"It's God's work": A multiple case study of the use of the Bible in the movement to end poverty led by the poor

by

Jessica Chadwick Williams

B.A., Alderson-Broaddus College, 2003
M.S.S.W., Columbia University, 2007
M.Div., Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York, 2007

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Educational Leadership
College of Education

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

2022

Abstract

While the Bible is often used as justification for systems that create and maintain poverty and blame the poor for their poverty, within the movement to end poverty led by the poor the Bible is understood as a liberatory text and a guide to organizing to end poverty. The purpose of this research was to understand how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible in their organizing. The study was grounded in the theories and praxis of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. and situated within the field of social movement learning. Research was conducted using multiple, qualitative case study methodology to research three poor people's organizations within the movement to end poverty led by the poor which were geographically, religiously, and culturally diverse and focused on different key issues in their work to end poverty including, housing and homelessness, tenant rights and immigration, and the right to a living wage and a union. Findings revealed the influence of the local historical, religious, and political contexts on how the organizations engage the Bible. Additionally, the three organizations utilized similar interpretative techniques in engaging with the biblical text, including beginning with the lived experiences of the poor in their communities and the identification and exploration of characters and conditions in the biblical text with parallels to the realities and lived experiences of the poor within the organizations. The findings suggest poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible ideologically, materially, and spiritually through pedagogies analogous to those within the biblical text and through a model of dialectical, pedagogical relationships which include learning, education, organizing, and leadership development.

"It's God's work": A multiple case study of the use of the Bible in the movement to end poverty led by the poor

by

Jessica Chadwick Williams

B.A., Alderson-Broaddus College, 2003
M.S.S.W., Columbia University, 2007
M.Div., Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York, 2007

A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Educational Leadership
College of Education

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

2022

Approved by:

Major Professor
Susan Yelich Biniecki

Copyright

Abstract

While the Bible is often used as justification for systems that create and maintain poverty and blame the poor for their poverty, within the movement to end poverty led by the poor the Bible is understood as a liberatory text and a guide to organizing to end poverty. The purpose of this research was to understand how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible in their organizing. The study was grounded in the theories and praxis of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. and situated within the field of social movement learning. Research was conducted using multiple, qualitative case study methodology to research three poor people's organizations within the movement to end poverty led by the poor which were geographically, religiously, and culturally diverse and focused on different key issues in their work to end poverty including, housing and homelessness, tenant rights and immigration, and the right to a living wage and a union. Findings revealed the influence of the local historical, religious, and political contexts on how the organizations engage the Bible. Additionally, the three organizations utilized similar interpretative techniques in engaging with the biblical text, including beginning with the lived experiences of the poor in their communities and the identification and exploration of characters and conditions in the biblical text with parallels to the realities and lived experiences of the poor within the organizations. The findings suggest poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible ideologically, materially, and spiritually through pedagogies analogous to those within the biblical text and through a model of dialectical, pedagogical relationships which include learning, education, organizing, and leadership development.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Acknowledgements

There were many times in my life when I thought I was not smart enough to pursue, let alone complete a doctorate. I am beyond grateful for the people in my life who believed that I could and told me so, beginning with my family who never doubted my ability to earn a PhD. My mom, Cheri, and dad, Dan, were my first cheerleaders and, despite my skepticism, continue to believe I can do anything I put my mind to. My sisters, Claire and Kolina, and my extended family and in-laws have cheered me on and encouraged me for years. Decades ago, it was friends at the Poverty Initiative (now Kairos Center for Religions, Rights, and Social Justice) who first planted the idea of me pursuing a PhD and it was mentors and colleagues at Central Seminary who nurtured that idea to fruition. I am especially grateful for friends who offer unfailing encouragement and wisdom, especially Angie Barker Jackson and Colleen Wessel-McCoy. Fellow doctoral students Audrey Ayers, Courtney Hoffhines, and Sarah Murray offered an endless supply of laughs, memes, prayers, and encouragement during our journey through our studies. I am beyond grateful for the members of my dissertation committee, Royce Ann Collins, Liz Theoharis, Jeff Zacharakis, and my major professor, Susan Yelich Biniecki, for helping me become a better thinker and writer and for their wisdom and mentorship.

I am also eternally grateful for my leaders, comrades, and friends in the movement to end poverty from whom I have learned so much. Liz Theoharis and Willie Baptist have mentored me and my involvement in this movement almost 20 years. I continue to learn, every day, from leaders and friends like Aaron Scott, Colleen and John Wessel McCoy, Charon Hribar, Adam and Shailly Barnes, Erica Williams, Alix Webb, and Solita Riley. Leaders within the Reading the Bible with the Poor Cohort, Freedom Church of the Poor, and Kansas Poor People's Campaign are my collaborators, comrades, and community. I am thankful that the list of leaders in this

Dedication

To all who are "the least of these," for that is most of us.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

Willie Baptist, a formerly homeless organizer with the National Union of the Homeless and other organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor, often says that the Bible is the only form of mass media that has anything good to say about the poor (Kairos Center, 2021). Yet, the Bible is often used as justification for systems that create and maintain poverty and blame the poor for their poverty (Baptist & Theoharis, 2015; Theoharis, 2017). In fact, throughout history sacred texts of many faiths have been used both to oppress and to liberate. Organizers within the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the United States have called this a battle for the Bible (Theoharis, 2019). Many leaders within the movement have used the Bible, not just for liberatory interpretations, but as a guide toward ending poverty led by the poor (Theoharis, 2017). Leaders in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. use the Bible in their organizing by interrogating, interpreting, and applying Scripture through contextual, liberative study. In so doing they are using the Bible to change the narrative about poverty, to organize local communities and congregations, and to build the leadership of the poor for the movement to end poverty led by the poor and dispossessed (Theoharis, 2017). Yet questions remain among the leaders of poor people's organizations about how to develop other leaders and poor people's organizations to engage the Bible within the organizing of the movement. Therefore, the purpose of this research was to understand how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible in their organizing.

Rationale

In 2019 the Committee on the Budget of the United States House of Representatives held a hearing on "Poverty in America: Economic Realities of Struggling Families" (House Budget

Committee, 2019). They invited poor and dispossessed leaders of the Poor People's Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival (PPC:NCMR) to give testimony. Members of the congressional committee frequently responded to these testimonies with theological and biblical statements. Most were interpretations of scripture that are part of the dominant, hegemonic narrative about poverty and the poor: poverty cannot be ended, the poor ought to work harder to achieve the American dream, and it is the role of the generous wealthy to offer charity to the poor, instead of organizing society to ensure human rights and abundant life for all people. In defending his position that government should not provide a social safety net for the poor, one member of the committee asserted the government is analogous to Caesar in the Scriptures, ruler of an empire who created conditions of poverty, dispossession, and slavery (House Budget Committee, 2019). In contrast, the testifiers offered interpretations of faith and scripture which asserted the agency of the poor and dispossessed in understanding and critiquing neoliberal capitalist systems which have dispossessed most of society and offered a Poor People's Moral Budget for the nation (House Budget Committee, 2019). These leaders asserted themselves as "moral, political, and epistemological agents of large-scale social transformation" (Caruso, 2019, p. 222) and bringers of good news (Baptist & Theoharis, 2015; Theoharis, 2017) who are shifting and shaping the narrative about poverty and the poor.

Though there is recognition among adult education researchers and theorists that faith and spirituality can inspire and motivate participation in social justice causes (Everett, 2018), there is little, if any, research on how social movement actors utilize sacred texts in movement organizing. Additionally, social movement learning researchers have explored "the dialectical relationship between education and learning" within social movements, though not through the lens of how sacred texts are used in such contexts (Atta & Holst, 2020, p. 40). Finally, more

research is needed to explore the pedagogical praxis of "new social subjects…whose simple demands for survival can no longer be met within prevailing capitalist relations" (Holst, 2018, p.87). Exploration of how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible in their organizing, therefore, furthers the field social movement learning.

In spring 2021 I conducted a qualitative pilot case study to explore the overall context of the use of the Bible in poor people's organizations engaged in a social movement to end poverty in the United States. The study participants were leaders in the movement, including some of the testifiers from the 2019 House Budget Committee hearing. The pilot study explored the following questions:

1. How do leaders in the social movement to end poverty in the U.S. describe the context of the movement and the organizations they lead, including:

    a. Poverty, the poor, and a social movement to end poverty?

    b. Their organization(s) within the larger social movement context?

    c. Learning, education, and leadership development in their context?

2. Why and how is the Bible part of the context of the organizing, learning, and leadership development in the movement to end poverty in the U.S.?

The findings showed that leaders embrace a key principle in the movement, *ending poverty is possible,* and one way this is accomplished is through the *pedagogy of the poor*. Embedded within the pedagogy of the poor are the practices of the poor organizing the poor, collectivity, the dialectical relationship of conditions and consciousness, and a focus on leadership development and the leadership of the poor and dispossessed. The use of the Bible in the movement to end poverty is one of many examples of the pedagogy of the poor within the movement (Figure 1).

Further, within the *praxis of the reading the Bible with the poor*, pilot study participants described the complexities of the history of how the Bible and Christianity have been manifest in the U.S., particularly as a tool of oppression by some and as a source of liberation for others. Leaders also described their use of the Bible as an organizing text through an understanding of liberation both *in the Bible* and *with the Bible*. In other words, the pilot study revealed that leaders in the movement to end poverty in the U.S. understand the Bible as a text for liberation and utilize the Bible in their organizing for liberation.

Figure 1 *Fundamental Principles of the Movement to End Poverty*
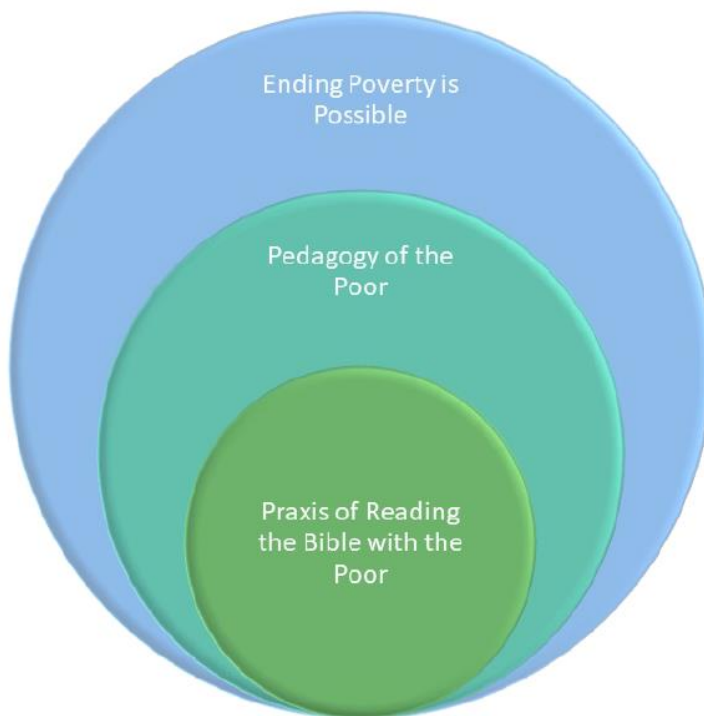
The findings support the rationale for this study. First, in discussing the contradictions of how Christianity and the Bible have been used both to oppress and to liberate, study participants expressed ongoing questions about how to utilize the Bible in the movement in ways that impact both people of deep faith and those who have been oppressed by religion and scripture, though

these are not mutually exclusive. Second, leaders in the movement expressed hope that an in-depth study of poor people's organizations that engage the Bible might provide models and lessons for other organizations in the movement about leadership development and how to use the Bible for the purposes of the poor organizing the poor. They asserted leadership development and political education must occur on multiple levels as there are currently uneven levels of engagement and mastery of the biblical text as an organizing text.

Research Purpose

The pilot study findings, the analysis by leaders in the movement to end poverty of the battle for the Bible, and the gap in the social movement learning literature led to the purpose of this research. The purpose of this research was to understand how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible in their organizing.

Research Questions

The specific questions for this study were:

1. How are poor people's organizations informed by the Bible in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S?

2. How do poor people's organizations use biblical passages to organize in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S.?

    a. How do poor people's organizations interpret biblical passages?

    b. How do poor people's organizations integrate biblical passages into their organizing?

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study was comprised of three elements of organizing to end poverty led by the poor, based on the scholarship and praxis of leaders in the movement (Baptist, 2015; Baptist & Rehmann, 2011b; Barber II, 2020; Barber II & Wilson-Hartgrove,

2016; Caruso, 2019; Theoharis, 2014; Wessel-McCoy, 2017). The concepts, and the praxis that informs and is informed by it, have been developed by leaders and organizations who have been organizing to end poverty in the U.S. for decades (Baptist & Rehmann, 2011b; Caruso, 2019). Adult education literature has applied the term *organic intellectuals* from Antonio Gramsci (Forgacs, 2000) to name the work of social movement leaders in the movement (Caruso, 2019; Holst, 2020b, 2021). Such leaders in social movements have also been identified in the adult education literature as movement-based intellectuals (Holst, 2021) and activist-scholars (Gutierrez & Lipman, 2016; Hale & Calhoun, 2008; Hribar, 2016). The Kairos Center for Religions, Rights, and Social Justice refers to these leaders in the movement to end poverty led by the poor as Poverty Scholars (Baptist & Rehmann, 2011b). Adult education theorists and researchers have utilized the scholarship of some of these leaders, particularly Willie Baptist, to develop theoretical frameworks within the subfield of social movement learning theory and research (Holst, 2021).

There are three interrelated elements situated within the literature and praxis of organizing to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. that guide this inquiry process (Figure 2).

Figure 2 *Elements of the Movement to End Poverty Led by the Poor*

First, the theory of organizing to end poverty begins with an understanding of who are the poor, "why are we poor," and "we *are* the poor" (Edwards, 2018, p. 12, 25). Included is an analysis of the causes of poverty, as well as the lived experiences of the poor and dispossessed as explored in *The Souls of Poor Folks Audit* (Sarkar et al., 2018) which posits there were over 140 million poor and low-income people in the U.S. before the COVID-19 pandemic. The analysis of the audit is undergirded by an understanding of political economy in today's economic and social conditions (Baptist & Theoharis, 2016; Edwards, 2018) and resists narratives that blame the poor for their poverty, instead positing that poverty is the result of unjust structures, laws, and policies that create conditions of poverty in the midst of abundance (Barber II & Wilson-Hartgrove, 2016). Further, practitioners of the concepts of organizing to end poverty declare that ending poverty is possible and all people have "the right to not be poor" (Baptist et al., 2012, p. 1; Hribar, 2016, p. 163).

The second key element within the framework of organizing to end poverty is the poor organizing the poor. The poor organizing the poor embraces six essential and interconnected aspects, including (a) the leadership of the poor and dispossessed, (b) the independent organization of the poor, (c) nonviolence as strategy and tactic, (d) use of a human rights framework, (e) fusion organizing, and (f) moral and biblical organizing. The concept of the poor organizing the poor is both strategic and tactical to counteract the "poverty industrial complex" (University of the Poor, n.d., p. 7) and "poverty pimps" (Caruso, 2019, p. 131) that seek to capitalize from aiding the poor, but not eliminating poverty. Further, the poor organizing the poor is a counter-hegemonic tactic to oppose the dominant ideas that discount the political and moral agency of the poor as leaders (Baptist & Jones, 2019; Caruso, 2019; Theoharis, 2014). According to movement leaders, hegemonic conceptualizations of the political and moral agency of the poor are often found within standard community organizing theories and other theories of poor people's movements (Baptist, 2015). The poor organizing the poor, however,

> require[s] a class consciousness that goes beyond organizing the poor simply and separately based on their different occupation, color, gender, age and ethnic status or 'identity.' It requires a strategic approach to tactics that politically unite the poor and dispossessed as the poor and dispossessed, that is, on the basis of their common needs and demands, based on their common relationship to the economy. (Baptist, 2015, p. 14).

Inherent, then, within the concept of the poor organizing the poor, is the necessity of uniting the poor across lines of division (Baptist et al., 2012; Baptist, 2015; Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a; Jones, 2021b; Shenk, 2021). Divisions, which are hegemonic tools to keep the poor disorganized, are created and maintained by the ruling class (Baptist, 2015). The poor organizing the poor is rooted in the organizing models of the National Welfare Rights Union and National Union of the

Homeless (Baptist & Rehmann, 2011b), foundational organizations for today's movement to end poverty led by the poor.

