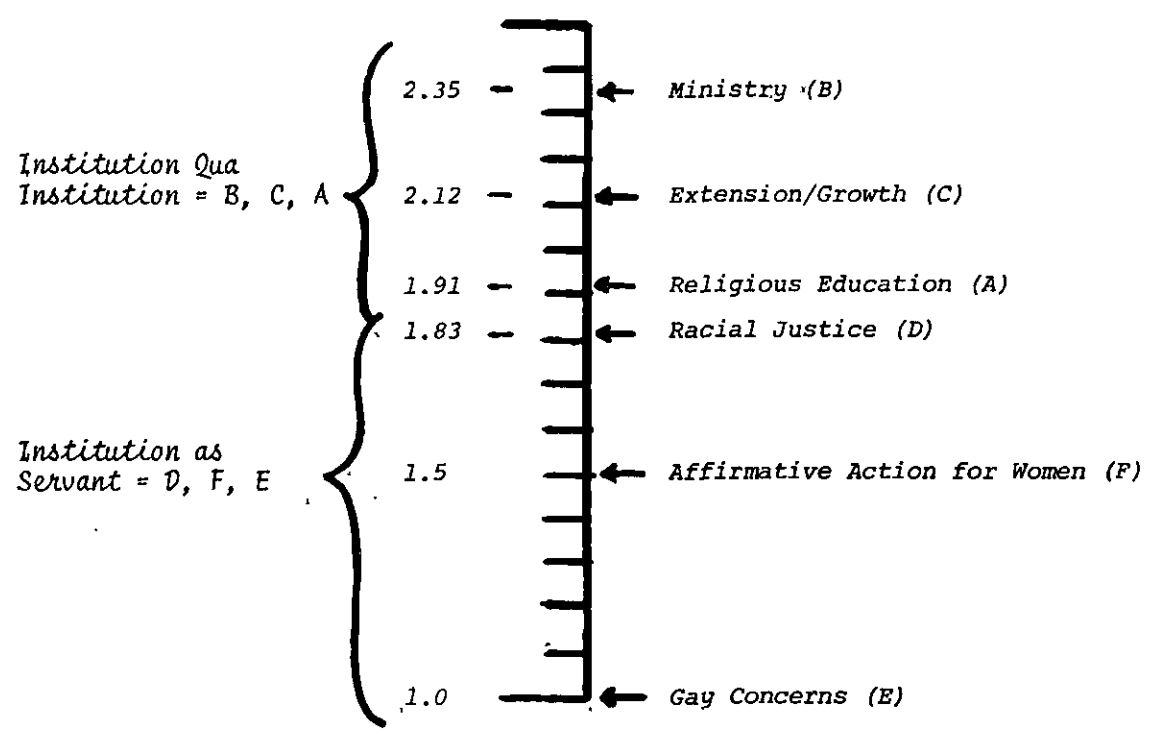
In these responses, "opposite race" was defined by
 respondents as Black by 125 people, as White by 11
 people, and as Other by 1 person.

2.2% have been or are in bi-racial marriages
 68.6% are members of clubs to which blacks and whites belong
 18.2% live in a neighborhood where at least 15% of the residents
 are of the opposite race
 17.5% work where at least 15% are of the opposite race
 7.3% worship in a congregation where at least 15% of members
 are of the opposite race

BUDGET PRIORITIES

Opinion Finder respondents were asked to rate six UUA concerns to indicate where they would assign higher budget priorities. The six items were: (A) Religious Education, (B) Ministry/ Ministerial Services, (C) Extension (Growth), (D) Racial Justice, (E) Gay Concerns, and (F) Affirmative Action for Women. Respondent choices rated each of the items against every other item, composite scores giving an index of priorities. The results are shown on the graph below, with the score "1" indicating the lowest point of the scale and the highest point at "2.35."

Items "A," "B," and "C" are concerns which have to do primarily with Institutional Maintenance and Nurture; items "D," "E," and "F" have to do primarily with the Institution as Servant.



ISSUE AREAS

The Opinion Finder asked for responses to a number of statements regarding issues such as Employment, Social Action, UUA Programs, and membership on boards and committees. Responses registered six possible positions: "slight support," "moderate support," "strong support," "slight opposition," "moderate opposition," "strong opposition," to each statement. Those responses were then tabulated on a scale from "1 - 7", with "1" indicating "strong opposition" and "7" indicating "strong support" as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strong opposition	moderate opposition	slight opposition	-	slight support	moderate support	strong support

Here we report on the responses to each GROUP of statements, under the headings which follow:

- Employment -- see statements 14 through 19 on Opinion Finder
- Social Action -- see statements 20 through 25 on Opinion Finder
- UUA Programs -- see statements 26 through 33 on Opinion Finder
- Board/Committee -- see statements 34 through 37 on Opinion Finder

Responses are reported by Sex, Race, UU Membership, UUA Employment, and Environment (Urban, Rural, Suburban). In each case, we report only responses which were of statistically significant difference.

RESPONSES BY SEX:

- In regard to Social Action

Male responses were recorded at 4.94 on the above scale, indicating less than "slight support."

Female responses were recorded at 5.33 on the above scale, indicating more than "slight support."

- In regard to Board/Committees

Male responses were recorded at 3.42 on the scale, indicating less than "slight opposition."

Female responses were recorded at 4.28 on the scale, indicating less than "slight support."

RESPONSES BY RACE:

- In regard to Employment

Black responses were recorded at 5.85 on the scale, indicating less than "moderate support."

Native American responses were recorded at 4.06 on the scale, indicating less than "slight support."

American Indian responses were recorded at 3.00 on the scale, indicating "slight opposition."

White responses were recorded at 4.74 on the scale, indicating less than "slight support."

- In regard to Social Action

Black responses were recorded at 5.85 on the scale, indicating less than "moderate support."

Native American responses were recorded at 4.06 on the scale, indicating less than "slight support."

American Indian responses were recorded at 3.17 on the scale, indicating less than "slight opposition."

White responses were recorded at 5.14 on the scale, indicating more than "slight support."

- In regard to UUA Programs

Black responses were recorded at 5.82 on the scale, indicating less than "moderate support."

Native American responses were recorded at 3.92 on the scale, indicating less than "slight opposition."

American Indian responses were recorded at 3.13 on the scale, indicating less than "slight opposition."

White responses were recorded at 4.60 on the scale, indicating less than "slight support."

RESPONSES BY UU MEMBERSHIP:

- In regard to Board/Committees

UU Member responses were recorded at 3.68 on the scale, indicating less than "slight opposition."

UU Non-Member responses were recorded at 4.59 on the scale, indicating less than "slight support."

RESPONSES BY UUA EMPLOYMENT:

- In regard to Employment

Employee responses were recorded at 5.01 on the scale, indicating more than "slight support."

Non-Employee responses were recorded at 4.68 on the scale, indicating less than "slight support."

- In regard to Board/Committees

Employee responses were recorded at 4.29 on the scale, indicating less than "slight support."

Non-Employee responses were recorded at 3.53 on the scale, indicating less than "slight opposition."

RESPONSES BY ENVIRONMENT:

- In regard to Employment

Urban people responded at 4.97 on the scale, indicating less than "slight support."