The third key element within the theory of organizing to end poverty led by the poor is the pedagogy of the poor (Baptist & Rehman, 2011). The pedagogy of the poor in the movement is undergirded by an educational philosophy that embraces dialectics. Specifically, the dialectical relationships of theory and praxis, conditions and consciousness, exposing contradictions, and political education and leadership development are expressed within the theory and praxis of the movement. The core of the leadership development process is to develop the 4 Cs of movement leadership, including clarity, competency, commitment, and connectedness (Baptist & Theoharis, 2011). The elements of organizing to end poverty led by the poor described above have been constructed from the literature and practice of the movement to end poverty led by the poor and provided an appropriate and viable theoretical framework for this research.

Methodological Framework & Methods

Foley (1999) argues that to analyze learning in social movements "one needs to write case studies of learning in struggle, making explanatory connections between the broad political and economic context, micro-politics, ideologies, discourses and learning" (p. 132). Because social movements are, by nature, contextual and the empirical study of social movements is generally bound to a particular period in the movement's trajectory, case study research is commonly used in social movement learning research and provides the methodological framework for this study (Snow & Trom, 2002). Case study research is used to explore or explain how and/or why phenomena occur in a particular real-world context (Yin, 2018). Because the purpose of this study was to understand how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible in their organizing, case

study research was an appropriate methodology for this study. Qualitative case study research was particularly necessary for this research because of the desire for an in-depth understanding (Hays, 2004; Snow & Trom, 2002) of poor people's organizations' engagement with the Bible. Therefore, this qualitative case study was an instrumental, descriptive, multiple case design in which poor people's organizations were the cases for analysis, embedded in the larger context of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S.

Introduction to Researcher Subjectivities and Positionality

I came to this topic because of my lived experiences and my calling as a faith leader within the movement to end poverty led by the poor. This section explores my subjectivities (Roulston & Shelton, 2015) in relationship to why this area of inquiry is important to me, while a later chapter delves into how my subjectivity and positionality intersect with the study's methodology and methods.

I was born into a family of American Baptist pastors who ministered in non-traditional settings. Instead of the congregational pastorate, the three pastors in my family served as ordained directors of neighborhood community centers with programs to serve the poor in their respective communities. The community centers offered worship services but also included feeding programs for seniors, food pantries, after-school programs, sports and recreational activities, and more. As a child I spent most of my time at these community centers, enjoying friendships with the children at the center who represented the diversity of the impoverished communities in which we lived. It was not uncommon for me to be the only white child in an after-school group or on a soccer team sponsored by the centers. These experiences shaped in me, even at a young age, a theology about the role of people of faith in the world. Though we often visited churches or church camps that were evangelical in nature, my parents instilled in us

the ideas of the social gospel (Patterson, 1972) and liberation (Gutierrez, 1971). The pastors in our family taught us critical thinking and reflection (Douglas & Nganga, 2017; Freire, 1970) by encouraging us to ask why there was a need for food pantries and why giving food to a family each week was necessary, but was not addressing the root causes of food insecurity.

We later moved to northwest Pennsylvania which became another step in my process of conscientization (Freire, 1970). Having spent previous years serving families at the centers who had less resources than we did, I did not realize my own family's class status until we moved to a primarily white, working-class city in the deindustrialized rust belt. My new school was situated within a community comprised primarily of union workers at the local plant. At this time, I was exposed to union organizing and strikes, though I did not yet fully understand the power of unions. In this predominately white community, I was one of most students who were part of the free lunch program at the school. As the oldest child of two working parents, it was often my responsibility after school to field calls and visits from utility company representatives during months when we could not afford to pay our outstanding bills. I did not, though, fully grasp the extent of the poverty of our community until I started graduate school.

It was in seminary, in a dual degree program with an Ivy League school, which I could not afford but attended through a combination of scholarships and immense student loans (Williams, 2019) that I began to perceive the inequalities within society more fully. In this time, I realized how the dominant narratives about poverty obscure the questions of who are the poor and why are we poor. During my time in seminary, I helped to establish the Poverty Initiative at Union Theological Seminary which has now grown into the Kairos Center for Religions, Rights, and Social Justice, a co-convening organization for the PPC:NCMR. In the Poverty Initiative I was mentored by leaders who had been involved in the movement to end poverty led by the poor

for decades (Baptist & Theoharis, 2011). It was through these experiences that I came to understand and name my family's experience of homelessness a few years earlier. Through the mentorship and teaching of leaders in the movement I realized our homelessness was caused not by our shortcomings or poor decisions, but by the housing and financial crises of the 2000s. My process of conscientization (Freire, 1970) became a challenge to "the system [which] encourages its victims to blame themselves for their failure to be successful" (Nesbit, 2005, p. 6). I remained involved with the Kairos Center while pastoring churches in New York, Iowa, and Kansas and created children, youth, and adult education programs to expose the members of my congregations to the work of the movement to end poverty led by the poor. Part of my ongoing connection to the movement included my own participation as a Poverty Scholar at the Leadership School of the movement where I co-led Bible studies utilizing the Reading the Bible with the Poor methodology (Theoharis, 2017). I have continued to be part of a collective that is studying, utilizing, developing, and training others in the use and application of this methodology toward our work of ending poverty. The work of building a social movement to end poverty led by the poor is my personal, professional, and vocational calling.

My subjectivities and positionality are the lens through which I approach this qualitative inquiry (Peshkin, 1988). As someone who has experienced poverty and as a faith leader actively organizing with others to end poverty, my experiences uniquely position me as a researcher to study the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S.

Operationalization of Constructs

The operationalization of constructs outlined below were informed by the findings of the pilot study about the context of the movement to end poverty, as well as the scholarship within the movement.

1. *4 Cs of leadership* – The 4 Cs of leadership summarize the pedagogy of the poor that

    seeks to develop and train leaders who are clear, committed, competent, and connected to

    build the movement to end poverty (Baptist, 2015)

    a. *Clarity* – "theoretical education in basic historic principles and analytical tools"

       (Baptist, 2013, n.p.)

    b. *Commitment* – "In its highest and most developed form, the devotion or

       dedication of one's life to building a social movement through uniting and

       developing leaders" (University of the Poor, n.d., p. 3)

    c. *Competent* – "Being in possession of the skill sets, knowledge, qualifications,

       and/or capacity to accomplish what is required. This includes the mastery of the

       art and skills of strategy and tactics, and organizing on both of those levels of

       conflicts including the necessary pedagogical skills" (University of the Poor, n.d,

       p. 3)

    d. *Connectedness* – "The state of being united or joined, often in a network form of

       leaders and/or organizations. Also, the organic ties of leaders to a certain class or

       social strata" (University of the Poor, n.d, p. 3)

2. *Bible* – The organizations within study represent a variety of denominational and cultural

    backgrounds. Therefore, the version of the Bible utilized was contextual and specified

    when participants quoted from a particular version. In a general sense, the Bible consists

    of the Hebrew Scriptures (often referred to as the Old Testament) and the New

    Testament.

3. *Engage the Bible* – To engage the Bible encompasses "a *process* through which you can

    learn, read and learn" (Horton & Freire, 1990, p. 40) to understand and apply the biblical

text. Popular Christian resources make the distinction between engaging versus studying scripture ("Engaging vs. Studying Scripture," 2020) and discuss engagement with scripture as a spiritual discipline (Poe, 2021). In this study, to engage with the Bible includes these understandings as well as Freire's description of discovery through reading, "…I had such an almost physical connection with the text. It was this experience that began to teach me how reading is also an act of beauty because it has to do with the reader rewriting the text. It's an aesthetical event" (Horton & Freire, 1990, p. 27).

4. *Hegemony and Counter-hegemony (Gramsci)* – Hegemony is "the process by which dominant culture maintains its dominant position" (Felluga, 2015, p. 128), which, according to Italian revolutionary Antonio Gramsci, must be countered through a counter-hegemony at the level of ideological struggle (Forgacs, 200).

5. *Leaders in the movement to end poverty* – Leaders in the movement "unite our communities around a common vision and strategy and across lines of division, assess and solve problems, drive and bottom line processes, take initiative and make things happen" and continuously develop other leaders and themselves (Put People First! PA, 2016, p. 1)

6. *Leadership development* – "The systematic process through which leaders are trained and united by other leaders through political (technical and theoretical) and ideological education inseparably connected with individual and social practice" (University of the Poor, n.d., p. 5).

7. *Movement to end poverty led by the poor* – Refers to both the organizations part of the movement which are led by the poor and how the movement itself is led by the poor

8. *Neoliberal capitalist system* – The political-economic projects that emerged globally in the 1970s "to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic elites" (Harvey, 2005, p. 19) largely through practices of "deregulation, privatization, and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision" (Harvey, 2005, p. 2-3). The impact of such systems globally has resulted in an acceleration of "the polarization between wealth and poverty" with many poor and dispossessed peoples unable to have their basic survival needs met (Caruso, 2019, iv).

9. *Organized* – "To overcome the prevailing influence of [institutions of the ruling class], an organization specifically designed to introduce a new class-consciousness so as to unite the poor and dispossessed is needed. This has to be an organization of leaders deeply committed to this strategic unity as the fundamental counter to the strategic vision and maneuvers of global capital." (Baptist, 2015, n.p.)

10. *Political economy* – "answers the question how do we produce and distribute the goods and services necessary to sustain and nurture the life of the population" (University of the Poor, 2019, p. 1)

11. *Political education* – An essential element to organizing the movement to end poverty led by the poor. Education is political when "its primary purpose is to [make] clear the struggles of the poor and dispossessed and the economic and political forces that they are up against" (Baptist & Colangelo, personal communication, 2020).

12. *Poor and dispossessed* – Those who are "property-less in the means of production and exchange, and marginal as a result of the ways in which economic power relationships within society are structured. A social position within society understood in relationship to the rich. The poor today is different from the poor of yesterday, that is, of the slave,

feudal serf, and the industrial pauper. Under the current capitalist system, the poor is different because of the unprecedented microelectronics technological revolution that is bringing about changes in class relations" (University of the Poor, n.d., p. 7)

13. *Poor organizing the poor* - *"*The present indubitable fact is that the ruling class is organized while the class of the poor and dispossessed is deliberately the most disunited and disorganized section of the population. Their organization rests on our disorganization" (Baptist & Colangelo, personal communication, 2020,). Therefore, the poor organizing the poor is the essential strategic element needed to organize a social movement to end poverty led by the poor.

14. *Poor people's organization* – A key tenet of the movement is the unity of the poor, across difference, to become a social force for change (Baptist & Rehmann, 2011b). Grassroots organizations which work toward that tenet are described as poor people's organizations and are organized to be part of the network of such organizations that make up the movement to end poverty led by the poor.

15. *Poverty industrial complex* – The institutions, such as "private charities, foundations, 'community organizations,' the social welfare establishment" and churches, which "divert and prevent or undermine the development of the independent political leadership and self-directed organizations of the poor and dispossessed" (University of the Poor, n.d., p. 7)

16. *Ruling class* – The "corporate capitalist class"(Skærlund Risager, 2016) or "economic elite" (Harvey, 2005, p. 19) consisting of "the private property owners, businesses, multinational corporations, and financial capital" (Harvey, 2005, p. 7) and others who uphold neoliberal capitalist systems. Here, private property owners does not refer to

people who own their own cars and homes, but to those who own the privatized social

goods, services, and natural resources, as well as the means of production and exchange

(Baptist & Theoharis, 2016).

17. *Social movement to end poverty led by the poor* – "Arises from the objective conditions

and consciousness of those conditions. A broad-based network of trained and united

leaders, led by the poor, organized to win the middle of society to the goal of ending

poverty" (University of the Poor, n.d., p. 10). Sometimes referred to in this manuscript as

"the movement."

18. *Uniting the poor* – The action of uniting the poor is employed by leaders in the

movement to end poverty as a strategy to build the movement (Baptist, 2015)

Assumptions

An assumption embedded within my own subjectivity and theology, and therefore

embedded within this research, is the poor and dispossessed are "moral, political, and

epistemological agents of large-scale social transformation" (Caruso, 2019, p. 222). Previous

empirical studies have documented organizations of the poor and dispossessed who assert their

moral, political, and epistemological power (Caruso, 2011, 2019; Holst, 2020a; Theoharis, 2014;

Wessel-McCoy, 2017). I have witnessed this power through my own involvement in the

movement to end poverty led by the poor and through the mentorship of leaders from the ranks

of the poor who are a moral voice with political analysis and solutions, collectively generating

and sharing knowledge for change from the bottom up. Therefore, this study recognizes "the

poor can think for themselves, speak for themselves, organize for themselves, and lead not just

themselves but the entire country towards social transformation" (Baptist, as cited in Caruso,

2019, p. 222).

Delimitations

The study's delimitations included organizations of the poor organizing the poor to end poverty in the U.S., particularly those organizations in which the use of the Bible plays a role within their organizing work and strategy.

Limitations

Through utilizing qualitative case study method, the exploration of the use of the Bible by the poor people's organizations is limited by time. This study captured a snapshot in time of how the Bible is used within these organizations but does not provide a full historical picture of the myriad ways the organizations have used the Bible throughout their organizing history. Further, the study was limited by the amount of access that poor people's organizations provided throughout the course of the study. The organizations are engaged in a fight for the lives of their members and, therefore, the highest priority for the organizations was not participation in this study. Therefore, there was limited access due to the needs of the members and organizations during the study's timeframe.

Significance

This study is significant, however, for the individuals and organizations involved in the study, as well as the larger movement to end poverty led by the poor. The findings and conclusions can impact how poor people's organizations incorporate the Bible in their organizing and expand the lexicon of Bible passages interpreted and applied within the movement. Further, this study provides a resource for organizations within the movement that do not currently use the Bible in their work to see the strategic importance of the role of the Bible in organizing to end poverty.

The study is also significant to the field of adult education and social movement learning through the exploration of the relationship of learning, education, organizing, and leadership development in social movements. Further, this study provides a conceptual framework for social movement learning researchers who study movements of the poor and dispossessed or other movements of new social subjects whose very lives depend on the outcomes of the movements (Holst, 2018). Finally, the research adds to social movement learning research through exploration of sacred texts within social movement learning.

Chapter Summary

Chapter one has introduced the reader to the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. and the rationale for a study to explore how organizations within this movement are using the Bible as part of their organizing. The theoretical framework through which this inquiry was conducted is composed of three intertwined elements that have emerged from leaders of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S.: who are the poor and why are we poor, the poor organizing the poor, and the pedagogy of the poor. Further, this chapter outlined the methodological framework and method of qualitative case study research that was utilized and introduced the reader to the researcher's subjectivities and positionality. Finally, this chapter defined the operational constructs of the inquiry, as well as the delimitations, limitations, and significance of the study.

Subsequent chapters continue to explicate each of the sections outlined in this chapter. Chapter two presents the theoretical framework constructed from the scholarship and practice of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. Then, social movement learning literature is reviewed through the lens of this framework. Chapter three outlines the research paradigm, methodological framework, and research design for this study. Next, chapter four

presents the findings through three single case, descriptive reports and then through cross-case

analysis. Finally, chapter five presents conclusions to be drawn from the research findings.

Chapter 2 - Review of Literature

Chapter two includes a review of the literature in two sections. The first section reviews literature produced within the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S., further elucidating the three elements of the movement introduced in chapter one: (a) who are the poor and why are we poor, (b) the poor organizing the poor, and (c) the pedagogy of the poor. The synthesis of key concepts within the literature, theory, and praxis of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. provides grounding for the construction of the theoretical framework for the study.

The second section of this literature review explores corollary concepts of (a) analysis of conditions, (b) social movement organizing, and (c) learning, education, and organizing within social movement learning literature. Figure 3 shows the side-by-side corollaries of the concepts within the movement to end poverty led by the poor and the social movement learning (SML) literature. I review the SML literature within the field of adult education for empirical studies related to each of the three corollary concepts. Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion of how the SML literature is related to the theoretical framework of the movement to end poverty led by the poor, identifying areas of similarities, as well as gaps within the SML literature to which this research contributes.

Figure 3 *Concepts in the Movement to End Poverty Led by the Poor and SML Literature*
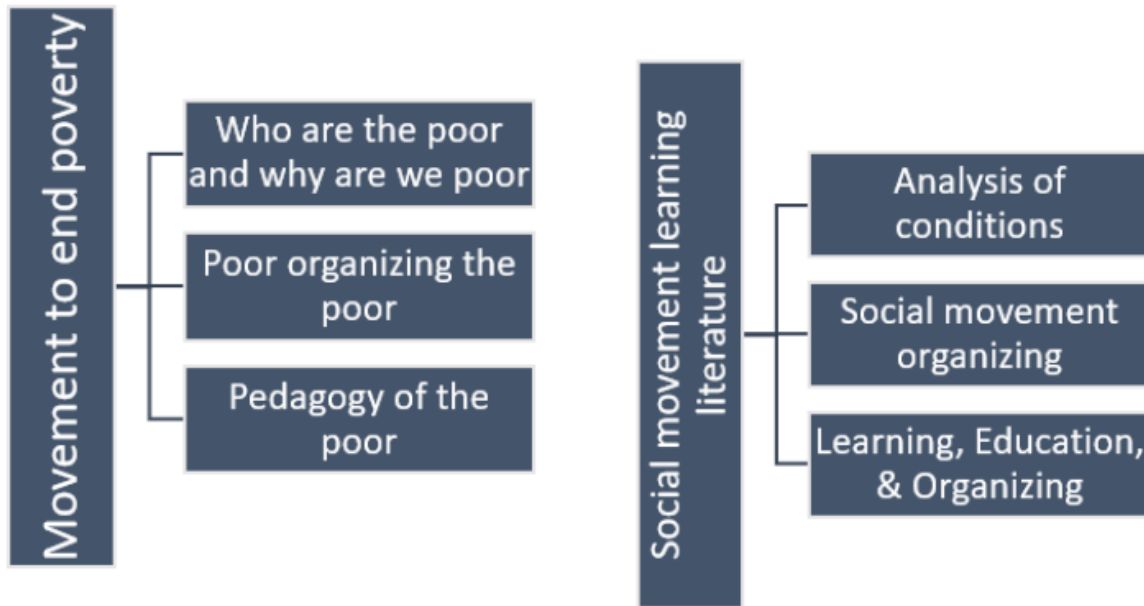
Together the constructed theoretical framework and the concepts from SML research constitute the lens through which to understand how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible in their organizing.

Theoretical Framework

Leaders within the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the United States have produced scholarship, research, pamphlets, training documents, videos, blogs, and more which outline the theories and practices that guide the movement. This review of the literature of the movement describes these theories and practices within three main elements: (a) who are the poor and why are we poor, (b) poor organizing the poor, and (c) pedagogy of the poor. These interrelated elements are developed, studied, and applied by leaders within the movement. Therefore, these are not simply theoretical concepts, but the result of movement praxis. Undergirding each are both theory and practice of the leaders in the movement. This section

explores the literature produced by leaders in the movement and emphasizes both the theory and the practice embedded within each of the three concepts, beginning with a summary understanding of the movement to end poverty led by the poor.

Defining a Movement to End Poverty Led by the Poor

The purpose of the movement which has developed the theory and praxis within which this study is framed is to build "a broad social movement to end poverty, led by the poor and dispossessed as a social force united and organized across color lines and other lines of division" (Baptist et al., 2012, p. 9). While many skeptics or critics question the ability to end poverty, leaders in the movement respond that at one time slavery was a system which was so embedded into the culture and systems of this country that it was believed it could not be ended; yet it was (University of the Poor, 2021). Leaders in this movement contend it is only through the uniting and leadership of the poor and dispossessed as a social force for transformational change and political power that poverty can be abolished because it is the poor and dispossessed who have the least stake in the status quo (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a; Baptist & Rehmann, 2011b; Hribar, 2016). As Baptist and Theoharis (2011) explain, the leadership of the poor consists of two interlocking aspects.

> History teaches us that this leadership is twofold: (1) The unity of the leading social force for social change; that is, a unity on the basis of needs and demands incompatible with the status quo. And (2) systematically educated and trained core(s) of leaders sufficiently connected, clear, competent, and committed to enlighten and organize the leading social force. (Baptist & Theoharis, 2011, p. 161)

The movement to end poverty is built upon other movements for freedom in the U.S., particularly the Poor People's Campaign of 1968, which Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King called "a

non-violent army, a freedom church of the poor" (King, Jr, 1967, para. 17). The following

sections continue to explicate the important concepts within the theory and praxis of building a

movement to end poverty led by the poor, beginning with the understanding of who are the poor

and why we are poor.

Who are the Poor and Why are We Poor

Empirical research conducted in 2018 by the PPC:NCMR in partnership with the Institute

for Policy Studies found there were 140 million poor people in the United States at that time

(Sarkar et al., 2018). The study also found that almost half of the U.S. population is just one

$400 emergency away from poverty. Such emergencies can come in the form of health needs,

accidents, disasters, layoffs, and more. Almost 80% of the population in the U.S. will experience

poverty during their lifetime (Edwards, 2018). Further, movement leaders contend the COVID-

19 pandemic has both revealed and worsened the economic conditions of many in this country,

while further exposing inequities (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021b; Shenk, 2021). For example, in

the midst of the pandemic, the wealth of billionaires in the United States rose 63% while over 86

million Americans lost their jobs (Collins, 2021). Those experiencing poverty in the United

States cross every gender, racial and ethnic, political, and geographical boundary. White

communities experience poverty in the highest absolute numbers, while communities of color

continue to experience the highest poverty rates (Sarkar et al., 2018).

Leaders in the movement to end poverty led by the poor describe those affected by

economic inequality as the *poor and dispossessed*. Dispossessed was a term also utilized by Rev.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1968) to describe those within society who do not own that which

produces economic capital, but instead must work for those who own that which produces

economic capital. Those who are not dispossessed are those who own the oil fields and the water

(Baptist & Theoharis, 2016) and today are those who own the means of production in the

technological revolution (Baptist, 2015; Baptist & Wider, 1999). According to leaders in the

movement, the increasing globalization of neoliberal capitalist systems has produced poverty in

the midst of abundance as more and more are poor or dispossessed, while wealth and the means

to produce wealth is concentrated among the few (Baptist et al., 2012; Baptist, 2015; Hribar,

2016). The accumulation of capital by dispossession (Caruso, 2019; Hribar, 2016) has produced

a class of people in the U.S. today who experience poverty and dispossession in a qualitatively

different way than the poor of the past (Baptist, 2015). As leaders Willie Baptist and Liz

Theoharis write:

> The socio-economic position of the low waged, laid off, and locked out is not that of the
>
> industrial poor, the slave poor, or of the colonial poor of yesterday. The new poor
>
> embody all the major issues and problems that affect the majority of other strata of the
>
> country's population. That is, they embody the worst problems of racial and gender
>
> inequality, ecological devastation, war and peace. This social position of the poor gives
>
> them the least stake in the economic status quo. And given the current economic and
>
> political direction of society, this position of the poor anticipates the position of the mass
>
> of the population. Poverty is devastating me today. It can hit you tomorrow. (Baptist &
>
> Theoharis, 2016, "Race, Poverty, Automation" section)

Similarly, the National Union of the Homeless has long used the phrase, "most people are just

one paycheck or healthcare crisis away from poverty and homelessness" (Baptist, 2015, p. 19).

Simply put, the movement defines the poor and dispossessed as those who cannot get what they

need to survive, which is an increasingly growing segment of society. Beyond the lives impacted

by such conditions, leaders proclaim the very "heart and soul of our democracy" (Sarkar et al., 2018, p. 18) is at stake due to the growing polarity between the wealthy and the poor.

The movement's understanding of the poor and dispossessed, therefore, constitutes a class analysis of the conditions of society. Drawing upon the analysis of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in the last years of his life, movement leaders operate within a theory and praxis that does not label the poor as an identity group, but instead defines classes by "their economic role in society" (Edwards, 2018, p. 6). Through a class analysis, movement leaders explain the growing poverty of most in the midst of immense abundance held by a few as an example of David Harvey's "accumulation by dispossession" (Caruso, 2011, p. 26; Hribar, 2016, p. 4). In other words, as neoliberal capitalist policies have been implemented and the technological and information age has accelerated, capital becomes concentrated among the few while more and more become poor and dispossessed. As movement leaders explain, growing poverty in the midst of abundance is not an anomaly of the global neoliberal capitalist system or a blip due to circumstances such as the global COVID-19 pandemic (Baptist & Theoharis, 2016). Instead, it is a direct result of the system working as it is designed to do (Kell, 2020). Therefore, poverty and dispossession are forms of structural violence (Hribar, 2016) that can and must be ended, to kill the system before it kills the poor and dispossessed and others who will join their ranks (Jones, 2021b).

The analysis utilized by leaders in the movement to end poverty led by the poor, though, is not the dominant analysis of who is poor and why poverty exists in the U.S. Instead, movement leaders contend, there are hegemonic narratives about poverty that dominate the American consciousness and obscure an accurate analysis of who is poor and why we are poor (Baptist, 2015; Baptist et al., 2020). Such narratives hide the realities of poverty, keeping the

poor disorganized and disunited, to maintain the systems of global neoliberal capitalism which creates poverty and dispossession (Wessel-McCoy, 2021). Movement leaders have studied and taught about these hegemonic narratives by distilling them into three categories of false theories of poverty which perpetuate the system (Poverty Initiative, 2008; Wessel-McCoy, 2021), based upon the work of Goldsmith and Blakely (2010) . These false theories of poverty include, poverty as accident, culture of poverty, and poverty as the will of God or a higher power (Poverty Initiative, 2008).

These false narratives of how and why poverty exists and who it affects are rooted within a global neoliberal capitalist system embodied through practices of deregulation and privatization of social goods and services (Caruso, 2019; Hribar, 2016). Each of these false narratives of poverty includes a focus on faults and choices of an individual, instead of the systems which create poverty (Hribar, 2016). According to movement leaders, reducing the causes of poverty to the individual level has the effect of focusing on poverty and the poor as an identity issue instead of understanding how poverty is created as a result of our economic and political system (Baptist, 2015; Edwards, 2018). When poverty is viewed as an individual issue, instead of a social issue, the ruling class is also able to use "divide and conquer tactics" (Put People First! PA, 2016, para. 1; C. Wessel-McCoy, 2017, p. 64) to keep the poor and dispossessed fighting among themselves (Baptist, 2010; Baptist & Theoharis, 2016; Edwards, 2018; Wessel-McCoy, 2017). Further, the federal poverty line and narratives based upon it, reduce poverty to income inequality instead of acknowledging the many ways that poverty and dispossession is manifest (Baptist & Theoharis, 2016), particularly through debt (Sarkar et al., 2018). The effect of greatly reducing the number of people seen as poor obscures the realities of

the neoliberal capitalist system and the poverty it creates in the midst of vast wealth (Hribar, 2016).

The movement to end poverty led by the poor works to overcome these dominant false narratives of poverty by developing leaders' clarity, competency, commitment, and connectedness through class analysis, class organization, and class struggle (Baptist, 2010, 2013). Such leadership development is accomplished through the poor organizing the poor, specifically through building independent organizations of the poor, led by the poor. These theories and practices of the movement to end poverty led by the poor are explored next.

Poor Organizing the Poor

In their study of history and previous social movements, the leaders of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. have discerned the necessary stages of building a social movement, comparing it to the construction of a house (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021b). In this analogy, the strategic blueprint for building a social movement begins first with laying the foundation and establishing the infrastructure through educating and training leaders. Subsequent stages are iterative, not linear, and consist of uniting the leading force (the poor and dispossessed) and winning the middle. This image of the stages of building a movement provides the strategic blueprint for the movement to end poverty led by the poor guided by, "our mission to unite and organize the poor…to raise their consciousness of their social position, shared across borders and lines of difference, thereby giving them greater mass influence and impact" (Baptist, 2010, p. 263). The poor organizing the poor, then, is how these stages are implemented within this movement and is explored in this section.

The Johnnie Tillmon Model

In 1963 Johnnie Tillmon, a poor black woman, founded the Aid to Needy Children (ANC) Mothers Anonymous to organize other poor mothers in the Los Angeles area (Caruso, 2019; Wessel-McCoy, 2017). Her leadership continued through the backdrop of the Watts rebellion a couple years later (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021b). ANC was connected to the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) of which Tillmon became the president of in 1967. Tillmon led the NWRO through a time of strategic debate on how the organization would be led (Baptist & Rehmann, 2011c). In the face of opposition from so-called experts, Tillmon insisted on two key elements for the direction of NWRO: the leadership of the poor and establishing an independent organization of the poor (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021b; Baptist & Rehmann, 2011c; Caruso, 2019; Wessel-McCoy, 2017). The combination of these elements have become known in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. as the Johnnie Tillmon model of the poor organizing the poor (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021b; Caruso, 2011). The Tillmon model has been utilized by subsequent organizations in the movement including the National Union of the Homeless in the 1980s and '90s and other poor people's organizations in the movement today (Baptist & Rehmann, 2011b; Caruso, 2019). Caruso (2019) situates this model within Paulo Freire's (1970) theory and praxis of knowledge production for social change, developed by those most impacted by injustice. The key elements of the Johnnie Tillmon model of the poor organizing the poor are explored next.

Leadership of the Poor. When organizing for the Poor People's Campaign of 1968, just before his assassination, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King said at the Massey Lectures,

> The dispossessed of this nation — the poor, both white and Negro — live in a cruelly
> unjust society. They must organize a revolution against the injustice, not against the lives

of the persons who are their fellow citizens, but against the structures through which the

society is refusing to take means which have been called for, and which are at hand, to

lift the load of poverty…There are millions of poor people in this country who have very

little, or even nothing, to lose. If they can be helped to take action together, they will do

so with a freedom and a power that will be a new and unsettling force in our complacent

national life. (King, Jr, 1968, p. 59-60)

In other words, the poor and dispossessed have the least stake in maintaining the status quo of an

economic system that is killing them and, therefore, they have the most stake in killing the

system (Jones, 2021b). While so-called experts, economists, and "poverty pimps" (Caruso, 2019,

p. 131) have long tried to control efforts to alleviate poverty, it is only those who have nothing to

lose, but everything to gain who must be at the forefront of leading such a movement (Baptist,

2010; Baptist & Colangelo, 2021b; Baptist & Wider, 1999; Theoharis, 2014). For example, the

National Up & Out of Poverty Now Bill of Rights, written in 1989 by leaders in the National

Union of the Homeless, states:

The history of this country is replete with examples of social problems being brought to a

successful conclusion only when led by those Americans most victimized by the

problems. British colonialism was defeated under the leadership of those who were

victimized by colonialism. American slavery was abolished with the heroic efforts of

slaves and former slaves in the forefront of the struggle. The fight for women's suffrage

was successfully led by women. The same was true of the 1930's strikes for union rights

and the 1960's movement for civil rights. Those who benefit, if only so slightly, from the

economic status quo cannot successfully vanguard social change no matter how good

their intentions. Those in pain know when their pain is relieved. (as cited in Baptist &

Wider, 1999, p. 2)

Therefore, leaders in the movement to end poverty, including Johnnie Tillmon herself, uphold the necessity of the leadership of the poor and dispossessed to organize a movement for broad scale social change.

The centrality of the leadership of the poor and dispossessed in building a movement to end poverty is also a moral and strategic declaration of the agency of the poor. As Jones (2021) explains, the poor are often spoken for, but the poor have inherent dignity and worth as individuals made in the image of God. Further, the leadership of the poor is a strategic counter-narrative to the false narratives of poverty that blame, denigrate, patronize, and criminalize the poor because it is an expression of "the revolutionary moral, political, and epistemological agency of the poor" (Caruso, 2019, p. 106).

Leaders, including leaders from the ranks of the poor to end poverty, are not born, but must be developed (Baptist, 2010, 2013; Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a; Baptist & Wider, 1999). Placing a poor person in leadership just because they are poor is built on an understanding of identity politics, instead of an understanding of the development of leaders through exploration of conditions and consciousness (Caruso, 2019). Conversely, the leadership of the poor is manifest in two ways within this movement. First, the movement is led by the needs and analysis of the poor as a united, organized, social force (Theoharis, 2014). For example, emphasis is placed on "social networks and organizations of the poor as important for social change, rather than having the poor solely come together for mass mobilizations or as mascots for particular issues" (Theoharis, 2014, p. 89). In this way the movement can and must include those not from the ranks of the poor, sometimes called the not-yet poor or those not currently experiencing

poverty (Baptist & Theoharis, 2011). A strategic goal of the movement is to move the middle strata of society to see that they have more in common with the bottom strata than with the top (Baptist, 2015).

The second way the leadership of the poor is manifest is the through the identifying and developing of individual leaders from the ranks of the poor and dispossessed to continue to build and lead in the movement (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a; Baptist & Rehmann, 2011c; Baptist & Theoharis, 2011; Jones, 2021b). Identifying and developing individual leaders is connected to the above concept of the agency of the poor because the leadership of the poor is a necessary component of uniting the poor as a social force to build power, not pity (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021b) and change the system that is creating poverty and dispossession. Movement leaders cite the theories of Italian revolutionary, Antonio Gramsci (Baptist et al., 2020; Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a; Hribar, 2016) who stated:

> They would be generals without an army, but in reality, it is easier to create an army than to create generals. It is equally true that an already existing army is destroyed if the generals disappear, while the existence of a united group of generals, trained to work together, in agreement among themselves, with common ends, is not slow to form an army even where none exists. (Gramsci, 1999, p. 360)

Assuring there are many leaders ("generals" in Gramsci's terms), is, also, strategic in that the movement cannot be killed if one leader is taken down (Baptist & Wider, 2000).