Rural people responded at 4.40 on the scale, indicating less than "slight support."

Suburban people responded at 4.62 on the scale, indicating less than "slight support."

- In regard to Social Action

Urban people responded at 5.30 on the scale, indicating more than "slight support."

Rural people responded at 4.38 on the scale, indicating less than "slight support."

Suburban people responded at 5.03 on the scale, indicating more than "slight support."

- In regard to UUA Programs

Urban people responded at 4.88 on the scale, indicating less than "slight support."

Rural people responded at 4.48 on the scale, indicating less than "slight support."

Suburban people responded at 4.43 on the scale, indicating less than "slight support."

SOME OBSERVATIONS -- COMMENTS -- QUESTIONS

Readers of this Audit Report will undoubtedly have many observations to make about the Opinion Finder results and, in the course of the weeks and months ahead, they will engage in discussion to determine the meanings of the data. Here are some immediate observations, comments, and questions which may serve to stimulate that dialogue:

1. The data on Race and Education indicate that among UUA leadership there is a much higher percentage of blacks than whites who have graduate degrees; i.e., "Super Blacks make it in the UUA."
2. Respondents experience significantly more integration in clubs, neighborhoods, and work places than in worshipping congregations; i.e., "Sunday is the most segregated day of the week."
3. Higher budget priorities are assigned to those things which are primarily concerned with institutional maintenance and nurture than with service. (It may be of further use to compare the budget priority assignments given by respondents to the *actual operating UUA budget*.)
4. The highest support for the Issue Areas came from black respondents.
5. The highest support for any specific Issue Area was less than "moderate support."
6. In view of the fact that the highest support for the Issue Areas was less than "moderate support," what does it mean to speak of UUA leadership people as being persons of "liberal" religious persuasion?
7. One interpretation of the data suggests a strategic approach to change for the UUA. That strategy should be a commitment to a gradual, incremental, but *consistent* integration of racial and cultural awareness into each and every phase of institutional life.

THE LIBERAL SYNDROME

One member of the Community Change Team is a Unitarian Universalist. She is Lori Miola, and this section of the Report is hers. Others have contributed to the ideas presented here, but Lori has written it. It comes to you in the first person and bears her name so that you might feel more fully the personal meaning this has to Lori as a Unitarian Universalist.

This is often the time for a consultant which can be both an easy time and a difficult time. There are some findings that you might want to hear and there are some that you might *not* want to hear. There are some findings of our team which I am pleased to report; there are some which I am *not* as pleased to report. The ease and the dis-ease for me has been intensified because I am a Unitarian Universalist. I have been a Unitarian Universalist for some time and have a long history of involvement in the camp and conferencing areas. I am personally committed to this Audit as well as professionally. It has been for me both a personal and a professional journey.

I find it a pleasure to report characteristics of this organization which we see as positive trends, moving the UUA toward racial justice. Institutionally, the organization seems enlightened in a variety of areas: For instance, there are guidelines for the use of suppliers, for the use of rental cars and conference centers in compliance with the standards of Project Equality. There are guidelines for equitable investments. Job openings are advertised in the Bay State Banner which is more of an Affirmative Action step than many organizations take. Our leadership persons and committees reiterate concerns and commitment to racial justice.

But, while I feel good about the aforementioned progressive symptoms, I am concerned about those symptoms of a more limiting nature which lead us to regress or stay where we are, immobilized. We have labelled factors which seem to block our efforts towards racial justice as the Liberal Syndrome.

Although some of the institutional symptoms seem inclusive, the behaviors and attitudes indicative of the Liberal Syndrome are *exclusive*: they exclude progress. For instance, while talking about racism, many UU's assumed the liberal church to be enlightened and, therefore, not needing to do any more in the way of action. Several people reported that liberals "welcome all views . . . all people"

and then assumed that "we don't have to think about 'color' or 'group' . . . or inclusion." This sense of "openness" or enlightenment makes people feel comfortable with the situation as it currently exists. The situation as it exists is clearly illustrated in the racial make-up of major decision-making boards and the UUA staff, which are overwhelmingly white.

We discovered that most UU's *love* to talk -- and debate -- perhaps endlessly. UU's seem to have an informed opinion on any subject, and most will express, oppose, agree and listen to others with zeal. To quote one UUA member: "If there are two paths, one leading to a discussion of the problem, and one leading to resolution of the problem, most UU's would choose the path leading to discussion."

This endless debate, the semantics of looking for clarity, postpones action long after sufficient data proves or disproves a point. There is something wrong when people *delay* by waiting for more detail; more debate over issues which affect others so urgently. Racism and *inclusion* of all peoples in our organization is in need of immediate action.

Another behavioral characteristic which is related perhaps to the "endless debate syndrome" is the propensity toward *intellectualism* and the *reluctance to deal with "difficult" emotions*. Nowhere in my professional interviewing experiences have I been so aware of the differences between expressions of *thought* and expressions of *feeling*. In our collective interviews, often questions about "feelings" of interviewees elicited "thought" responses. To get to some *feelings* about racial issues demanded a skill that could be referred to as "verbal dentistry."

UU's were not as willing to talk or debate or agree or oppose where *feelings* about racism was the subject. To further illustrate this, let me point out some salient situations:

1. Many people mentioned the BAC, BUC, BAWA controversy. There was much discussion on the "rational" and theoretical level, and people actively avoided stating their feelings unless prompted and re-prompted. This "rationalizing/theorizing", regardless of which view of the controversy one adopted, enabled people to avoid dealing with *conflicting emotions*. We had the sense that the BAC, BAWA Controversy is unfinished not because any facts are missing but because UU's have avoided expressing the *emotional* conflict. Thus, many have avoided sharing the more *personal* reactions and learnings in regard to black-white relationships within the UUA. The history of "left-over *feelings*" becomes a part of today.

2. Several people who were interviewed told us that 25 Beacon Street is not a good worksite for people who are experiencing personal problems -- who are "unhappy." The perception is that the groomed image is one of a "liberal . . . and only a positive, happy feeling" group of workers. Conflict, difficulties, etc. are AVOIDED.
3. We were told that the UUA has had some significant difficulties (feelings) with its history of dealing with the mobility and "encouragement of women and gays." "Because of these dangling emotional difficulties," it was stated, "there is some resistance to acting on anti-racism."
4. It was stated that people are *annoyed* at the guidelines that are sent out "from quarters at 25," regarding use of suppliers, car rentals, etc., and often people don't connect those guidelines with any *feeling* of commitment toward racial equality, but rather see them as aggravating logistics.

We discovered in our journey that UU's are, as a whole, incredibly well-informed and well-educated, but we heard a lot of WE DON'T KNOW WHAT TO DO! A response to this comes from the comments, heard a multitude of times from UUA employees who had many good ideas about WHAT TO DO. Perhaps UU's can demonstrate their *liberal and open* philosophy by listening to UUA people's suggestions. I offer the following made by interviewees themselves:

"Take action steps. Don't just advertise in the Bay State Banner but deal with personnel agencies that encourage minority placement."

"Find out from people of color themselves what they need for honest inclusion. Begin a dialogue."