The first step in the development of leaders is through "panning for gold" (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a, p. 2). Through organizing activities, those who show a desire to commit to the movement emerge. There are various ways, then, that leaders are developed, guided by the 4 Cs of clarity, competency, commitment, and connectedness (Baptist, 2013). How leaders are

developed to embody these 4 Cs of leadership is part of the leadership development process that finds expression within the pedagogy of the poor and is explored in a later section. The next section continues the exploration of the Johnnie Tillmon model of the poor organizing the poor through the second key element, the independent organization of the poor.

    Independent Organization of the Poor. While some might have agreed on the need of the leadership of the poor in theory, how that manifested in practice became a point of contention within the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO). Tillmon insisted on an independent organization of the poor, free from the money, resources, and directives of so-called poverty experts (Baptist & Rehmann, 2011c; Caruso, 2019; Wessel-McCoy, 2017). Tillmon's model, to build the power of the organized poor, was in direct opposition to the Saul Alinsky style of community organizing which essentially limited the leadership of the poor to local, community concerns, addressing only what is "winnable" (Baptist & Rehmann, 2011c; Caruso, 2019). Such an approach often results in the poor and dispossessed settling for concessions instead of a change in power structure. Piven and Cloward (1979), who worked for a time with the NWRO, developed their model of poor people's organizing in direct contradiction to the Alinsky model (Baptist & Rehmann, 2011c). The Piven and Cloward model essentially utilized the poor, particularly the women in NWRO, for agitation and mobilization, but not in organizational leadership. In other words, for Piven and Cloward, the poor were bodies to be mobilized, but lacked the social and economic resources needed to build an organization (Caruso, 2019; Wessel-McCoy, 2017). Tillmon's model, however, positioned the poor as generals of their own nonviolent army, capable of leading their own, independent organizations to build power as a social force (Baptist & Rehmann, 2011c; Caruso, 2019; Wessel-McCoy, 2017). Tillmon's model was studied and replicated by the National Union of the Homeless in the 1980s and 1990s who

developed the slogan "Power grows from organization … Freedom is never given. It must be taken. And, therefore, you only get what you are organized to take!" (Baptist, 2015, p. 58-59), which exemplifies the Johnnie Tillmon model of the independent organization of the poor.

Poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty today continue to analyze and replicate Tillmon's model, and others like it, which centralize the leadership of the poor in an independent organization of the poor. In the spring and summer of 2021, the *University of the Poor Journal* published a series of articles solely on the political independence of the poor as essential for building a movement to end poverty led by the poor (Algood, 2021; Caruso & Garland-Olaniran, 2021; Jones, 2021b). Because the poor and dispossessed are strategically disorganized and disunited by the ruling class (Baptist et al., 2020; Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a), this type of politically independent organization of the poor is necessary to build the power of the poor as a united social force. In a transcribed conversation with other leaders in the movement Willie Baptist states,

> The main positive lesson here for our survival struggles today is that we must focus strategically on the actual organization of that section of society that has the least ties to capital. Those who are the most oppressed and exploited by capital. Building that organization is the only basis of real independent politics of Wall Street, the ruling class. (University of the Poor, 2021, p. 4)

Movement leaders insist it is only the organization of the poor and dispossessed as a social force led by the poor that can build the power of the poor and dispossessed to challenge the power of the ruling class. It is through independent organizations led by the poor that poor and dispossessed leaders have put forward solutions to ending poverty, through both local manifestations (Caruso, 2011) and on a national level (Gupta Barnes et al., 2019). The Poor

People's Moral Budget, for example, offers a way for the U.S. to pay for the demands put forward by the PPC:NCMR through investments in democracy, equal protections under the law, domestic tranquility, an equitable economy, the future, the planet, and peace and the common defense (Gupta Barnes et al., 2019). Further concepts and tactics used by the poor and dispossessed to organize a movement to end poverty led by the poor are explored next.

Theory and Tactics of Nonviolence

A fundamental principle of the PPC:NCMR, a current organizing campaign within the movement to end poverty led by the poor, is a commitment to nonviolence (*Poor People's Campaign*, n.d.). All those participating in direct action, specifically civil disobedience, with PPC:NCMR must sign onto and be trained in nonviolent direct action. Nonviolence in social movements can sometimes be reduced to a moral stance about violence (Wessel-McCoy, 2017). The movement to end poverty led by the poor, building on the strategy and tactics of other movements of the poor and dispossessed, utilizes nonviolence as both a moral theory and an important tactic. Wessel-McCoy (2017) explains the dialectical relationship of nonviolence as moral theory and strategic tactic in exploring Martin Luther King Jr.'s theology and ethics in organizing for the Poor People's Campaign of 1968. The strategy of utilizing nonviolence as a moral notion and a tactical consideration is part of the work of the poor organizing the poor in the movement to end poverty today. Leaders in the movement further embrace the concept of nonviolence by identifying the violence inherent in policies and structures that create poverty (Hribar, 2016).

Human Rights Framework

The United Nations Universal Declaration of Humans Rights was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, but the United States "has only partially and selectively

embraced these rights, ignoring international obligations and widening the gap between the United States'....promise and its own current practice" (American Civil Liberties Union, n.d., p. 1). Utilizing a human rights framework is one of the key tactics used by various organizations within the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. (Baptist et al., 2012; Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a; Baptist & Theoharis, 2011). Poor people's organizations have documented and exposed the contradictions inherent within the United States' lack of full implementation of the Declaration of Human Rights and have utilized a human rights framework as a strategic and tactical guide to organizing the poor and dispossessed (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a; Baptist & Theoharis, 2011; Caruso, 2019). In recent years, the human rights declarations have been summed up into a simple framework for organizing the poor: the right to not be poor (Baptist et al., 2020, p. 1; Hribar, 2016, p. 163). The human rights framework continues to guide the work of the poor organizing the poor throughout the various organizational and tactical forms taken by the leaders of the movement.

Fusion Organizing

For the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S., the uniting of the poor and dispossessed is essential to the work of the poor organizing the poor (Baptist, 2015). Such unity is needed both in local organizations and as a movement to unite local struggles (Algood, 2021). According to Baptist (2021), the poor are the most disorganized social group. Therefore, to end poverty and its interlocking injustices, unity is necessary. An ongoing threat to such unity is white supremacy and systemic racism (Baptist et al., 2020; Sarkar et al., 2018; University of the Poor, n.d.). These evils are embedded in the history of the U.S. and continue to be exploited by those who benefit from the status quo (Baptist et al., 2020). Other lines of division that cause disorganization are created and perpetuated by the ruling class and include race, ethnicity,

nationality, language, issue, identity, geography, political party, religion, and more (Baptist, 2010; Baptist et al., 2012; Baptist, 2015; Barber II & Wilson-Hartgrove, 2016; Barnes, 2020; Caruso, 2011; Jones, 2021b). Baptist et al. (2020) elaborate on how the history of institutionalized racism in the U.S. benefits the ruling class.

> Our country's history is based on the slaughter of Native Americans, slavery of African Americans, exploitation of Hispanic and Asian Americans, with many more examples. Out of this history of racial oppression, inequality, and discrimination has evolved a major social construct for social control. Racism and white supremacy that are derived from this construct are not innate attitudes but have long been bought and paid for by and in the interests of the rich ruling class. Although poor whites and other sections of working class whites have been unwitting tools of race, hatred, and white supremacy, today the material white skin privileges are being consumed in layoffs, foreclosures, and evictions. The rulers and their representatives have historically, strategically, and tactically used the initialization of racial prejudice mistrust and the vanity of white supremacy as narratives and devices to prevent unity among the poor and dispossessed, turning them against each other. Drawing from the analysis in W.E.B. Du Bois's Black Reconstruction, we can call this form of divide and conquer, 'Plantation Politics.' (Baptist et al., 2020, p. 20)

Fusion organizing, the uniting poor and dispossessed, is a direct counter to the divide-and-conquer strategy of the ruling class (Hribar, 2016). Organizing across lines of division, fighting white supremacy and systemic racism as well as other areas of difference used to divide the bottom, is also referred to in the movement as fusion organizing (Barber II & Wilson-Hartgrove, 2016). Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. illustrated this in his last speech.

You know, whenever Pharaoh wanted to prolong the period of slavery in Egypt, he had a

favorite, favorite formula for doing it. What was that? He kept the slaves fighting among

themselves. But whenever the slaves get together, something happens in Pharaoh's court,

and he cannot hold the slaves in slavery. When the slaves get together, that's the

beginning of getting out of slavery. (King, Jr, 1968c, para. 16)

Movement leader Nijmie Dzurinko asserts "everyday we're not organizing the working class, as

a class, united across lines of division, is a day we're losing ground" (Baptist & Colangelo,

2021a, p. 1). Fusion organizing, therefore, is an integral and essential element to the poor

organizing the poor. It is "the beginning of the ending of poverty" (Baptist et al., 2012, p. 10).

Moral and Biblical Organizing

The imperative for a moral and biblical basis of the poor organizing the poor extends

from an understanding of the mental terrain at play within U.S. history and the current landscape

(Baptist et al., 2020). Leaders in the movement to end poverty led by the poor understand mental

terrain in the context of Gramsci's concepts of hegemony and the war of position (Forgacs,

2000) as the necessary battlefield on which to fight the ideology of the ruling class (Baptist et al.,

2020). Baptist et al. (2020) have described mental fortresses within the mental terrain of ruling

ideas in the U.S. which must be confronted and contested. Mental fortresses are "deeply held

values and views established largely through people's upbringing, past and present experiences,

and the country's educational institutions, media systems, and other cultural outlets" (Baptist et

al., 2020, p. 13). Mental fortresses often perpetuate systems of poverty and false narratives about

who is poor and why we are poor, as well as blame the poor for their poverty. Therefore, a

movement to end poverty led by the poor must confront and contest these mental fortresses

through moral and biblical organizing (Baptist et al., 2020).

The poor organizing the poor utilizes a moral framework to declare "the right to not be poor" (Baptist et al., 2012, p. 1; Hribar, 2016, p. 163). In drawing upon treasured historical documents and narratives of the United States, leaders in the movement to end poverty led by the poor expose contradictions in the ideals the country espouses and the conditions in which its people actually live. Such documents and narratives include use of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United States Constitution, as well as "cultural, religious, and patriotic symbols, songs, and slogans" (Baptist et al., 2020, p. 24). For example, John Wessel-McCoy (2020) teaches the history of organizing in the U.S. through singing the verses used over time in the Battle Hymn of the Republic. The song and accompanying text become, then, a lesson not just in a history of organizing, but also in utilizing the nation's own history and declared values it is not living up to today to expose injustices. Using such resources brings legitimacy and credibility to the movement and to leaders from the ranks of the poor who are often degraded and blamed for their poverty (Baptist et al., 2020).

Likewise movement leaders have identified religion is as a mental fortress and the Bible as one aspect of contested mental terrain throughout history and today (Baptist et al., 2020). While the Bible is often used to justify poverty, just as it was used to justify slavery, movement leaders state it is the only form of mass media that has anything good to say about the poor (Theoharis, 2014, 2017; Theoharis & Baptist, 2015). "Throughout US history, religion, particularly the Judeo-Christian faith, has played contradictory roles: 1) as a means of legitimizing the status quo and 2) as a means of protest and liberation" (Baptist et al., 2020, p. 18). The pilot study revealed the contested mental terrain as a key theme among leaders in the movement to end poverty who use the Bible within their organizing. They have called this contested terrain "the battle for the Bible" (Theoharis, 2019, para. 2). The battle for the Bible is

not new to the current expression of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. but was influenced and inspired by historical movements that have also encountered and contested the use of the Bible to maintain systems of injustice (Theoharis, 2017; Wessel-McCoy, 2017; Williams & Yelich Biniecki, 2021). These movements in U.S. history include the anti-slavery movement, social gospel movement, Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and the Poor People's Campaign of 1968 (Williams & Yelich Biniecki, 2021).

From an understanding of the battle for the Bible, emerged the reading the Bible with the poor methodology as a form of both organizing and educating in the movement (Theoharis, 2014, 2015a, 2015b, 2017; Theoharis & Baptist, 2015; Williams & Yelich Biniecki, 2021). Reading the Bible with the Poor has become "an important resource for combating the theologies that divide, alienate, and shame poor people, and for developing the positive potential of religions to inspire and invigorate social movements" (Theoharis, 2015a, p. 19). Theoharis (2014, 2015, 2017) has written extensively on her work in developing this methodology with other leaders in the movement and describes five important strategies used in reading the Bible with the poor, including:

> (a) a critical reading of both the text [through empire-critical studies] and the context (historically and contemporarily), (b) critical engagement with communities in struggle, especially the organized poor, (c) the approach to the Bible as a whole text concerned with poverty, (d) a focus on the two key concepts of human rights and a critique of charity, and (e) a liberative ethics of interpretation. (Theoharis, 2015a, p. 19)

Through use of the reading the Bible with the poor methodology, leaders in the movement assert Jesus was a poor man who led a social movement (Theoharis et al., 2019), clearly confronting

the contested territory and mental fortress of the contradictory forms of religion in the U.S

(Theoharis & Baptist, 2015).

Moral and biblical organizing is a necessary strategy in the movement, both because of

the contested mental terrain and, also, for lifting up the moral agency of the poor and

dispossessed as movement leaders (Theoharis, 2015a). Further, it is the faith and faith traditions

of the poor and dispossessed that have compelled leaders in the movement to explore and

express the liberative aspects of their faith (Alston, 2009). Such a connection of personal piety

and social action has long been embedded within movements for social change in the U.S.

(Williams & Yelich Biniecki, 2021).

Finally, it should be mentioned, as Willie Baptist often points out, morality itself is not a

strategy for social change (Baptist, 2013; Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a; Holst, 2018). In other

words, it is not enough to be morally right when up against the social force of the ruling class

because "this enemy doesn't give a damn about our morality nor the ethics of our demands"

(Baptist & Colangelo, personal communication, October 8, 2020). Reducing strategy to morality

will not be successful. Instead, moral and biblical organizing are elements of a larger strategy of

the poor organizing the poor, as has been outlined in this section and represented in Figure 4.

Figure 4 *Elements of the Poor Organizing the Poor*
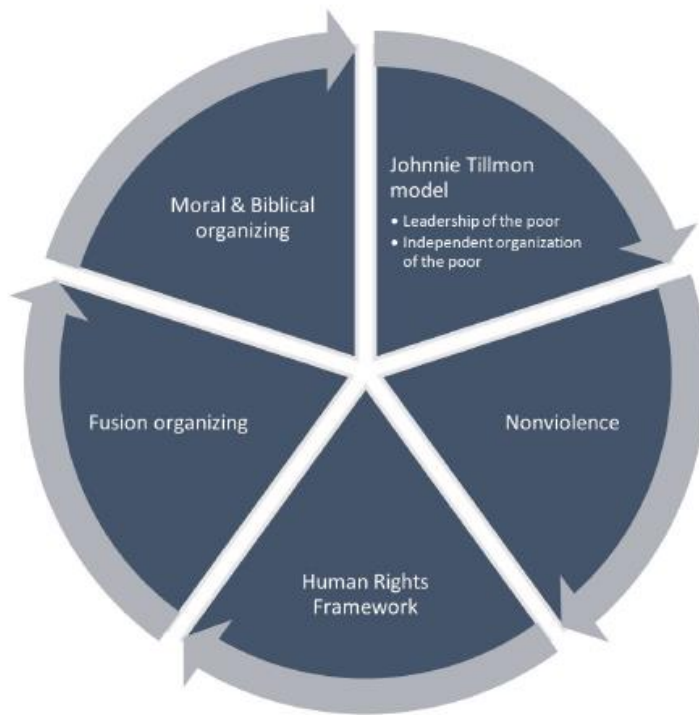
Together these five elements constitute the theory and praxis of the poor organizing the poor in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. The next section highlights key tactics used to emphasize this praxis of the poor organizing the poor.

Tactical Forms of the Poor Organizing the Poor

      The strategies of the poor organizing the poor described above are embodied in the organizing tactics and praxis of poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor currently and historically. Table 1 summarizes the tactical forms used within the movement.

Table 1 *Tactical Forms within the Movement to End Poverty Led by the Poor*

Organizing Tactic	Description	Reference
Projects of Survival	"underground railroads of today" in which the poor organize for survival and solidarity to expose the contradictions of an economic system that is failing to provide for basic human needs	(Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a; Baptist & Wider, 2000; Wessel-McCoy, 2017)
Poverty Truth Commissions	Truth-telling gatherings in which those impacted by the structural violence of poverty proclaim their plight, fight, and insight in building a movement to end poverty led by the poor	(Hribar, 2016)
Documenting Human Rights violations	Organizing drives which utilize the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights to build insight among those experiencing human rights violations	(Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a)
Arts & Culture	Utilizing images, songs, theater, and more as a tool to organize and to share the messages of the movement	(Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a; Barber II & Wilson-Hartgrove, 2016; Hribar, 2016)
Freedom Church of the Poor	Interfaith congregation and worship of and for the movement to end poverty led by the poor	(Barnes, 2020)
Nonviolent moral direct action	Civil disobedience (sometimes referred to as moral obedience)	(Barber II & Wilson-Hartgrove, 2016)

Having described the movement to end poverty's theory of poverty and the poor, as well as of the poor organizing the poor, I now turn to exploration of the pedagogy of the poor. Because the three elements of theory and praxis in the movement are intricately intertwined, the concepts explored above have great influence on the pedagogical practice in the movement to end poverty led by the poor.