"Deal with the tensions that exist between exempt and non-exempt staff to make the UUA a better place for everyone to be included and welcomed."

"Take some positive steps like working in an Independent Study Committee (like the one that dealt with DRE's fellowshiping) and do it on racism!"

"Let's somehow spit out and exorcise the emotionalism over the BAC, BAWA controversy and move on."

"Have an Affirmative Action policy that works."

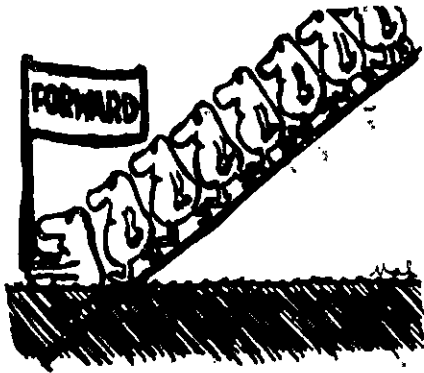
"State clearly, perhaps in the Audit, why we need to follow the supplier guidelines that exist."

In another section of the Audit we caution about responses which may result in the UUA remaining "stuck" right where it is, without change of any kind. One of the greatest dangers which would lead to that result is the danger of long debates which may "intellectualize" what all of this means. As a UU, I hope that you will look at the Audit with *ACTION* in mind. Phil Oakes speaks of a "liberal" in his song, revolutionary in the early 1960's, "Love Me I'm a Liberal":

"To Black and Yellow, whatever,
My heart welcomes all just the same.
But if you demand that I bus my children,
I'll call a policeman and write down your name."

Let's not be the "liberal" of whom he sings!

- Lori Miola



ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS ENCOUNTERED

The debate between the developmental psychologists and behaviorists over the nature of the human organism -- why and how it responds -- may well continue into the next century and beyond. Social scientists will continue to argue whether anyone can really induce attitudinal change in another. Others will state simply that everything is behavioral and "to heck with" intrinsic motivation. Regardless of the differing theoretical constructs concerning human nature and potential, one pattern of "facts" or observations has emerged both for researchers and lay people concerned with eliminating racism: Attitudes rarely change in a vacuum. Engaging in new behavior or observing others do so successfully is very important to the process of change. Even in the absence of attitudinal change, the primary "victims," "objects," or "recipients" of racism will, nonetheless, "settle for" behavioral changes in racist people.

In this section of the Audit Report, we of the Community Change Team seek to reflect back to the UUA some of the behavior and attitudes we have encountered in the course of our work. These observations, things we have overheard or had recounted to us, are clearly impressionistic in nature and anecdotal in form. Regardless of their definitiveness or ability to be generalized, as phenomena they happened, as events they had impact, and as perceptions of reality they have meaning and validity. Perceptions of others who know of these incidents will vary, but we have tried to capture in a few words the substance of these attitudes and behaviors.

Left-handed Compliments

1. During a break in a UUA meeting, two black persons were talking over coffee. A white person, also a member of the same committee which was meeting, came over to the two blacks and said, "I'm so glad you're with us." At least one of those black persons wondered about that incident: Is there some kind of paternalism -- a benefactor relationship here? Is she glad that I'm here today? How welcome will I be tomorrow? Was I a "stray" or an "outsider" -- invited in and officially welcomed to be "with them" on the inside?
2. In a large group meeting of the UUA, a white man spoke in favor of a racially integrated UUA. He included in his "sales pitch" a reference to his experience with integration in the military, and speaking of black people remarked that "*it didn't matter how dark their tans were.*" The reference to genuine skin color as a "tan" was offensive to some persons of color who were present. The assumption that darker skin color is not real but comes from exposure to the sun comes from a 16th century English "explanation" of color which is as racist now as it was then.

Invisibility

1. A polished, competent, articulate report representing significant research and professional time was presented by a black person to the UUA Board of Trustees. The report included some recommendations in regard to urban church concerns. With no initial response to the content of the report or its recommendations, the first question addressed to the reporter was: "What is your definition of urban?" This response, on a theoretical level, by-passed the report content and to some seemed to by-pass the reporter. At least one black person wondered: "Did anyone really hear him? See him? It was almost as if he (the black person) were not there -- as if he were invisible!"
2. A black person, prominent in UUA circles, was visiting a UU congregation in a rural state. During a coffee hour, after the morning service, this person was *ignored, not officially greeted, nor spoken to, nor introduced to a single member in attendance!* -- Was this person invisible? Did the person imagine it all? Did other people in attendance "wish" the black person were invisible? Did they in their own discomfort fail to observe common courtesy and social graces?

Falling Between the Cracks and Stonewalling

1. Over ten years ago, the UUA entered into negotiations for the design and publication of a curriculum: Black America/White America: Understanding the Discord. A long history of writing, testing, revision, and correspondence surrounds the controversy that developed over the curriculum. In September of 1980, a letter from the major author of the curriculum suggested twice that some resolution about whether or not to proceed with publication be made by January of 1981. In early December, Community Change team members found that no decision had then been made nor at that time was envisioned for January 1981; again in early January no decision had been reached. Somehow, persons responsible never got around to making a decision, or even getting the matter onto the formal agenda. Like a dead albatross, the unresolved matter of the curriculum drifts along behind the ship, whose wake periodically forces it to turn over, rise again to the surface, then silently slide once more toward oblivion.
2. Our team's understanding, after many hours of interviewing board members, UUA members, administration and staff, is that power is brokered in many ways within the UUA -- some formal and some informal. It seemed to us, however, that the Interdistrict Representatives play an important if not pivotal role as "communications links," as persons whose role concerns them with "leadership and program development for districts and local congregations," who "cooperate in the settlement process," and who serve as "resource persons to ministers and local congregations."

When a member of our team -- bright, mature, and Harvard-educated -- met with the Interdistrict Representatives, that person summarized the experience by saying: "While trying to ascertain what informal or formal abilities and strengths the IDR's maintain with the UUA, their constant reply was "I/we really don't know what to do. . . ." "I/we really don't have any power or influence. What can we really do?" After an excruciatingly laborious "non-interview" the allotted time mercifully drew to a close. The portholes to information and insight remained as they had been, known to the "insiders only." The "outsider," attempting to aid a significant moral and human UUA membership issue, remained "outside" the stonewall.

Not Seeing the Forest Through the Trees

Returning to the incident already reported of the black person who was left ungreetered or acknowledged at a church coffee hour, it is instructive to recount what happened when that person told other UUA leaders of that experience. Some of those leaders immediately quipped: "Oh, that's the way they always are." White males in the group exclaimed: "We get treated that way, too, as denominational people." Members of the UUA administration who were present pitched in with their own excuses for the misbehavior of their "brethren in the country." The situation evidenced a dynamic of defensiveness toward a black person's perceived experience of prejudicial or differential treatment within UUA. The failure to be sensitive to black people's perceptions of events, undercutting their interpretation of reality, only exacerbates the problems of racism within the UUA. As human beings, we are distinguished from other life forms by our intelligence, ability to communicate and our acts of perception. When one individual denies another his or her perception they are, in fact, denying his or her humanity. When a person who is white denies the perception of another who is of color, by attempting to excuse perceived prejudicial or racist behavior in themselves or other whites, it represents an attempt to redefine events and reality *as perceived by the person of color*. To subordinate one set of perceptions to another is to subordinate one human being's reality to that of another. When whites do this to blacks, it reduces dialogue, blocks effective communication and, in fact, constitutes a subtle and insidious form of racism -- to deny the validity of another human being's perception of the world.

Breaking the Mold and Lowering the Standards

1. The twin concepts of meritocracy and democracy seem at the core of the UUA philosophy. Developing human potential and enhancing production in culture, politics, society and morality, appear as artifacts of UUA actions and worship ideals. Imagine then our dismay to hear that when the questions of people of color and the ministry was at one time put before the Ministerial Fellowship

Committee, a response was characterized with the following words: Do "they" fit the mold? -- Are "their" backgrounds and experience typical of our usual placement requirements? -- Will we have to lower the standards?

2. On the question of the need for more UUA affirmative action throughout its programs and staff, a Board of Trustee member was heard to say: "We must not lower the standards."
3. When a UU member of a congregation was describing a particularly moving worship service at the church of which he is a member, he indicated that the service contained some aspects of black culture and that it was called "Black Sunday." A woman gasped, "Black Sunday . . . Oh, that sounds so gloomy!"
4. When a UUA official was describing the difficulties of increasing membership among people of color, it was remarked: "The worship styles of most local congregations have little sensitivity to the worship styles of people of color. Even urban churches remain distinct from those worship styles familiar and comfortable to minorities." The notion of attributing group characteristics to urban minority, actual or potential UUA members, is a fundamental error. The process of making choices for "them" and assuming what "they" are like is a precarious and precipitous one. As such, it represents a serious potential road block to diversity within the UUA.

SUMMARY AND SYNTHESIS:

As we reviewed this impressionistic information regarding our Team's experience of the UUA, a central question has emerged:

What ambience is created within the UUA which denies the acceptance of diversity of viewpoints and opinions from people of color?

Through the observations, experiences, and recollections of several individuals, we came to see that interpersonal communication and dynamics between UU's and people of color are often stressful and anxiety producing. Behavioral expectations are rarely explicit, attributing motivations to an individual's actions are routine, and presumptions of benevolence and tolerance are rampant. On the personal, individual level, more rigorous soul-searching, self-criticism and toleration seem to be needed. A willingness to examine oneself and to question one's assumptions is called for. A greater tolerance for ambiguity and disposition toward change in behavior and interpretation of events is needed. Through greater sensitivity and personal struggle, the chasm between UU's and people who are perceived to be different may well be bridged.

CONFRONTING STEREOTYPES THAT EXCLUDE

Among Unitarian Universalists there are some stereotypes operating in ways which may at times exclude people or at least inhibit multi-racial, multi-cultural growth. Reference here is to stereotypes as exaggerated beliefs about a group or groups of people, which may function to justify conduct in relation to that group or those groups of people. The stereotypes may be about Unitarian Universalists or they may be stereotypes about groups which are presently found in small numbers among Unitarian Universalists.

Many stereotypes are based on some degree of truth. For instance, it is a perception among UUA staff and leaders that many UU's have a high level of education. There are statistics which indicate that perception to be based in fact. So *that truth* gets built into a stereotyped assumption that "UU's are highly educated"; in practical application this assumption may dictate approaches and styles for publicity and programs which may become a block to those who have less formal education. Functionally this stereotype operates as an assumption that "All UU's are highly educated."

We are concerned here with the ways in which self-perceptions among UU's leaders and staff may be generalized to the UUA membership, based on stereotypes which serve to limit openness to people of color. In the course of the Audit we have heard a number of statements, such as:

UU's are white and dominated by white styles of life.
 People of color, in leadership positions, would not understand the majority of UU's.
 Whites are intellectual and educated; blacks are emotive and affective.
 People of color would not be comfortable in the UUA.

With stereotypes such as these operating among many UU's it has been a common experience to hear the generalization that "UU's are highly educated, white, and middle class, and ought to remain so." In either case, it is clear that if these stereotyped generalizations are in operation, they can limit the ability or intent of the UUA to become more inclusive. Obviously this generalization is operative for those who state that UUA *ought to remain as it is* in regard to racial composition. But the same results may occur from the dynamic which originates in the stereotype *even when it is held by people who wish the organization were more inclusive of racial groups.*

In addition to the way UU's see themselves in stereotypical terms, the same stereotypes held by others who are not UU may function either to drive people away or at least to *diminish* any effort to

become a part of UUA. The stereotypes may communicate a message which says "not for you" to people of color or to people who in other ways do not "fit" the stereotype. In some cases those who "receive" that "message" may conclude, "They (UU's) don't want me," or "I don't want to be there," or "UU's don't think I'll be comfortable among them," and, therefore, "I don't want to have to fight *their* discomfort."

Some whites assume that blacks have competence only in issues that relate to minorities. The underlying stereotype held by whites is: "Blacks in leadership positions will not understand majority views."* That stereotype functions to keep people of color out or to discourage their participation.

WE RECOMMEND THAT THE UUA DEVELOP A PROGRAM WHICH WILL CONFRONT STEREOTYPES WHICH LIMIT ITS ABILITY TO BECOME MORE RACIALLY INCLUSIVE. Such a program might include:

1. Study materials for use among UU's which will facilitate exploration of stereotypes and ways in which they might be behaviorally countered.
2. Development of materials from a multi-cultural perspective, including bilingual works to interpret liberal religion among French and Hispanic people.
3. Production of video cassettes, role plays, and other experiential learning instruments for use in church, fellowship and District meetings.
4. Development of material designed to communicate liberal religious views especially among people of color.

*This statement, "Blacks in leadership positions . . .," is a direct quote heard during the Audit.

GROWTH ISSUES FOR THE UUA

The UUA is engaged in an effort to increase its membership and hopes to show significant gains by the year 1990. That growth effort provides an opportunity for the UUA to answer at least three questions about which we have heard discussion during the course of the Audit:

1. *Will the race composition of the UUA show a growth in the numbers and percentage of people of color?*
2. *How will growth in membership affect the increased influence of the UUA in the larger community?*
3. *Can the "servant church" be a reality in the context of an emphasis on growth?*

FIRST IS THE QUESTION ABOUT THE RACIAL "MIX" OF THE UUA. In 1990, will graphs showing the race composition of Boards and Committees continue to be so predominantly white, or will there be significant change? Will growing membership numbers in constituent churches and fellowships also show growth in the numbers of people of color? Will there be additional churches or fellowships associated with the UUA which are multi-racial in composition, or which serve constituencies in which people of color are predominant?

As interviewees have been asked about their hopes for a racial "mix" in the UUA, responses have fallen basically into the following patterns:

- Some have said they would like to see an increase in the percentage of people of color among UU's.
- Some have said that Unitarian Universalism is primarily a white and middle-class constituency and should remain so.
- Some have said they would like to see an increase in people of color, but doubt that this will occur.