Pedagogy of the Poor

As the findings of the pilot study revealed, the pedagogy of the poor is an essential component of the work of building a movement to end poverty led by the poor. Participants discussed the theory and praxis of the pedagogy of the poor, not as a by-product of the movement, but an intentional and strategic process that develops the leadership of the poor and is

embedded within the practice of the poor organizing the poor. Leaders in the movement frequently declare that the struggle is our school (Baptist et al., 2020; Baptist & Theoharis, 2011; Caruso, 2019; Shenk, 2021; University of the Poor, n.d.), indicating the intentional dialectal relationship between organizing and education in the movement, that is between the poor organizing the poor and the pedagogy of the poor. This section explores the educational philosophy that undergirds the pedagogy of the poor and the various pedagogical methods employed by poor people's organizations within the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S.

Dialectical Educational Philosophy

Underlying the pedagogy of the poor within the movement to end poverty led by the poor is a philosophy of dialectics. Holst (2018) defines dialectical thinking as that in which "one pole of the dialectic cannot exist without the other because each is necessary for the existence of the other" (p. 84). It is "the unity of two opposites" (Choudry, 2015, p. 22). The dialectical philosophy in the movement to end poverty led by the poor finds expression in the pedagogy of the poor in four important relationships including (a) theory and praxis, (b) conditions and consciousness, (c) exposing contradictions, and (d) political education and leadership development. How each of these relationships is manifest within the pedagogy of the poor is explored next.

Theory and Praxis. The pedagogy of the poor emphasizes the necessity of understanding history, theory, and current social forces intertwined with organizing a broad social movement. The relationship of study and action is the dialectic of theory and praxis which rejects "the false dichotomy between 'theory' and 'praxis'" to "overcome the separation of

grassroots movements and critical social theories" (Baptist & Rehmann, 2011a, p. 7). Instead, the

pedagogy of the poor embodies the philosophy of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. who stated:

> Education without social action is a one-sided value because it has no true power
>
> potential. Social action without education is a weak expression of pure energy. Deeds
>
> uninformed by educated thought can take false directions. When we go into action and
>
> confront our adversaries, we must be as armed with knowledge as they. Our policies
>
> should have the strength of deep analysis beneath them to be able to challenge the clever
>
> sophistries of our opponents. (King, Jr, 1968b, p. 164)

The dialectic is embodied within the pedagogy of the poor through an understanding that the

struggle is a school (Baptist, 2010, 2015; Baptist & Theoharis, 2011; Caruso, 2019) in which

leaders must "teach as we fight, learn as we lead, educate as we organize, talk as we walk"

(Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a, p. 17). It is within the dialectical relationship of education and

organizing that leaders for the movement are developed through "integrating education into daily

actions and activities[as] a central way to raise consciousness" (Baptist & Theoharis, 2011, p.

164).

Embedded within the movement's dialectical relationship of theory and praxis is an

explicit rejection of pragmatism as expressed in the U.S. (Baptist et al., 2020; Baptist &

Rehmann, 2011a; Baptist & Theoharis, 2011). According to movement leaders, pragmatism,

which has roots in adult education theorists like John Dewey (1999), has infiltrated the American

imagination in such ways that often limit the complex dialectics of theory and praxis in chasing a

quick solution to issues. Baptist and Theoharis (2011) describe the rejection of pragmatism as a

rejection of "separating theory from practice, knowing from doing…[which sees] only the

superficial separateness of things and not their substantial interconnections. The poor cannot

afford this pragmatism. We need to fight for an intellectual rigor and theory to guide our actions" (p. 164). In rejecting a pragmatic philosophy, the pedagogy of the poor instead embraces a dialectical relationship of theory and praxis as expressed in revolutionaries such as General Baker and Antonio Gramsci (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a, 2021b; Caruso, 2019). Both were concerned with developing leaders who understood the theoretical, strategic, and tactical, as well as the practice of organizing social transformation. Gramsci called such leaders "organic intellectuals" a term often misapplied in patronizing ways within academia (Caruso, 2019; Hribar, 2016). Gramsci's usage of the term, though, is closer to that of General Baker who said the task is "to make thinkers out of fighters and fighters out of thinkers" (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a, p. 5). Baker and Gramsci both provide the foundational philosophy and purpose of the pedagogy of the poor which seeks to develop leaders with both the theoretical knowledge and the lived experience and training to lead a movement.

Conditions and Consciousness. The second dialectical aspect of the pedagogy of the poor is the relationship between conditions and consciousness (Baptist, 2015; Baptist et al., 2020; Caruso, 2019; Hribar, 2016). Conditions are the material conditions of the poor and dispossessed, as explored in the concept of who are the poor and why are we poor. These material conditions are due to the existing economic and property relationships, despite the false narratives of poverty that attempt to spin a different story. It is not automatic, though, that even people who experience the material conditions of poverty and dispossession have an analysis of such conditions (Baptist et al., 2020). Development of analysis and awareness is known as consciousness (Freire, 1970). It is the role of the pedagogy of the poor to develop the consciousness of the class of the poor and dispossessed to be conscious of itself as a class and of the material conditions in society (Jones, 2021b). The study of conditions to raise consciousness

is part of the pedagogy of the poor. Leaders within the movement root their understanding of the dialectical relationship of conditions and consciousness in the works of Marx and Freire (Freire, 1970; McLellan, 2000).

Exposing Contradictions. Connected to the understanding of conditions and consciousness is the third dialectical relationship that undergirds the pedagogy of the poor: exposing contradictions. Exposing contradictions relates to the pedagogy of the poor through analyzing the false narratives about poverty and whose interests such narratives serve, as well as the contradictions inherent in an economic system that produces poverty in the midst of abundance (Baptist, 2015; Baptist et al., 2020; Baptist & Colangelo, 2021b). Exposing such contradictions is rooted in dialectics because the process not only includes exposing that poverty exists in the midst of abundance but also how that is dialectically connected to *why* poverty exists in the midst of abundance (Hribar, 2016). The same is true for false narratives about poverty, especially those justified morally and biblically. For example, exposing contradictions of biblical justifications for poverty shows not only how the Bible reveals God's will for there to be no poverty, but also why false narratives are perpetuated and whose interests they serve (Hribar, 2016). Understanding such contradictions is a premise of dialectical philosophy and is embedded within the pedagogy of the poor.

Political Education and Leadership Development. The fourth dialectical relationship expressed within the pedagogy of the poor is the relationship of political education and leadership development. As discussed in the section on the poor organizing the poor, the leadership of the poor and dispossessed is an essential element of building the movement to end poverty led by the poor. It finds expression within an understanding of who is poor, in the practice of the poor organizing the poor, and in the pedagogy of the poor. Baptist (2010)

describes this dialectical relationship saying, "The leadership of the poor as a social group is secured primarily through united actions and organization. The development of individual leaders is secured primarily through political education and training" (p. 265). According to the principles of the pedagogy of the poor, leaders are not born or spontaneously created, but are developed through education and training (Baptist & Theoharis, 2011). The leadership development processes within the movement to end poverty in the U.S. are directly tied to processes of political education. This section explores three areas of the dialectical relationship between political education and leadership development.

The first of those three areas is rooted in the organizing work of the National Union of the Homeless and is known as "*plowing fields and planting seeds*" (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a; Baptist & Theoharis, 2011). Plowing fields refers to the process in political education that involves unlearning much of what the poor and dispossessed have learned about leadership and history. Put People First! PA, for example, describes in their training documents that the organization "uses a model of leadership that is different from the one that many of us grew up with and from other more traditional organizing models" (Put People First! PA, 2016, n.p.). Likewise, much of political education involves unlearning what the U.S. educational system has taught about our history (Baptist & Theoharis, 2011). For example, the histories of poor people's organizations and movements, particularly multiracial ones, have been hidden and excluded from the dominant history curricula in the U.S. (Baptist, 2015; Baptist & Damico, 2005; Williams & Yelich Biniecki, 2021). According to movement leaders, these histories are purposefully hidden to keep the poor and dispossessed from uniting and leading a social movement to end poverty led by the poor (Baptist et al., 2020). Unlearning also includes an analysis of the false narratives of poverty and dispossession that are designed to blame the poor and perpetuate poverty (Baptist &

Theoharis, 2011). Such unlearning, or plowing the fields, is dialectically connected to planting

seeds, or learning and education toward leadership development of the poor and dispossessed

and understanding history, theory, and practice (Baptist & Theoharis, 2011). Put People First!

PA, for example, outlines a new model of leadership and leadership development for the

organization (Put People First! PA, 2016). Similarly, learning to understand the economic and

social relations pertaining to why poverty exists is another example of planting seeds in the

dialectical relationship of unlearning and learning.

A second key area of political education and leadership development is the study of the

mental terrain of the U.S. The concept of mental terrain was explored briefly regarding its

application to moral and biblical organizing. Understanding the mental terrain can help to answer

the question "how are people responding to the conditions with which they are faced?" (Shenk,

2021, para. 23). Within the pedagogy of the poor's educational philosophy of theory and praxis

is the understanding that to end poverty we must move not just bodies (mobilizing), but minds

(Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a). In fact, even leaders within the movement express the need to end

poverty in our own minds before we can end it in reality because of the false narratives,

contradictions, and hidden truths that we have digested as members of this society (Baptist &

Theoharis, 2011). Within the practice of moving minds, it is essential to understand the mental

terrain within this country to expose the contradictions and plant new seeds of a world without

poverty. Understanding mental fortresses is essential to effectively building the power of the

poor and dispossessed and, therefore, is a key component of the pedagogy of the poor (Baptist et

al., 2020).

Finally, the third key area of political education and leadership development is the

expectation that *all leaders in the movement are within a process of development and that each*

leader develop other leaders (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a). The expectation of leadership and leadership development has been expressed through long-time movement leader, Ron Casanova, through the phrase "each one, teach one" (Casanova, personal communication, 2004). Each person in the movement is expected to grow as a leader, teacher, and organizer. Leadership development in the movement is not a process in which one reaches some pinnacle of leadership development, nor is leadership a hierarchical process defined by positions within the movement (Put People First! PA, 2016). Instead, all are leaders, all are being developed as leaders, and all are working to develop other leaders (Baptist & Theoharis, 2011; Put People First! PA, 2016). Leadership development is accomplished through processes and practices of the pedagogy of the poor, the methods of which are explored next.

Pedagogical Methods of the Organized Poor

There are many practical methods that organizations and leaders in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. have utilized in their work of political education and leadership development. Some of these methods have been recorded, while many remain practices within the movement that have not yet been written down and passed along. What follows in this section is a summary of those practices that have been recorded by poor people's organizations, specifically by the Poverty Initiative and Put People First-PA!.

One important pedagogical method of the organized poor is the use of arts, both to organize and to convey important learnings. Songs, slogans, and signs are not considered add-ons to the work but the creation of them becomes an educational process (Shenk, 2021). Additionally, dialogue and collectivity, both in specifically educational spaces in the movement, as well as in organizing meetings, is an important pedagogical practice (Baptist & Theoharis, 2011; Put People First! PA, 2016). All are teachers and all are learners. To that end, mentoring

50

and shadowing are also frequently used pedagogical tools in the movement, particularly within

leadership development processes (Baptist & Theoharis, 2011; Put People First! PA, 2016).

Further, leaders are encouraged to engage in both individual and collective study which takes the

form of book studies, textual/biblical studies, courses on particular topics of the movement,

policy briefings, and more. Collective studies are important both for the building up of individual

leaders and also for uniting and forming a collective, a cadre (Put People First! PA, 2016).

Finally, leadership schools, immersions, and exchanges are a key pedagogical practice in the

movement. These gatherings include trainings and dialogues, connecting with other leaders, and

are undergirded by a "philosophy of equality among participants [which] insures a maximum

exchange of skills and information. These [gatherings] strive to create an environment of joy and

fun, as well as a safe space for rigorous discussions and critique" (Baptist & Theoharis, 2011, p.

167). Leadership schools and the like frequently use a train-the-trainers model, inspired by the

educational organizing of the Brazilian Landless Workers Movement (MST). The next section

explores one specific example of the pedagogy of the poor through the Reading the Bible with

the Poor methodology.

　　　　Reading the Bible with the Poor. As the struggle for liberation from poverty continues

in the United States, the terrain of biblical interpretation and the competing interpretations of

domination and resistance have become one front on which the struggle to end poverty is being

waged (Baptist & Theoharis, 2015). Leaders within the movement to end poverty led by the poor

have created, engaged, and studied a methodology of biblical interpretation, known as Reading

the Bible with the Poor, which is born from within the movement to end poverty led by the poor

(Theoharis, 2015). Reading the Bible with the poor "is a tool for movement organizing which

also produces biblical interpretations that shift the narrative about poverty and the poor"

(Williams & Yelich Biniecki, 2021, p. 54). The methodology of liberative biblical interpretation

parallels other similar efforts in the history of the struggle for liberation in the U.S. and around

the world, including Paulo Freire's work for literacy in Brazil (Freire, 1970). Learning about and

from other interpretive efforts which are grounded in the struggle for liberation is essential for

the battle for the Bible in the U.S. today (Theoharis & Baptist, 2015).

  The reading the Bible with the poor methodology has been influenced by other struggles

for social change which have used the Bible. Historical examples in the U.S. include the anti-

slavery movement, social gospel movement, the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and the Poor

People's Campaign of 1968 (Theoharis, 2014; Williams & Yelich Biniecki, 2021). Additionally,

the rise of liberation theology in the global south in the 1970s led to accompanying liberative

biblical interpretation efforts in base communities, for example the work of Ernesto Cardenal in

Nicaragua as documented in *The Gospel in Solentiname* (Cardenal, 1977). Contextual Bible

Study is a similar method of liberative biblical interpretation utilized by Gerald West in South

Africa (West, 1999) and the MST in Brazil (Ueti, 2015). Contemporary efforts toward liberative

biblical understandings in the U.S., such as the works of Peter Heltzel (Salvatierra & Heltzel,

2013), Jim Wallis (Wallis, 2019; Wallis & Stevenson, 2017), and Johnathan Wilson-Hartgrove

(Wilson-Hartgrove, 2019; Wilson-Hartgrove & II, 2020), have also influenced the reading the

Bible with the poor methodology in the movement to end poverty led by the poor. Each of these

historical and contemporary movements contribute to

  the praxis of the Reading the Bible with the Poor methodology [which] includes

  uncovering and learning from efforts of liberative biblical interpretations in which those

  most impacted by injustice are the epistemological change agents for uniting the poor and

dispossessed as a social force for transformation. (Williams & Yelich Biniecki, 2021, p. 54)

The pilot study found that leaders in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. who utilize the Bible in their organizing do so through the pedagogy of the poor and the poor organizing the poor. In other words, leaders expressed how the Bible is used to counter false narratives about poverty and for organizing and educating within the movement. Leaders using the Bible in their organizing discussed the elements of the movement to end poverty *in the Bible* and *with the Bible*. In the Bible, leaders recognize the struggles for liberation, understand Jesus as a poor man who led a social movement, and recognize in his teachings the pedagogy of the poor. From that understanding, leaders then organize and educate *with the Bible* teaching others of the historical context of the Bible and re-interpretating and applying the text to their lives and work for justice and liberation. The reading the Bible with the poor methodology, then, represents one of the key pedagogical tools of the pedagogy of the poor within the movement to end poverty. In other words, in the movement to end poverty led by the poor, the struggle is a school and one aspect of the curriculum is the Bible.

Justification for the Theoretical Framework

Dykstra and Law (1994) posited social movements are "inherently educative forces" (p. 135) that "educate around the particular and are less inclined to try to employ some overarching theoretical framework" (p. 137). However, the theory and praxis of the movement to end poverty led by the poor depict three key concepts of the movement that, combined, form a coherent theoretical framework that encompasses the work of the movement. Together the concepts of (a) who are the poor and why are we poor, (b) the poor organizing the poor, and (c) the pedagogy of the poor illustrate an epistemology that is rooted in both the theory and praxis of the movement.