The Decade of Growth which is projected for UUA becomes an opportunity for it to respond to these questions of racial diversity in programmatic terms. The Audit Team can make no assumptions that it is in fact the will of the UUA to seek greater racial diversity.

However, if it should be decided that racial diversity *is* a goal, it is clear that there will need to be a major effort to obtain that goal. Present patterns have not produced diversity. The achievement of diversity will require *intentional programmatic efforts* to secure racial diversity. Those programmatic efforts should take a number of forms, imaginatively conceived in various segments of the UUA. In order to facilitate specific discussion relative to this growth issue, WE RECOMMEND THAT THE UUA ESTABLISH AND STAFF SIX NEW CHURCHES, TWO IN PREDOMINANTLY HISPANIC AREAS, TWO IN PREDOMINANTLY BLACK AREAS, TWO IN AREAS OF MULTI-RACIAL POPULATIONS, IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE CONTINENTAL JURISDICTION, BY THE YEAR 1990. These churches should be assured of sustained assistance over a period of initial growth in order to insure a movement toward financial independence within ten years.

SECOND IS THE QUESTION ABOUT THE GROWTH OF UU INFLUENCE IN SOCIETY. As a part of its goal statements, the Long-Range Planning Committee has indicated that one reason for seeking membership growth is that there then might be an "increased UU influence in the larger community." One avenue for extension of that influence is through the structures of the UUA. This section of the Audit Report will not make suggestions about "how" to extend that influence, since those should come from the long-range process of growth itself. It is clear, however, that whatever the intentions for increasing influence in the larger community, there will need to be resourcing and funding mechanisms included in those plans. It is too often the pattern that UU's talk about "influence in the larger community" without providing the mechanisms of time, personnel, and money that provide impact for the intention.

THIRD IS THE QUESTION OF THE PLACE OF THE "SERVANT CHURCH" IN THE CONTEXT OF "GROWTH." Over the centuries the concept of "servant church" has been given a variety of emphases; many UU's will be familiar with the works of Robert Greenleaf, giving meaning to that concept. Here we use the term to make a distinction between the common assumption of the church as an institution and the church as a "servant." If church "growth" is to be only of the traditional kind, it would usually be assumed that at some future date there would be a larger number of UU churches or fellowships gathering people into their midst who would be able to sustain the church. This kind of church may have an outreach beyond itself but much of its effort will be self-nurturing. That is one kind of growth, and it is perfectly valid. The question raised here is whether or not an emphasis on that kind of growth will leave room for the growth of "servant churches?" The concept of a "servant church" to which we refer sees the church as one whose purpose is simply to "serve" the needs of those around it regardless of what those needs might be, without any intention to gather those who are served into the body, and without any thought about whether or not those served become "paying" members. The "servant church" is concerned primarily with serving, moves where people are in need, lives among those in need, and "serves", without any question about what will be "returned" to it.

The growth of "servant churches" will require a different kind of commitment, a different kind of programmatic emphasis than fostering the growth of the more traditional churches. The question is raised here for the UUA:

WILL THE GROWTH EFFORTS OF THE UUA PROVIDE FOR THE GROWTH OF "SERVANT CHURCHES" WHERE THOSE MIGHT BE NECESSARY?





UUA AND THE CITY

The cities are places where people cannot avoid the issues of race relations and racism. Demographic shifts show that by far the majority of people of color live in the cities. In those cities the struggle between white power and black freedom results in open expressions of individual bigotry and blatant manifestations of systemic oppression. While racism is not an urban phenomenon only, the cities are the stages where it is most obviously "front and center." If the UUA is to be active in working against racism, it must give careful consideration to its role in the city. The rationale for this separate section arises from at least two sources: (1) A conviction that the United States and Canada are, in fact, urban societies, and (2) A concern that the historic Unitarian-Universalist commitment to the city be continued.

Census statistics in recent years have indicated that, at least in the United States, about seven out of ten people live in areas which can be characterized as urban. We have witnessed the expansion of huge megalopoli reaching along east and west coastal areas, and through the heart of the United States. Statistical data can be marshalled to support the contention that the United States is an urban society.

Conversations with people in small towns sometimes not considered to be within geographically urban areas will often elicit a description of problems which have been typically labeled as "urban." The influence of urban areas reaches into hamlets and rural villages, and into the homes of farmers distant from any city. Television and other forms of mass media, originating in cities, present urban perspectives in homes all over the United States and Canada. Decisions made in corporate and political centers located in urban areas determine to a large extent policies which affect individuals and families in places far removed from cities. Clothing, customs, life style changes often emanate from urban centers. History will undoubtedly characterize our society as an urban society.

In the history of Unitarian-Universalism there is much to indicate that there has often been a strong commitment to ministry in the city. It is not the purpose of this report to recount that history, but references to great names such as William Ellery Channing, Hosea Ballou, George Perin, Levi Powers, Joseph Tuckerman, Theodore Parker, Robert Collier, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, James Freeman Clark, Herman Bisbee, Edwin Chapin, Henry Bellows, Alonzo Ames Miner, and Clarence Skinner should suffice to remind us of that tradition.

In the immediate past there has been a trend in some denominations for churches to leave the city and establish themselves in flourishing suburbs. Often city church buildings have been allowed to languish in

disrepair, ministries have gone on a part-time basis, and denominational support has been gradually withdrawn from situations seen as hopeless. Some denominations have taken steps to reverse this process, and this section of the Audit calls upon the Unitarian Universalist Association to do the same.

WE RECOMMEND THAT THE UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION ADOPT AND IMPLEMENT A LONG-RANGE PLAN FOR THE RENEWAL OF ITS ROLE IN AND THROUGH CITY CHURCHES, TO INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING EMPHASES:

1. *The development by the Department of Ministerial and Congregational Services of a program to recruit and support ministers who are dedicated to a city ministry.*

This should include a regular plan for identifying both presently ordained ministers and students in preparation for ministry who have a strong interest in urban ministries. Programs should be initiated to offer encouragement and support to these people. Expectations for urban ministers should be clearly defined, including at least an expectation that their work be full time and that they live in the community in which they minister.

2. *The development of short and long-range financial support for urban churches and fellowships.*

The UUA should assist in raising foundation funds, the establishment of building and maintenance funds, and should arrange for bulk purchasing designed to give assistance to churches which may not be self-sufficient.

3. *The design and implementation of a program for training seminary students for urban ministry.*

This might include the inclusion of a period of field education in an urban site as a requirement for persons entering urban ministry. Urban "intern" years might be developed in connection with denominationally related or interdenominational seminary programs.

4. *The development of an ongoing program of lay leadership training for urban churches and fellowships.*

These training programs might include training in the skills of administration, pastoral ministry, and the identification of community problems and resources specifically geared to the potentials and problems of urban churches. Training should include the preparation of church members for changes which may become necessary when growth includes people of racial/cultural groups not characteristically a part of the UUA constituency.