The review of the literature as outlined above reveals the vast knowledge production of the leaders in this movement (Caruso, 2019). SML researchers have utilized the knowledge produced by activists and leaders in social movements, as opposed to theories generated in academia, to frame the generation of theory and research in the study of SML (Choudry, 2009). Further, it is important for the theories and praxis of social movement leaders, particularly the marginalized, poor, and dispossessed, to enter into the lexicon of academic literature to further ground the field of SML and adult education in the realities, struggles, praxis, and rigorous study of those most impacted by the injustices movements are seeking to change (Holst, 2003). Choudry (2015) for example, calls for blurring the lines between the theorizing of academics and the theorizing in social movements. Further, his empirical study with activist researchers shows that many utilize or construct theoretical frameworks developed "in dialectical relationship to their practice" as activists in the movements they study (Choudry, 2014, p. 80). Other SML researchers have utilized frameworks from the movement to end poverty led by the poor in their theorizing, teaching, and research as well (Holst, 2014, 2020b, 2021). Therefore, the framework I constructed from the three key elements of the movement to end poverty led by the poor constitutes an appropriate and rigorous theoretical framework utilized for this study. I turn now to an analysis of how these three elements manifest within the research on SML.

Review of Social Movement Learning Literature

In the previous section I reviewed the literature and praxis of the movement to end poverty led by the poor, constructed as an appropriate and rigorous theoretical framework for this research. The concepts and practices of the theoretical framework include, (a) who are the poor and why are we poor, (b) the poor organizing the poor, and (c) the pedagogy of the poor.

This section of the literature review explores three corollary concepts within the SML literature: (a) analysis of conditions, (b) social movement organizing, and (c) learning, education, and organizing in social movements. While there are many helpful findings to be explicated from the SML research, these three categories directly relate to the theoretical framework and present a review of the literature from that lens. I review these concepts within the empirical SML research, while also utilizing seminal works of SML theories and building upon four systematic literature reviews of SML theories and research.

Fifty-seven empirical articles within the subfield of SML were utilized for this literature review. The search for these empirical studies was conducted utilizing original sources within previous literature reviews of the field and through a search in Education Full Text database using the keyword "social movement learning." As Niesz et al. (2018) describe, though, many empirical articles about learning and social movements do not utilize that exact keyword, therefore, empirical articles from other fields, such as religious education (Ayres, 2013) and sociology (Mercea & Yilmaz, 2018), which studied learning and social movements were also included. The empirical literature in this review is delimited to include only peer-reviewed, empirical studies focused on adult learning in social movements published between 2008, the start of the global financial crisis, and November 2021. The year 2008 was chosen as a delimitation due to emphasis placed upon the influence of the global financial crisis by leaders in the movement to end poverty led by the poor (Baptist, 2015; Hribar, 2016). This review also draws upon prominent theories of SML. My approach here, of incorporating theory and empirical research, echoes the approach I took to construct the theoretical framework through both the theory and praxis of the movement to end poverty. The review of literature begins with a brief exploration of the history of SML theory and research.

A Brief History of Social Movement Learning Theory and Research

Hall (2009) offers a description of social movements as "collective expressions of a given group of people intended to resist, transform, or in other ways have impact in the political, social, or policy worlds" (p. 50). While other attempts to define social movements in the fields of SML and sociology have been explored, Hall's definition captures the key aspects of a social movement that are helpful for this review of literature. SML, as a subfield of adult learning, is relatively new, though learning in social movements and learning for social change is not (Walker & Butterwick, 2021). In describing the history of the subfield of SML, Walker & Butterwick (2021) traced the increase in SML scholarship to the 1990s. It was in this decade that Dykstra and Law (1994) presented research toward a theoretical framework of the educative nature of popular social movements and Welton (1993) published an article on new social movements as sites of learning. Holford (1995) offered a theory of cognitive praxis in learning for social change which has influenced other SML researchers (Kluttz et al., 2020; Kluttz & Walter, 2018). Other seminal SML theories and research in the 1990s included Foley's (1999) series of eight case studies and accompanying theory of learning in struggle and Kilgore's (1999) theory of collective learning. Holst (2018) traces the trajectory from radical adult education to SML within the context of the emergence of praxis, theories, and research on new social movements. In doing so, he problematizes the transition to SML by comparing it to the change from adult education to lifelong learning as result of neoliberalism. Holst (2018) asks, "Is there a relationship between the broader and hegemonic neoliberal forces and actors pushing ideas around lifelong learning and a greater focus on the learning rather than the educating aspects of social movements?" (p. 77). As is explored in the review of literature to follow, these tensions and questions about the relationship between learning and education in movements for social

change, as well as the theories and research of such movements, have continued to surface in the subfield of SML. These tensions have been and are being influenced by theorizing about social movements and the evolution of social movements, particularly characterized through the understandings of Old Social Movements (OSM), New Social Movements (NSM), and movements of new social subjects (Holst, 2018).

The following review of SML literature draws upon the seminal works described above, as well as four systematic literature reviews of SML that have been conducted in the last 20 years. In 2006, Hall and Turray published a review of the state of the field of SML, providing the first systematic overview of the theories and research within SML. Niesz et al. (2018) added to the subfield and linked it to other fields of educational research in calling for a "united field of scholarship" of social movements and education research. In 2020, Kuk and Tarlau (2020) conducted a systematic literature review combining theories and research on popular education and social movement studies. Finally, Atta and Holst (2020) reviewed the empirical literature of SML to offer a theory for the subfield that is derived from the practices found within the empirical research. These four systematic literature reviews of the subfield of SML provide rich context and sources through which to explore the key themes and findings of the field. The review of literature below draws on and builds upon these findings, as well as the theories and empirical research in the field as described previously.

The 57 empirical articles reviewed represent the variety of scholarship in SML. Studies were conducted on movements in at least 14 different countries encompassing six continents. A variety of research methodologies were utilized including historic, narrative, participatory action research, phenomenology, case study, ethnography, and quantitative research. Researchers studied movements in which they were active participants, as well as movements in which they

defined their positionality as outsiders. Within these empirical studies, there were also a variety

of ways that researchers described the material conditions in which the movement was situated,

the forms and demands that organizing took within the movements, and the relationship between

learning, education, leadership, and organizing in the movement. These themes correlate to key

practices and theories within the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. Therefore,

this review of empirical literature explores these concepts in the following categories, (a)

analysis of conditions, (b) social movement organizing, and (c) learning and education in social

movements. Figure 5 serves as a visual summary of the categories identified within each of these

key concepts that were applied to each empirical study throughout the literature review process.

Figure 5 *Categories and Concepts in SML Literature*
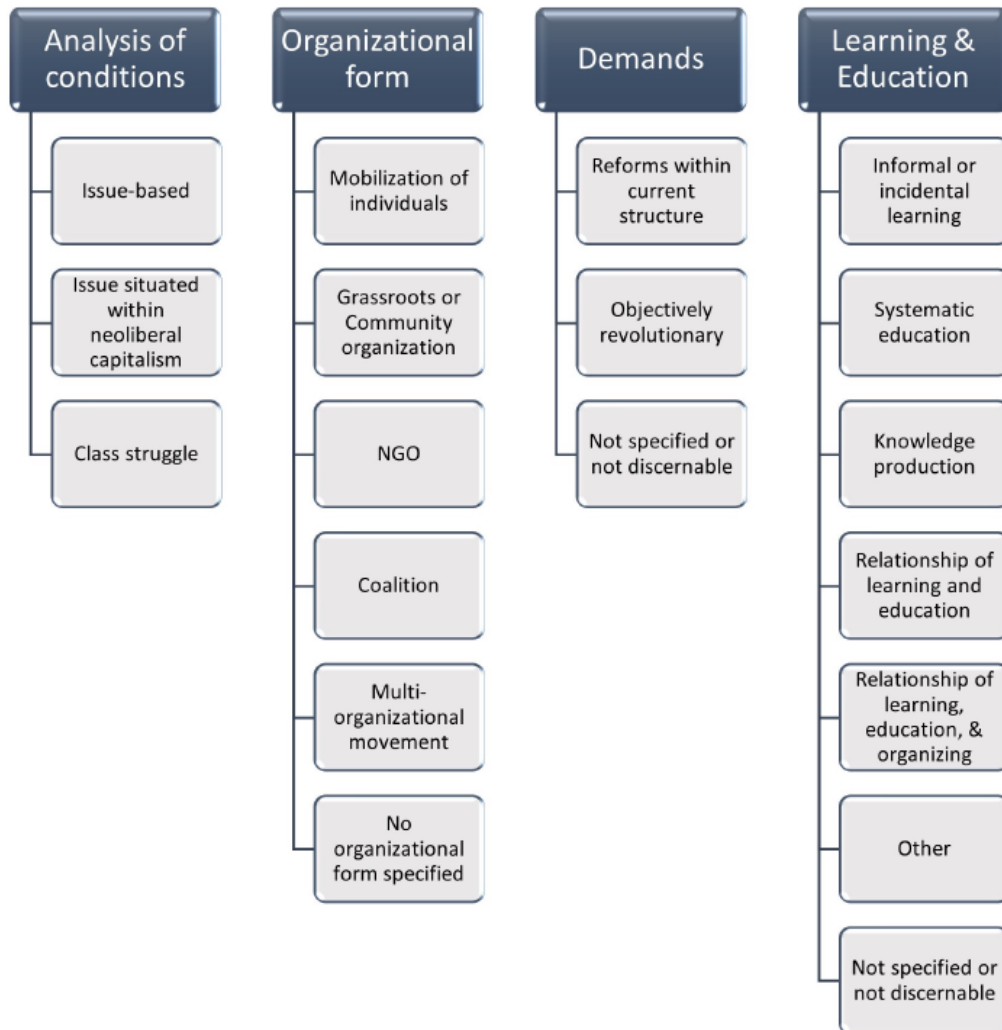
The concepts and categories outlined above are explored next through the review of SML literature.

Analysis of Conditions

From this review of the SML literature emerged three general categories of how the SML researchers framed the analysis of the conditions social movements were addressing. The first category includes social movements described in the research by the issue the movement was

seeking to address. Examples include studies of feminist organizations (Irving & English, 2011), disability activism (Church et al., 2016), and prison abolition (McVicar, 2021). Within this category, the analysis of conditions was framed solely within the context of the specific movement being studied. The second category includes social movements described by the issues the movements were addressing *and* situated within a structural understanding or critique of neoliberal capitalism, globalization, and/or austerity. Within this category, SML researchers situated the issue the movement was seeking to address within a larger societal or global economic or power context. Examples include research on environmental justice movements (Colón-Rivera, 2017; Curnow, 2017; Hall, 2009; Kim, 2011, 2016; Kluttz & Walter, 2018; Scandrett et al., 2010), movements of workers (Cardona & Choudry, 2019), movements for economic equality (Webb, 2019), and movements around im/migration (Grayson, 2014).

The third category that emerged from the literature review were research studies that framed the social movement as one of class struggle, often utilizing the terms dispossession (Caruso, 2019; Manborde, 2019; Murray, 2019), subaltern (Kapoor, 2011), or movements of the working-class (Chang, 2013). Many of these studies utilized a framework of post-colonialism and anti-imperialism (Kapoor, 2011; Langdon & Garbary, 2017) and/or a critique of capitalism (Caruso, 2011; Foley, 1999). Though Foley (1999) is often only cited by SML researchers for his groundbreaking research on informal learning, his contribution to SML goes beyond the concept of informal learning to insist on a critique of capitalism as a necessary component of emancipatory adult education. In his research he sought to "confront the dearth of analysis of capitalism and class in contemporary 'radical' adult education theory…which diverts activists from truly radical – that is, democratic and socialist – politics and economics" (p. 144). SML

researchers decades later also identified the disappearance of class analysis from SML research. Choudry (2015) stated researchers of NSM, particularly,

> often overlook crucial issues of class and the continuation of capitalist relations. Indeed, they tend toward a 'postclass' analysis, ignore the importance of political engagements with the state, and adopt a micropolitical focus on resistance that adopts a decentered concept of power being everywhere. This approach underestimates or even ignores the continuing power of states and capital. (Choudry, 2015, p. 51)

Murray's (2019) research on social movements in South Africa found a similar lack of class analysis within the review of SML literature while tracing "the disappearance of class from the study of social movements" (p. 25).

Further, of the empirical research studies based in class analysis only a few are research based on movements within the United States. Hamilton (2013, 2016, 2018) and Chang (2013) both researched historical movements in the U.S., the 1968 Poor People's Campaign and the Highlander Folk School, respectively. Caruso (2019), one of the leaders in the movement to end poverty led by the poor, presented a series of case studies of organizations within the movement from the field of cultural anthropology. The lack of empirical SML research focused on current movements in the U.S. that utilize a class analysis presents a gap in the SML literature. Therefore, this study of poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. adds to the field of SML and adult education through research embedded in an analysis of class struggle.

Social Movement Organizing

The field of sociology has long theorized how social movements operate and are organized. Adult education and SML researchers have drawn upon sociological theories of social

movements (Holst, 2018). Theories utilized within the empirical SML literature include cultural historical activity theory (Curnow, 2017), OSM theory (Grayson, 2014), and NSM theory (Sandlin & Walther, 2009). Debates about the framework of OSMs and NSMs have particularly dominated the SML literature (Holst, 2011, 2018). In explaining the evolution of the OSM/NSM dualism, Holst (2018) posits, "OSMs are considered to advance working-class-based, social democratic or socialist political projects, while NSMs are considered to advance non-class-based or cross-class-based political projects oriented towards identity formation or autonomy" (p. 77).

The OSM/NSM dichotomy as a framework for understanding social movements, and therefore SML, has been critiqued by SML researchers and theorists. For example, among empirical studies published between 2008 and 2021, only two specified the movements studied as either an OSM (Grayson, 2014) or NSM (Sandlin & Walther, 2009). It is clear, therefore, that SML researchers are increasingly not utilizing the OSM/NSM framework. In fact, some SML literature has outright rejected the dichotomy, citing cultural, contextual, or changing economic circumstances which require a new framework for understanding social movements (Caruso, 2011; Hamilton, 2018; Kapoor, 2011; Langdon, 2009, 2010, 2011; Langdon & Garbary, 2017; Murray, 2019; Sawan, 2020). For example, Langdon's (2011) studies of social movements in Ghana reject the OSM/NSM dichotomy and embrace an Africa-centric, post-colonial framework. In recognizing the need for a shift away from the dichotomous framework of OSM/NSM to one that recognizes the changing socio-political context and therefore changing social movements, Holst (2018) proposed a framework for understanding movements of new social subjects.

Movements of New Social Subjects

In recent years, researchers and theorists of SML have posited that there are "qualitative changes which have taken place in the broader prevailing socio-political economic relations in

particular contexts and generally across the globe" (Holst, 2018, p. 79). These qualitative

changes have led to more individuals, communities, and movements resisting dominant

structures for their very survival (Caruso, 2019). Further, these qualitative changes have led to

movements for change that are also qualitatively different because those impacted "are

objectively outside the prevailing relations" and, therefore, the movements "pose a challenge to

the prevailing relations because they cannot be resolved within these relations" (Holst, 2011, p.

124). Holst (2018) outlines many terms used in the literature to describe the actors within these

social movements, including "new poor" and "subaltern", while he utilizes the term "new social

subjects." While no empirical studies in this literature review explicitly framed the social

movements' actors as "new social subjects," many fit the definition and/or were cited by Holst in

his explication of new social subjects (Caruso, 2011; Hamilton, 2013; Holst, 2020a; Kapoor,

2011; Langdon, 2009; Langdon & Garbary, 2017; Meek, 2011; Murray, 2019; Thapliyal, 2019).

Holst (2018) suggests what

> these movements have in common is that they are made up of some of the most
>
> marginalized sectors of society facing very difficult social and economic conditions, and
>
> it is precisely the development of these new social sectors within these new socio-
>
> political economic conditions that make today's movements fall outside of the
>
> OSM/NSM dichotomy. (p. 77-78)

Movements of new social subjects, then, are inextricably linked to movements based in class

analysis. Holst (2018), also, posits that the emergence of these new kinds of movements have

distinct organizational forms and demands that are different from other movements. It is useful,

therefore, to compare, first, the organizational forms, then the demands, of the movements

studied in the SML literature in this review.

Organizational Forms within Social Movements

It is clear from this literature review that there are many types of organizational forms that make up the movements researched within the subfield of SML. Given Holst's (2018) position that new movements which are qualitatively different have new organizational forms, it is important for the field to tease out these organizational forms. Further, through participatory action research in Ghana, Langdon (2009) identified that movements in Ghana "should not only be analyzed by what they are interested in, but also by the ways in which they organize, communicate, and learn" (p. 94). To expand the conversation of organizational forms identified within SML research, I have identified six possible categories of organizational forms from within the empirical literature of SML since 2008. These forms are (a) no organizational structure, (b) mobilization of individuals, (c) grassroots/community organizations, (d) NGOs, (e) coalitions, and (f) multi-organizational movements. It is important to note that the organizational forms of studies which focused on the experiences of individuals, as opposed to collectives, were not readily discernable. Descriptions of the categories of organizational forms and their manifestations within the SML literature are explored next.