5. *Provision for the establishment of "stations" or "store-fronts" in situations of very specific needs.*

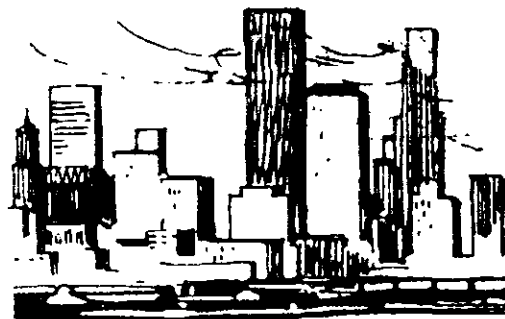
In some cases it may become important on either a short-range or long-range basis to open a place of ministry which may fill a need of community organization, education, or service among people from whom it may be unrealistic to expect any connection with a church per se. The UUA would be prepared to respond to such situations.

6. *A commitment to public actions by the UUA which give support to city churches and fellowships.*

This might include periodic public stances on urban issues, agenda at General Assemblies, appearances of leadership at conferences on urban issues, and other ways of continually lifting up the concerns of cities.

7. *The development of a program(s) of study on city issues for use throughout the UUA.*

Course outlines, bibliographies, study guides could be developed and made available for use in churches, fellowships and Districts throughout the UUA fellowship.



OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE BLACK EMPOWERMENT CONTROVERSY

The Commission on Appraisal is preparing an extensive report on the UUA experience in what has been referred to as the Black Empowerment Controversy. This part of the Audit Report does not intend to usurp any of what that report might say; nor can it be the thorough kind of reflection which that report will contain. It is the purpose of these comments simply to underline the important opportunity which the Commission's report will present for the UUA to bring some closure to "left-over" feelings from that controversy and to draw learnings from it.

Members of the Community Change Audit Team were astounded by the amount of time which was spent in the first two meetings with the UUA "internal" Audit Team in discussing the controversy. We were quickly introduced to "alphabet words" which flowed with ease around the conference table: BAC, BUUC, BAWA, FULLBAC, became a new vocabulary. Our minds were soon spinning trying to understand the dynamics which brought those terms into existence. Members of the "internal" team insisted that we could not understand the present without understanding that controversy. We tried to recognize the importance of that past but also insisted that *our* particular responsibility in the Audit was to identify things which might help UUA move into a new future of committed anti-racism. We feared getting "bogged down" in the past.

We were concerned that continued conflict over the past might be for the UUA a diversion from addressing racism issues today. Actual *boxes* of printed materials on the controversy beckoned us to become involved in an extensive study of their content. We soon realized that we must somehow balance the concern over that past with our concern to move beyond it into the present and future. We were relieved to discover that the Commission on Appraisal is undertaking that larger study of the controversy.

Issues centered in the controversy emerged in many of our interviews, and were often brought to our attention even when we did not mention the subject. It soon became clear that while a number of people indicated that the subject is seldom addressed at local church or fellowship levels, *it is a matter of concern* among a number of people who are active in positions of leadership within the structures of UUA. It also became clear that UUA in that controversy had experienced a depth of conflict probably unequaled in other religious bodies who went through similar times. UUA was "rocked" by that controversy. Individual relationships were broken, families were divided, trust levels were undermined, procedural concerns ignited strong feelings, and polity issues were an underlying source of conflict. The controversy was centered in race

relations and all of those complex sets of dynamics were dominated by what was happening at a feeling level between black and white people, and between differing factions within each racial group.

It is the purpose of this part of our report to reflect back to the UUA observations about the *feelings* we have heard expressed by a large number of people. Those *feelings* are present in 1980-1981 among UUA people, and there is a concern that often those "left-over" feelings from the past might block relationships and hinder constructive conflict in the present.

Here are some of the feelings which have been reported to us as results of the Black Empowerment Controversy:

Some whites are angry at other whites because of what they perceive as racist behavior.

Some whites are angry because they think that other whites capitulated to black demands out of guilt.

Some whites are angry at themselves because they allowed other "guilt-ridden" whites to lead them into decisions they now see as wrong.

Some whites are disturbed because they perceive that they may have been "taken" by angry blacks.

Some whites feel discouraged because of what they term a UUA norm which will not countenance expressions of black anger.

Some whites experience feelings of suspicion that they may have been "ripped off", "hustled".

Some blacks are angry at other blacks because of strong disagreements over strategy during the controversy.

Some blacks are angry at other blacks because of differences rooted in ideology.

Some blacks are upset because they perceive that the cause of racial justice has been "shunted aside" after the controversy, with little change.

Some blacks feel themselves to be the recipients of unjustified distrust as a result of the controversy.

Some blacks express frustration because "promises made were not kept."

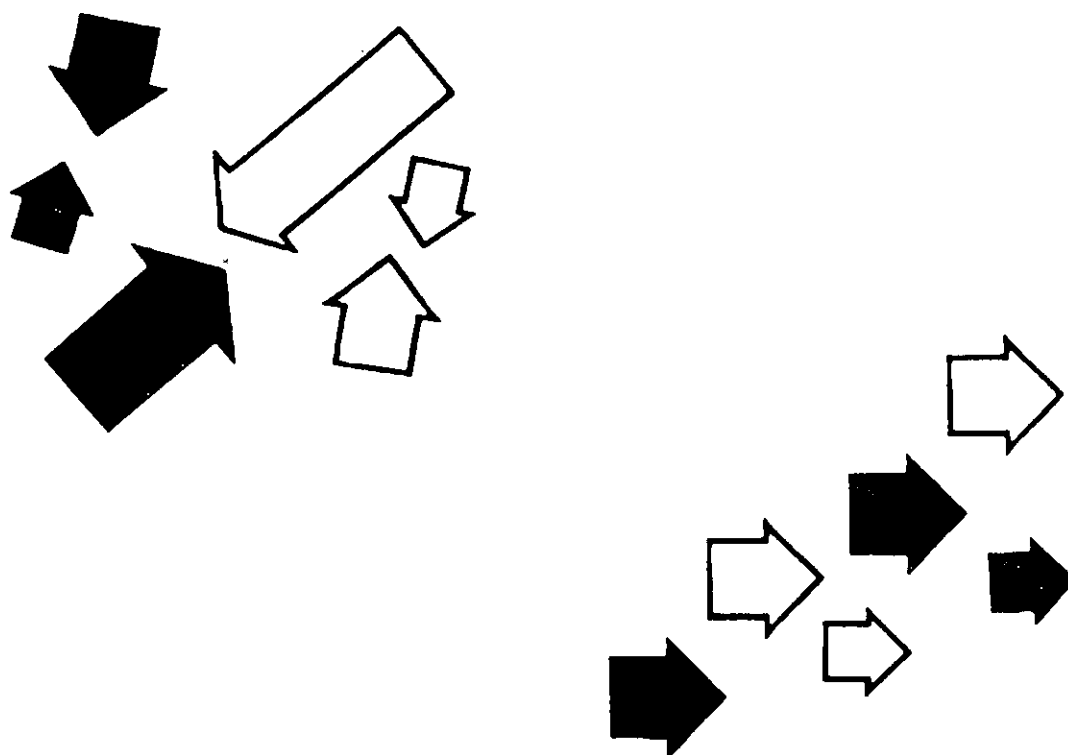
This list of stated feelings is not complete; we have undoubtedly missed many which others could add. It is enough, however, to indicate

a major problem area for black-white relationships within UUA. Any organization with a set of feelings such as this existing in the hearts of its people faces the possibility of encumbrances which might block authentic relationships.

It would be a mistake to allow *concern* about the presence of these feelings "left-over" from the controversy *to become the block*. Emotion and process issues must be focussed in a way which will enable people to deal with substantial issues of racism. There are a great many people in the UUA structures who exhibit skill in knowing how to elicit and respond to these feelings, in knowing how to use them constructively. The basic spirit of wanting to move beyond the past will guide the UUA into new patterns of black-white relationships which facilitate authenticity. The report of the Commission on Appraisal should become a point in time when the UUA *institutionally* moves beyond the Black Empowerment Controversy. Looking forward to that report, we offer the following recommendations:

WE RECOMMEND THAT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT GIVE *MAJOR EMPHASIS* TO IDENTIFYING THE THINGS WHICH HAVE BEEN LEARNED ABOUT HOW TO CREATE MORE AUTHENTIC BLACK-WHITE RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE STRUCTURES OF THE UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION. The *focus* of discussion of the Commission's report should not be on a "rehearsal" of the details of the controversy again, but on what has been learned from it which can be applied to the future.

WE RECOMMEND THAT THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT AND OTHER APPROPRIATELY DESIGNATED INSTRUMENTALITIES PLAN A WAY TO BRING *SYMBOLIC CLOSURE* ON THE FEELINGS LEFT OVER FROM THE BLACK EMPOWERMENT CONTROVERSY.



RESOLUTIONS

During the Audit we examined resolutions which have been passed by the General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association since 1961. They cover a wide variety of issues related to racism, and it is difficult to make many generalizations simply because any generalization can be countered by specific illustrations of their inaccuracy. However, here are some brief observations:

The UUA has not been ignoring the issue of racism in its resolutions. It has consistently included resolutions in the general areas of housing, education, civil rights, and investment policies, confronting each as an issue connected with racism. The grape boycott, the Eastman Kodak dispute with FIGHT, are examples of *specific instances* where the issue of racism has been addressed in resolutions.

BUT --

1. Often the resolutions call for actions which are so generalized that specific "handles" are missing -- it is hard to know exactly what action might be taken.
2. Resolutions are frequently addressed to the "President," "Congress," or "state and local legislatures," and rather infrequently call on the UUA or its structures to fight racism within their own system.
3. Resolutions within familiar areas such as housing, etc., tend to be repetitious from year to year. This may indicate renewed or continued interest, but it may also imply an admission that previous resolutions had little impact, and that ineffective action is simply being reaffirmed. The caution here is to evaluate carefully the effect of one year's resolution before repeating essentially the same thing the next year.

Resolutions have formed an important vehicle for education and action within the UUA. By giving focus and specificity to actions suggested, the resolution process can continue to be an important part of UUA action against racism.

ON CONGREGATIONAL POLITY ARGUMENTS

The UUA's Racism Audit Team recognizes that congregational polity as it functions in and for the Unitarian Universalist Association is one of the cornerstones of a free faith. Erosion of such a cornerstone cannot help but weaken the liberal religious movement, in the long run.

Concern has been expressed -- nonetheless real because it is a minority expression -- that action at UUA headquarters approved by the Board of Trustees carries with it the intent that action be taken by local churches and fellowships, and that such intent strikes a blow at congregational polity.

The Racism Audit Team urges the Board and the Administration, in the implementation of the Team's recommendations for the eradication of the roots of whatever racism may exist within UUA structure, to vigilantly maintain its awareness of the vital role of congregational polity to the continuing health of the Association while at the same time pursuing with determination a course that will make Unitarian Universalism a comfortable religious home for people of color who share liberal religious convictions.

The member congregations of the UUA, accepted the charge in 1963 to declare and practice their faith in the dignity and worth of every person by, in part, welcoming persons of all races and color to full participation within Unitarian Universalism. Yet congregations, in the main, are homogeneous in their whiteness. It is time that the consciences of Unitarian Universalism be catalyzed to renewed action.

Congregational polity arguments will delay action or substitute abstractions for action. We urge a prophetic social stance by the leaders of the Association.

AN IMPERATIVE FOR THE UUA

An *IMPERATIVE* . . .

expresses a command
is mandatory
is obligatory
is compulsory
is authoritative
is peremptory

Those words sound strange in the context of Unitarian Universalism, where one might expect to hear words which "express a conviction" rather than a "command," outline a possible choice rather than a mandate, encourage the exercise of desire rather than obligation, emphasize freedom rather than compulsion, assert relative values rather than define authority, and where little is regarded as "final," "unchallengeable," or peremptory in any way.

Still, the word *IMPERATIVE* is used here to express a stance which it is suggested that the UUA take for its institutional efforts against racism. The word is intended to convey a sense of *URGENCY*; it is an attempt to call forth an uncompromising "vision-statement" of what UUA intends to do in regard to racism. It is a word which will keep UUA restless until the vision is actualized.

The more radical Abolitionists had such an *IMPERATIVE*. They wanted *IMMEDIATE ABOLITION*: immediate -- today -- this hour -- this minute. Nor were they naive in adopting such an uncompromising vision. Remember what William Lloyd Garrison said about that slogan: "We have never said that slavery would be overthrown by a single blow; that it ought to be; we shall always contend." The Abolitionists knew what that slogan meant; it was a vision of what ought to be. As such it never allowed them to be satisfied with anything less than its fulfillment. In fact, it became a part of the Abolitionist program for action. Remember, those people moved that vision to actuality.

In the Civil Rights Movement we had an *IMPERATIVE*: *FREEDOM NOW* we shouted! Not tomorrow -- not partial freedom -- not a bit today and more next week -- but -- *NOW, ALL OF IT, FREEDOM WHICH IS COMPLETE AND INDIVISIBLE!*

The National YWCA a few years ago adopted an *IMPERATIVE* to "eliminate racism wherever it exists and by any means necessary." That is the way the National YWCA stated its intention to work against racism. The UUA may choose a different wording and expression. The intent is that an *IMPERATIVE* will become an expression of an institutional stance which says that work against racism is a fundamental part of UUA's existence.

The *IMPERATIVE* is not a matter of semantics. An *IMPERATIVE* says that work against racism is not just one more program priority among many. To work against racism is more than the definition of another "program priority" because priorities shift with the years and what is today's priority may become tomorrow's forgotten program. An *IMPERATIVE* says that in addressing racism we are talking about an issue which pervades every aspect of our institutional life. Consideration of that *IMPERATIVE* cuts across the entire institution, affects every decision the institution makes, every position it takes, every expression of its being.

An *IMPERATIVE* against racism adopted as an institutional stance for the UUA would signal a long-term, total commitment, involving the institution in an ongoing process of addressing issues of racism in its own life, in its relationship to the society and world in which it exists.

IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THE UUA ADOPT AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF ITS INTENTION TO BE INVOLVED IN WORK AGAINST RACISM AS AN ONGOING IMPERATIVE. Such a statement should outline in broad strokes programmatic ways in which the *IMPERATIVE* is to be implemented.