The first category are movements with no form of organizational structure. One example within SML literature is a disability history exhibit, which originated from a university and served as a site of informal learning without any organizational structure (Church et al., 2016). Additionally, the voluntary simplicity movement is characterized by individuals or households who choose to live as simplifiers (Sandlin & Walther, 2009). An interesting finding of this research, with implication for understanding organizational forms in social movements, is that simplifiers were disconnected from a sense of a larger movement due to their "loose collective identity" (Sandlin & Walther, 2009, p. 312).

The second category of organizational forms within SML is mobilization of individuals. Examples include SML research of the Occupy Wall Street movement which attempted to create a utopian community as a counter-narrative to capitalism (Webb, 2019). While there were many forms of community established and "a small group of de facto leaders emerged" (Webb, 2019, p. 351) there was not an overarching organizational form described in the SML research, but, rather, the outreach to thousands of participants and potential participants (Gleason, 2013).

The third organizational form identified in this review of SML literature is grassroots/community organizations. From a multiple case study of grassroots organizations, Gouthro (2012) offers the definition "grassroots organizations emerge when groups of people decide to work collectively as a way to initiate change" (p. 51). Grassroots organizations, therefore, do not seek leadership support from government or corporate entities but are led by those within the organization (Gouthro, 2012). Studies of social movements within this literature review sometimes utilized the term community organization to convey the same organizational form. Examples of grassroots/community organizational forms in the SML literature include a collective in eastern Kentucky organizing a Just Transition from coal to sustainable economic development (Unroe, 2020), environmental organizations to protect local land (Kim, 2011, 2016; Larri & Whitehouse, 2019), and grassroots groups organizing for basic survival needs such as land (Meek, 2011; Thapliyal, 2019), water (Caruso, 2011), and housing (Murray, 2019).

The fourth organizational form is nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Examples within the literature which explicitly name the studied movement as an NGO include the Alejandro Lipschutz Institute of Science in Chile (Holst, 2020a) and an environmental organization in Australia (Ollis & Hamel-Green, 2015). There is, admittedly, the possibility both of overlap, as well as tension within the definitions and characterizations of

grassroots/community organizations and NGOs. Kapoor's (2011) research, for example, shows

that subaltern movement actors have critiques of NGOs which seek to co-opt and redirect the

work of movement leaders. Kapoor (2011) goes on to describe NGOs and NSMs as defining

"justice and possibility as a project of inclusion and equity within modernity and a reformed

capital," whereas subaltern or political society movements "take exception to the colonial

implications of the project of capital displacement, dispossession and loss of material, cultural

and spiritual place" (p. 136). A more in-depth examination of grassroots/community

organizations and NGOs within SML may be able to draw further distinctions and/or tensions

within the literature regarding the organizational forms within social movements.

A fifth category of organizational form identified within the SML is a coalition,

characterized by various organizations (and, perhaps, types of organizations) joining together for

a particular action or around a common issue. An example is Daro's (2009) research on global

justice protest events which brought together multiple organizations in transnational gatherings

which included learning, education, and protests. Daro's (2009) research highlights the tensions

that can arise when a coalition, made up of various organizational forms and demands, attempts

to engage in a collective protest.

Finally, the sixth category of organizational forms in SML literature are social

movements made up of multiple organizations. These are distinguished from coalitions in that

the goal of these social movements is to unite local organizations as a form of movement

building, instead of cooperating on a short-term issue or campaign. For example, the Poor

People's Campaign of 1968 was made up of grassroots and community organizations from

across the country who converged on the mall in Washington DC for a six-week encampment

(Hamilton, 2013, 2016, 2018). The encampment is distinguished from the actions of a coalition

in that the goal was to build the Poor People's Campaign movement and the encampment and

activities in D.C. were an organizing tool to unite the organizations involved (Wessel-McCoy,

2021). Additionally Sawan (2020) researched the role of social movement organizations in anti-

poverty organizing in Toronto. Interestingly, there appears to be some convergence around

movements that seek to unite grassroots organizations and those that employ a class analysis,

which offers an area for further research.

The movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. is explicit about its mission to

(a) unite leaders into grassroots organizations and (b) to unite grassroots organizations into the

movement (Algood, 2021). Further, the Johnnie Tillmon model of the poor organizing the poor

emphasizes the necessity of independent organizations of the poor led by the poor, echoing

Kapoor's (2011) critiques of social movement NGOs. There are, therefore, points of similarity as

well as clear contrasts of the organizational form of the movement to end poverty led by the poor

and the variety of organizational forms described in the SML research.

Demands of Social Movements

Similarly, given Holst's (2018) position that movements of new social subjects have

qualitatively different demands, I have attempted to tease out the prominent categories of

demands within this review of SML research. The demands identified include (a) reforms within

the current socio-economic structure (Cardona & Choudry, 2019; Kim, 2016; Larri &

Whitehouse, 2019; Melero & Gil-Jaurena, 2019; Ollis & Hamel-Green, 2015; Unroe, 2020;

Zielińska et al., 2011), (b) objectively revolutionary demands that require a fundamental

restructuring of socio-political economic relations (Caruso, 2011, 2019; Choudry, 2015;

Hamilton, 2018; Holst, 2020a; Kapoor, 2011; Langdon, 2011; Thapliyal, 2019), and (c) those not

specified or able to be identified. It is important to note that these categories are not meant to

give the appearance of mutual exclusivity or an easy typology for the demands of social

movements. Social movements and their actors are as complex and dynamic as the changing

socio-political economic conditions. The categorization I have offered is simply an attempt to

compare and contrast the breadth and variety of the types of social movements within SML

research. Of particular note, though, is that, again, there is some convergence among SML

research that is situated within a class analysis and movements that hold objectively

revolutionary demands, just as there was potential convergence with movements seeking to unite

grassroots organizations as part of the work of the movement. These potential connections

deserve more research and attention within SML research. My research, based in a movement

with class analysis, objectively revolutionary demands, and a multi-organizational form has

added to the exploration of these potential convergences.

Other Characteristics

Three other important characteristics of social movements emerged within the literature

of this subfield. The first is that there is a subsection of studies related to movements that have a

spiritual, faith, or theological basis. For example, Grayson (2011) highlighted the faith

background of many of the activists in the anti-deportation movement in Sheffield, UK, as well

as the involvement of many faith leaders and congregations in that movement. Hall (2009)

discusses the religious discourse of fundamentalist expressions of faith traditions involved in

social movements. Expressions of spiritual motivations or understandings within social

movements which "demonstrate a unity of the sacred and political" have been explored by

Kapoor (2011) while Butterwick et al. (2011) recounted Walter's (2007a) research on Buddhist

monks ordaining trees as a protest in an environmental justice movement in Thailand.

Another important characteristic of social movements that emerged from the literature is the strategy and tactic of nonviolence. In analyzing the history of the Poor People's Campaign of 1968, Hamilton (2013, 2016, 2018) discussed the importance of a commitment to nonviolence among the leadership of the campaign, a tactic carried over from their work in the civil rights movement. Principles of nonviolence were also explored in the protesting done by the Knitting Nannas to protect land in Australia (Larri & Whitehouse, 2019). The protestors and movements committed to nonviolence, though, have still been met with violence and repression from state forces (Butterwick et al., 2011; Kapoor, 2011).

A third important characteristic, which is explored more in the next section, is an understanding of the relationship to organizing and education. For some social movements the building of the movement is directly related to the educational work of the movement (Grayson, 2011, 2014; Kapoor, 2011; Meek, 2011; Murray, 2019; Sawan, 2020). Organizing the movement involves education and education of the movement involves organizing. Hall and Turray (2006) affirm this within their review of the field of SLM stating, "what we all know as facilitators of learning is that nothing is as powerful a stimulus to learning as the necessity to teach or inform others. The organizational or communicative mandate of all social movements is a necessarily educational concern" (p. 7). The emphasis on the relationship between organization and education has been made explicit primarily in research of movements that would qualify as new social subjects. Therefore, there are important connections to be made within the SML literature about the analysis of conditions, the organizing of the movement, and the pedagogical practices of the movement. These connections are further explored in the next section.

Leadership and Education in Social Movements

While the subfield of SML might be relatively new, the field is vast and expanding. This section explores the breadth of SML research, beginning with a brief exploration of the key learning theories utilized within the field. Then I analyze the SML literature through a dialectical lens to explore the relationships between (a) unlearning and learning, (b) individual and collective learning, and (c) learning, education, and organizing.

Theories and Concepts in Social Movement Learning

The most prevalent theories of learning that SML researchers have drawn upon are popular education (Cardona & Choudry, 2019; Colón-Rivera, 2017; Grayson, 2014, p. 14; Hall, 2009; Holst, 2020a; Langdon & Garbary, 2017; Unroe, 2020), collective learning (Cain & Seymour, 2011; Kim, 2011; Kluttz & Walter, 2018; Langdon & Garbary, 2017; Larri & Whitehouse, 2019; Melero & Gil-Jaurena, 2019; Sandlin & Walther, 2009; Walter, 2013), informal learning (Colón-Rivera, 2017; Costa et al., 2021; Gleason, 2013; Livingstone & Sawchuk, 2005; Ollis, 2011; Sandlin & Walther, 2009; Unroe, 2020; Walter, 2013), and knowledge production (Arribas Lozano, 2018; Cardona & Choudry, 2019; Choudry, 2015; Colón-Rivera, 2017; Daro, 2009; Gleason, 2013; Langdon, 2011; Manborde, 2019; Thapliyal, 2019; Zielińska et al., 2011). The empirical findings based in these theories show that learning in social movements involves conscientization through methods of popular education and praxis, drawing primarily upon the work of Paulo Freire (Freire, 1970). Further, researchers concluded learning occurs informally, incidentally, and tacitly (Foley, 1999) through participating in the struggles of the movement. Social movement researchers have also utilized and/or developed additional theories to further describe the learning that occurs in social movements. These include pedagogy of presence (Hamilton, 2016, 2018), situated learning (Curnow, 2017; Unroe,

70

2020; Zielińska et al., 2011), embodied and emotional learning (Butterwick & Elfert, 2014; Manborde, 2019; Ollis, 2011; Underhill, 2019; Walker & Palacios, 2016; Walter, 2013), experiential learning (Hamilton, 2013; Thapliyal, 2019), and public pedagogy (Gleason, 2013; Hamilton, 2016; Walker & Walter, 2018; Walter, 2013). Further, many SML researchers use a combination of multiple theories of learning to capture the complexity of learning in social movements. Research findings utilizing such theories have also produced concepts of learning including search for authenticity (Butterwick & Elfert, 2014), embodying democracy (Chang, 2013), instrumental skills (Foley, 1999; McVicar, 2021), and identity formation or construction (Ayres, 2013; Curnow, 2017; Kim, 2016; Kluttz & Walter, 2018; Thapliyal, 2019). The full breadth of the theories, concepts, and learning outcomes cannot be explored here. However, the four previous systematic literature reviews conducted of SML literature provide further insight. This literature review, instead, focuses on the key dialectical relationships that emerged from the literature.

Dialectic of Unlearning and Learning

"So what we've got to do is unlearn much of what we've learned, and then try to learn how to learn from the people" (Moyers & Horton, 1982, p. 259). This statement from Myles Horton anticipated much of what SML researchers would find from their data decades later. Because the ruling ideas are those of the ruling class, what Gramsci terms hegemony, (Forgacs, 2000), learners in movements to resist the ruling ideas must engage a process of unlearning the dominant, hegemonic, ruling ideas and, in tandem, learn the theories and practices of the world they are building (Arribas Lozano, 2018; Colón-Rivera, 2017; Foley, 1999; Kluttz et al., 2020; Langdon & Garbary, 2017; Manborde, 2019; Murray, 2019). Foley (1999), for example, argues that "the unlearning of dominant, oppressive ideologies and discourses and the learning of

oppositional, liberatory ones are central to the process of emancipatory action" (p. 4). A similar idea was also expressed by Colón-Rivera (2017) when studying an environmental movement of the poor in Puerto Rico. In research interrogating their own practice as researchers and activists, Kluttz, Walker, and Walter (2020) reflect on the importance of unlearning white, colonial processes. That processes of unlearning are prevalent within the literature on learning in social movements reflects the embeddedness of dominant narratives and ideologies. The dialectic of unlearning and learning is also explicitly present in the pedagogy of the poor where it is expressed as "plowing the fields and planting seeds" (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a). Further, the relationship of unlearning and learning is expressed within the reading the Bible with the poor methodology in which leaders have characterized the need to unlearn oppressive theologies and false biblical interpretations and, instead, construct interpretations and applications based on a new reading of the text in its historical materialist context (Theoharis, 2015a).

Dialectic of Individual and Collective Learning

Kilgore (1999) proposed a theory of collective learning that SML researchers have utilized to explore the dialectical relationship of individual and collective learning in social movements (Cain & Seymour, 2011; Kim, 2011; Kluttz & Walter, 2018; Sandlin & Walther, 2009; Walter, 2013). Kilgore (1999) situates collective learning "at the intersection of critical theory and postmodernism" (p. 191) and critiques theories of individual learning which neglect the shared learning and meaning-making that happens in groups. Collective learning theory, also, critiques "group learning theories devoid of social vision" (Kilgore, 1999, p. 192). SML research has, also, found evidence of processes of collective learning. For example, a study of "nannagogy," or Nannas who knit while protesting fracking in Australia, was shown to be highly influenced by a creative and collective learning system in which individual strengths were

utilized for collective learning (Larri & Whitehouse, 2019). Collective learning processes are also readily expressed within the knowledge production of social movements (Arribas Lozano, 2018; Daro, 2009).

There are, however, tensions within the literature around individual and collective learning process(es). For example, in their literature review of popular education and learning in social movements, Kuk and Tarlau (2020) posit that many NSM scholars place individual and collective learning on opposite ends of a spectrum which "downplays how individual and collective learning processes dialectically inform one another and can thus lead to misleading notions that micro-levels are only comprised of individual processes" (p. 599). Similarly, Niesz et al. (2018) assert that generally SML scholars "reject the overly individual, psychological, and instrumental assumptions about learning that dominate the field of adult education" (p. 13). While it may be true that most SML researchers reject individualized theories of learning, my review of the literature reveals that methodologically much empirical SML research relies on individuals recounting their learning experiences (Butterwick & Elfert, 2014; Cain & Seymour, 2011; Costa et al., 2021; Kluttz & Walter, 2018; Larri & Whitehouse, 2019; Lowan-Trudeau, 2017; Ollis, 2011; Sandlin & Walther, 2009; Underhill, 2019; Walker & Palacios, 2016), rather than research designs that explore learning of a collective, though, with some notable exceptions (Holst, 2020a; Kapoor, 2011; McVicar, 2021; Meek, 2011; Murray, 2019; Zielińska et al., 2011). The tension of the individual and collective learning processes is especially apparent in discussions of identity construction in which SML researchers explore the identities of individuals (Ayres, 2013; Curnow, 2017; Kim, 2011; Kluttz & Walter, 2018; Thapliyal, 2019), as opposed to the collective identity of the class and/or organization (Murray, 2019; Sawan, 2020).

Collectivity is an essential feature within the movement to end poverty led by the poor. It is expressed through the need to unite the poor and dispossessed across lines of difference into organizations and then to unite those organizations into a broad movement (Algood, 2021). Collectivity is also expressed as "connectedness," one of the 4 Cs of leadership development within the movement (Baptist, 2013). Within the pedagogy of the poor, the dialectical relationship between individuals and collectivities is expressed in the understanding that leadership development is necessary to develop leaders to build the movement, while the leadership of the poor as a social force is an expression of the need to develop the poor and dispossessed as a collective force. Therefore, this research adds to SML literature by explicating the relationship of individual and collective learning, through a methodology focused on the collective.

Dialectics of Learning, Education, and Organizing

There are clear differences within the SML research about how learning, education, and organizing are framed within the movements studied. Holst (2018) questions the shift to using SML from radical adult education to describe the learning and education processes occurring within social movements. Differences, though, appear throughout the empirical literature in which many researchers focus on the informal, incidental, or tacit learning occurring in social movements, referencing Foley (1999)'s work on incidental learning. While Foley's work was groundbreaking at the time in that it helped the field of adult education to widen it's understanding of who learns, how they learn, and what they learn, other current social movement researchers contend that SML occurs within systematic education processes that are focused and intentional (Chang, 2013; Holst, 2014; Manborde, 2019; Webb, 2019). Foley himself, in fact, agreed with this, even though he is primarily cited about incidental learning in social movements

(for example, Gleason, 2013; Irving & English, 2011; Livingstone & Sawchuk, 2005; McVicar, 2021). The separation of incidental learning and systematic education has developed a false dichotomy in understanding the learning and education in social movements.