Opinion Finder -- Instructions

We are trying to find out how UUA employees and persons active in the UUA feel about a number of important issues. We are sure you will find the enclosed Opinion Finder interesting. Many of the issues are among those you have thought about and at times discussed with others. In most instances, there are no "right" or "wrong" answers. The best answer is your personal opinion. In responding to the Opinion Finder, all that we ask is that you:

- a) Read each statement carefully and mark it according to your first reaction. It isn't necessary to take a lot of time for any one question.
- b) Answer every question.
- c) Give your personal point of view. Do not talk the questions over with others.
- d) Be as sincere, accurate, and complete as possible.

The following are statements with which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each one in the left margin, according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement, by using the following scale:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| + 1: slight support, agreement | - 1: slight opposition, disagreement |
| + 2: moderate support, agreement | - 2: moderate opposition, disagreement |
| + 3: strong support, agreement | - 3: strong opposition, disagreement |

I. Employment

- ___ 14. There should be a larger percentage of blacks on the UUA staff.
- ___ 15. The UUA has a poor record of employment of blacks.
- ___ 16. Most UUA churches and fellowships are open to having a minister who is black.
- ___ 17. Ministers who are black should serve only in churches and fellowships comprised predominantly of black people.
- ___ 18. The UUA should adopt an Affirmative Action Plan with goals and time-tables for implementation.
- ___ 19. The UUA has an Affirmative Action Policy.

II. Social Action

- ___ 20. Social action is an important manifestation of religious conviction.
- ___ 21. The controversy over black empowerment in the UUA was beneficial for our Association.
- ___ 22. The UUA should establish and staff an Office of Racial Concern.
- ___ 23. Vending and contracting firms that are owned and operated by blacks should be actively solicited and utilized by the UUA.
- ___ 24. During its decade of growth the UUA should establish new churches in areas which are predominantly Hispanic or black.
- ___ 25. The UUA should take a proactive stand against financial institutions and corporations who do business in South Africa.

- 26. The issue of racism need no longer be a high priority for UUA programming.
- 27. UUA programs should reflect a greater diversity of cultural values and ethnic perspectives.
- 28. The UUA budget reflects a major commitment to racial justice.
- 29. The UUA has supported racial justice programs as consistently as it has supported women's programs.
- 30. The most appropriate role of a church is to serve the needs of people in the community without concern for membership affiliation.
- 31. The UUA should establish and staff an Office of Racial Concerns.
- 32. UUA theological schools should actively recruit black students.
- 33. The UUA has supported racial justice programs as consistently as it has supported gay concerns programs.

IV. Boards/Committees/General Assembly

- 34. The percentage of blacks on UUA boards and committees is now adequate.
- 35. The small number of blacks who hold membership in the UUA is due to classism not racism.
- 36. The UUA profile/structure is flexible enough to incorporate groupings of people of different races.
- 37. Congregational polity is one obstacle to the inclusion of a larger number of blacks in our Association.

In responding to items 38-43, use the following scale to indicate your answer:

- a) 1 percent c) 10 percent e) 20 percent g) greater than 25 percent
b) 5 percent d) 15 percent f) 25 percent

- 38. The proportion of blacks employed at 25 Beacon Street is approximately
 - 39. The proportion of blacks in our churches are fellowships is approximately
- The approximate percentage of blacks in attendance at the General Assembly for the years indicated below was:
- 40. May 1968 (Cleveland)
 - 41. June 1972 (Dallas)
 - 42. June 1976 (Cornell)
 - 43. June 1980 (Albuquerque)

V. Budget Priorities

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| A. Religious Education | D. Racial Justice |
| B. Ministry/Ministerial Services | E. Gay Concerns |
| C. Extension (Growth) | F. Affirmative Action for Women |

For each of the following pairs choose the one to which you would assign the higher budget priority and indicate by placing a checkmark next to your choice. Please do not omit responding to any of the pairs.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| (44) <input type="checkbox"/> Religious Education
<input type="checkbox"/> Ministry/Ministerial Services | (49) <input type="checkbox"/> Ministry/Ministerial Services
<input type="checkbox"/> Racial Justice | (54) <input type="checkbox"/> Religious Education
<input type="checkbox"/> Concerns |
| (45) <input type="checkbox"/> Religious Education
<input type="checkbox"/> Extension (Growth) | (50) <input type="checkbox"/> Extension (Growth)
<input type="checkbox"/> Racial Justice | (55) <input type="checkbox"/> Ministry/Ministerial Services
<input type="checkbox"/> Extension (Growth) |
| (46) <input type="checkbox"/> Religious Education
<input type="checkbox"/> Racial Justice | (51) <input type="checkbox"/> Extension (Growth)
<input type="checkbox"/> Affirmative Action for Women | (56) <input type="checkbox"/> Religious Education
<input type="checkbox"/> Affirmative Action for Women |
| (47) <input type="checkbox"/> Ministry
<input type="checkbox"/> Gay Concerns | (52) <input type="checkbox"/> Racial Justice
<input type="checkbox"/> Gay Concerns | (57) <input type="checkbox"/> Ministry/Ministerial Services
<input type="checkbox"/> Affirmative Action for Women |
| (48) <input type="checkbox"/> Extension (Growth)
<input type="checkbox"/> Gay Concerns | (53) <input type="checkbox"/> Gay Concerns
<input type="checkbox"/> Affirmative Action for Women | (58) <input type="checkbox"/> Racial Justice
<input type="checkbox"/> Affirmative Action for Women |

VI. Social Distance Experience

Of the following items, check all that characterize your personal experience.

- 59. I am (or have been) married to a member of the opposite race.
- 60. I hold membership(s) in clubs to which blacks and whites hold membership.
- 61. The block on which I live in my neighborhood has at least 15 percent of members of the opposite race living there.
- 62. The office in which I work has at least 15 percent of members of the opposite race working there.
- 63. The congregation with which I worship has at least 15 percent members of the opposite race.

Name the opposite race used as your referent _____
(e.g., black, white, etc.)

SUGGESTED READING

The following list of books is intended to provide the reader of this Report with additional background on the subject of racism.

White Over Black, by Winthrop Jordan. Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1968.

A comprehensive history of American attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812, that traces the roots of racist attitudes in England and through the early development of this country.

Confessions of a White Racist, by Larry King. New York, Viking, 1969.

One white person faces his own, and society's racism.

White Racism: A Psychohistory, by Joel Kovel. New York, Vintage, 1970.

Racial prejudice and societal racism are intimately bound with each other, as demonstrated in this scholarly study.

Institutional Racism in America, by Knowles and Pruitt. Englewood Cliffs,

N.J., 1969. A good introduction to the subject of institutional racism and how it functions in several areas of institutional life.

Blaming the Victim, by William Ryan. New York, Vintage, 1971. An

explanation of a rare, germinative idea; namely, the common practice of blaming the victims of racism and poverty rather than society's policies.

White Racism: Its History, Pathology, and Practice, by Barry Schwartz

and Robert Disch. New York, Dell, 1970. An excellent anthology of readings documenting how white racism functions in the United States.

For Whites Only, by Robert W. Terry. Detroit, Eerdmans, 1970. Enables white people to examine their own racism and seek alternatives to it.

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