In their review of empirical SML literature, Atta and Holst (2020) posit that learning and education in social movements consist of a dialectical relationship, similar to how Kuk and Tarlau (2020) describe individual and collective learning. Empirical studies have highlighted the systematic educational processes occurring in social movements (Holst, 2020a) and the relationship of learning and education (Curnow, 2017; Hall, 2009; Melero & Gil-Jaurena, 2019; Thapliyal, 2019). Further, there are other studies that make the explicit connection between education and organizing (Grayson, 2011, 2014; Kapoor, 2011; Meek, 2011; Murray, 2019; Sawan, 2020). Additionally, Choudry (2015) emphasizes the interconnectedness of "movements, learning and education, organizing, knowledge production, and activist research as…dialectically linked" (p. 22). What the movements in these studies have in common is that they fall under Holst's (2018) definition of movements of new social subjects, those whose demands require an upheaval of existing socio-political economic structures for the basic survival of those in the movement. In contrast, Webb (2019) describes a "pedagogical lacunae" in the Occupy Wall Street movement which contributed to the movement's reproduction of existing social structures and norms. Meanwhile, other SML research has explored the role of movement schools in educating and organizing (Chang, 2013; Holst, 2020a). Such distinctions of the role of intentional education may begin to indicate different pedagogical practices of movements of new social subjects, though more research must be conducted.

Within the theory and praxis of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S., leadership and leadership development is dialectically linked to learning, education, and

organizing in the movement. However, there is a lack of SML literature exploring these interrelated aspects of movement development with leadership and leadership development as part of the equation. One notable exception is Cardona & Choudry (2019) whose research of worker organizations in Quebec includes aspects of education, learning, and leadership development. Further, while not explicitly naming the linkages between learning, education, organizing, and leadership, the literature exploring knowledge production in social movements does explore the processes of research, teaching, theory development, incidental learning, and systematic education (Arribas Lozano, 2018; Choudry, 2014; Daro, 2009).

Sacred Text as Curriculum. As described in the characteristics of social movement organizing, some empirical literature within SML describes the role and motivation of faith as a characteristic of the movement. Some movements, too, have collaborated with faith communities and organizations in building the movement (Grayson, 2011). Two studies highlight how individuals' commitments to social justice movements were influenced by their understandings of scripture (Cain & Seymour, 2011; Colón-Rivera, 2017). Cain's (Cain & Seymour, 2011) understanding of scriptural text was "shaped by the struggles for social justice going on around her" (p. 85) while Colón-Rivera (2017) was influenced by a priest who understood "the call of God as a service to others" and "learning in the struggles [as] including a spiritual dimension" (p. 96). There were no studies, though, that highlighted the role of sacred text as a means of learning, education, and organizing in the movement. The use of the Bible by poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S., therefore, adds to the SML literature.

Chapter Summary

Chapter two began with a review of the scholarship and practice within the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. From this, I constructed a rigorous and appropriate theoretical framework consisting of three key elements including (a) who are the poor and why are we poor, (b) the poor organizing the poor, and (c) the pedagogy of the poor. I, then, reviewed the SML literature, drawing upon seminal scholarship and systematic literature reviews, while reviewing empirical studies of SML research since 2008. This literature was synthesized through three themes that correlate to the key elements in the theoretical framework, including (a) analysis of conditions, (b) social movement organizing, and (c) learning and education in social movements (Figure 5).

The review of SML literature through the theoretical framework highlighted areas of convergence, as well as gaps within the SML literature. The movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. is based upon an analysis of conditions embedded in class struggle, a theme identified within the SML research, as well. However, there were few, if any, SML studies of contemporary social movements in the U.S. which are based on an analysis of class. Additionally, a key element of the movement to end poverty is the poor organizing the poor which encompasses independent organizations of the poor, led by the poor, with objectively revolutionary demands (Holst, 2018). While the review of SML literature found research with similar organizational forms (multi-organizational movements) and demands (objectively revolutionary), there was not an emphasis on the leadership of the poor and dispossessed or other "new social subjects" (Holst, 2018) within the current research, particularly in the U.S. Further, there were few studies that highlighted faith and scripture as an organizing principle, as is found in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. Finally, the pedagogy of the poor

encompasses dialectical relationships of unlearning and learning, individuals and collectives, and learning, education, organizing, and leadership. There is a growing segment of literature, especially of movements with a class-based analysis and/or objectively revolutionary demands that frames movement pedagogy (or lack thereof) as dialectical relationships of learning, education, and organizing, but there are few that include the aspect of leadership and leadership development as a key component.

Therefore, the purpose of this study, to understand how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible in their organizing, adds to the SML literature. The first research question addresses the overall ways that poor people's organizations in the movement are informed by the Bible. The second research question and sub-questions explore how the organizations use the Bible through examination of a how biblical texts are interpreted and integrated into the organizing work of poor people's organizations in the movement. Further, the organizations studied are independent organizations of the poor, led by the poor, united in a movement to end poverty also led by the poor. Therefore, each organization and the totality of this study add to the understanding of class analysis, organizational forms, and objectively revolutionary demands of social movements.

Chapter 3 - Research Methodology and Design

The previous chapters have introduced the reader to the importance of understanding how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible. Concepts within the movement formed the theoretical framework for this study, including (a) who are the poor and why are we poor, (b) the poor organizing the poor, and (c) and the pedagogy of the poor. Chapter three begins with outlining the research paradigm and methodology for the study. Next research ethics and protection of human subjects is described, followed by a description of the study's population. The chapter, then, proceeds to outline data collection, management, analysis, and representation used within the study.

Research Purpose and Questions

The purpose of this research was to understand how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible. The specific research questions included:

1. How are poor people's organizations informed by the Bible in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S?

2. How do poor people's organizations use biblical passages to organize in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S.?

   c. How do poor people's organizations interpret biblical passages?

   d. How do poor people's organizations integrate biblical passages into their organizing?

Research Paradigm

To investigate the research purpose and questions stated above required a holistic and contextual approach to inquiry (Guba & Lincoln, 1982; Yin, 2018). Guba and Lincoln (1982)

identified five axioms of naturalistic inquiry, including (a) reality as multiple and holistic, (b) an interactive and interrelated relationship between researcher and participant, (c) truths as contextual with an emphasis on difference, (d) establishment of "plausible inferences about the patterns and webs" of inquiry (p. 238), and (e) value-bound inquiry. These axioms were representative of my philosophy and research perspective and aligned with the research purpose and questions. For example, one of the assumptions of this study concerned the moral and political agency of the poor and dispossessed which exemplifies a value-bound inquiry. Further, because the philosophical assumptions within which this study are situated represent constructionism and how poor people's organizations are constructing counter-hegemonic narratives about poverty and the poor using the Bible, qualitative inquiry was the appropriate research orientation (Merriam, 2001). Additionally, because the purpose of this research was *to understand*, qualitative inquiry was the appropriate research orientation. Finally, because the product of this research includes a full and rich description of how the organizations engage the Bible in their organizing, qualitative inquiry was appropriate (Guba & Lincoln, 1982; Merriam, 2001; Tracy, 2010).

Pilot Study

Prior to beginning the research, I conducted a virtual qualitative pilot case study which shaped the methodological framework and research design. The purpose of the pilot study was to explore the overall context of the use of the Bible in poor people's organizations engaged in a social movement to end poverty led by the poor in the United States. Data collected included two focus group interviews with leaders of the Reading the Bible with the Poor Planning Team, grant documents written by the Planning Team, four individual interviews with leaders in the movement suggested by the Planning Team, and an observation of a service of the Freedom

Church of the Poor. Analytic memos (Saldaña, 2016) were utilized throughout the data collection and analysis process. A summary of the findings from the pilot study and how they informed the research purpose and questions, theoretical framework, and research design of this study, are outlined next.

The results and process of the pilot study shaped the methodological framework for this study. First, the purpose of this research was refined because pilot study participants referenced the need for deeper understanding and shared learning across the movement about how particular poor people's organizations are using the Bible in their organizing. Second, the pilot study shaped the research questions used. The first research question (RQ1: how are poor people's organizations informed by the Bible in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S.) further explored the ways in which poor people's organizations are drawing upon the Bible in their organizing work. The second research question and sub-questions examine specific passages of the Bible that are used by the organizations. Research question two (RQ2: how do poor people's organizations use biblical passages to organize in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S.) and the two sub-questions (RQ2a: how do poor people's organizations interpret biblical passages; RQ2b: how do poor people's organizations integrate biblical passages into their organizing) continued to build a lexicon of biblical passages used in organizing while further explicating the findings of the pilot study regarding organizing to end poverty *in the Bible* and *with the Bible*. Finally, the research design was refined by the findings of the pilot study which explored the overall context of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. Understanding the context aided in selection and bounding of the cases, as well as the units of analysis and theoretical propositions examined.

Case Study Methodology

The nature of social movement research, because it is contextual and temporally bound, often parallels case study methodology (Snow & Trom, 2002). Specific aspects of overlap include defining the case, a thick description of the case, and triangulation in data collection and analysis (Snow & Trom, 2002). Additionally, Hall & Turray (2006) show that case study is one of the five most often used methodologies for SML research. Finally, in his seminal research on SML, Foley (1999) writes, "I suggest that to develop a picture of this complexity one needs to write case studies of learning in struggle, making explanatory connections between the broad political and economic context, micro-politics, ideologies, discourses, and learning" (p. 132). My research of poor people's organizations engagement with the Bible built upon case study as a commonly used methodology for SML research, while utilizing methodological concepts of Yin (2018), Stake (1995), and Merriam (2001), three seminal case study scholars. To facilitate theoretical generalizations about engagement with the Bible in the movement to end poverty, Yin's research design framework was utilized, while also maintaining an openness and flexibility throughout the research process (Merriam, 2001; Snow & Trom, 2002; Stake, 1995). Finally, the methodological framework employed concepts of social movement activist research (Gutierrez & Lipman, 2016) and other researchers who were involved within the social movements they researched (Choudry, 2015; Unroe, 2020), as well as incorporating rigor and trustworthiness of virtual qualitative inquiry (Roberts et al., 2021).

To understand and compare the unique ways the Bible is applied by poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor, a descriptive, multiple-case study approach (Yin, 2018), which is instrumental (Stake, 1995), was utilized. The purpose of a descriptive case study is to provide an in-depth look at the case(s) in their "real-world context"

(Yin, 2018, p. 287). Yin (2018) contrasts descriptive case studies to exploratory or explanatory case studies, respectively designed to identify research questions and purpose or to "explain how a condition came to be" (p. 287). In contrast, descriptive case studies provide a thorough description of the phenomenon of inquiry and have been used by SML researchers to describe pedagogies used within social movement organizations without imposing evaluative or explanatory aspects of the research (Holst, 2020a; Unroe, 2020). The research methodology allowed for understanding and comparison of how three poor people's organizations are informed by the Bible in their organizing and to describe how specific biblical passages are used within the context of each organization and is, therefore, descriptive.

A descriptive case study can be applied to just one case or to more than one case within case study research (Yin, 2018). The multiple-case study approach allows for individual case analysis as well as cross-case synthesis (Yin, 2018) to assess similarities and differences in how the Bible is applied by various poor people's organizations. A multiple-case study approach has been utilized by other SML researchers to study democratic adult learning in grassroots organizations (Gouthro, 2012). The multiple-case study approach of different organizations within the same social movement allows for descriptive analysis which is "representative of the broader movement" (Snow & Trom, 2002, p. 161). Therefore, applying a descriptive, multiple-case study approach for this research allowed for an illustrative understanding of the role of the Bible in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S.

In addition to Yin's (2018) framework of descriptive and multi-case approaches, Stake (1995) offers a framework of intrinsic, as opposed to instrumental, case study. An intrinsic case study approach is designed to make the case itself primary, while instrumental case studies are used to understand something other than the case. The case study was instrumental because the

purpose was to understand how poor people's organizations engage the Bible as part of their organizing work in the movement to end poverty led by the poor.

The design of this research changed due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. Originally the study was designed to include both virtual and in-person elements, allowing the researcher to spend significant time at the location of each organization. However, due to the ongoing pandemic, including personal health concerns of the researcher, as well as the vulnerability of individuals within poor people's organizations who lack adequate access to housing, health care, and sick time from work, I revisited the research design. Roberts et al. (2021), in their study of virtual qualitative research during COVID-19, argued that virtual qualitative research is not simply a matter of changing data collection modalities, but should encompass the entire research design. Therefore, I revised the research design utilizing the "Qualitative Research as a Virtual Enterprise: Considerations for Research Design and Execution" tool developed by Roberts et al. (2021, p. 10). The tool includes questions for consideration to ensure methodological rigor, as well as ethics and equity in virtual qualitative research. The revised elements were incorporated into the research design to ensure alignment of purpose, design, and methods for virtual qualitative research (Roberts et al., 2021) as outlined in the subsections below.

Research Ethics and Protection of Human Subjects

Ethics within qualitative research is interwoven within the research design. The next section describes the ways trustworthiness, rigor, and ethics were woven into the design of this study of poor people's organizations' engagement with the Bible.

Trustworthiness and Rigor in Qualitative Inquiry

Qualitative inquiry is no less rigorous than quantitative or mixed-methods research; however, the standards of quality are different. This study utilized Guba and Lincoln's (1982)

framework for establishing the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiry, supplemented by ethical

considerations for qualitative research rigor from Stake (1995), Tracy (2010), and Yin (2018)

and considerations for ethics and equity in virtual qualitative research from Roberts et al. (2021).

The first of four criteria presented by Guba and Lincoln (1982) to establish

trustworthiness is credibility which asks, "do the data sources (most often humans) find the

inquirer's analysis, formulation, and interpretations to be credible (believable)?" (p. 246). Four

practices were employed in this study to ensure credibility, (a) triangulation, (b) peer debriefing,

(c) member reflection, and (d) researcher reflexivity. The first, inherent in case study research, is

triangulation, which is cross-checking findings through multiple sources of data (Guba &

Lincoln, 1982; Stake, 1995; Tracy, 2010; Yin, 2018). I collected and analyzed multiple types of

interviews, observations, documents, and artifacts from each organization to achieve data

triangulation. Second, peer debriefing (Lincoln & Guba, 1982) was utilized. Peer debriefing is

similar to Stake's (1995) description of investigator triangulation in which "other researchers

take a look at the same scene or phenomenon" (p. 133). Additionally, member reflection (Tracy,

2010), a form of member checking (Guba & Lincoln, 1982; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2018), was used.

In SML research, member reflection is also referred to as "peer review" (Choudry, 2014).

Member reflection and peer review go beyond member checks by inviting participants to offer

"questions, critique, feedback, affirmation, and even collaboration" (Tracy, 2010, p. 844). I

engaged member reflection by providing each organization a first draft of the initial case report,

as well as a video summary of the case report, and asked for feedback from the organization. The

feedback was incorporated into the research findings. Member reflection allowed me to embody

one of the concepts of social movement activist research described earlier: inviting collaboration

(Gutierrez & Lipman, 2016). Finally, credibility was achieved through my knowledge of and

involvement with the movement. By utilizing a researcher journal, I engaged reflexively with the research throughout the data collection, analysis, and representation process, drawing on my strengths as a researcher involved in the movement (Gutierrez & Lipman, 2016). Each of the techniques above were, also, utilized in the pilot study which provided a chance to practice and refine these techniques for implementation within this research.

The second criteria for trustworthiness that was met is transferability. First, as will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, purposive sampling (Guba & Lincoln, 1982; Merriam, 2001) was used to select the participating organizations. Utilizing purposive sampling allows for transferability of analytic generalizations (Yin, 2018), naturalistic generalizations (Stake, 1995; Tracy, 2010), and/or assertions (Stake, 1995) to be transferred to similar organizations, movements, or contexts. Additionally, theoretical propositions (Yin, 2018) were utilized. Such generalizations or assertions "may be based on either (a) corroborating, modifying, rejecting, or otherwise advancing theoretical concepts that [were] referenced in designing [the] case study or (b) new concepts that arose" (Yin, 2018, p. 38). Such generalizations and assertions were found at the conceptual, not case-specific level (Yin, 2018).

Third, dependability, defined as "*stability* after discounting such conscious and unpredictable (but rational and logical) changes" (Lincoln & Guba, 1982, p. 247) to the research design was met through a technique emphasized by multiple methodologists, though with different language. Yin (2018) describes the technique as replication logic, which was built into this research design through the selection of cases. The concept is similarly described by Guba and Lincoln (1982) as "use of overlap methods" and by Stake (1995) as methodological triangulation. In essence each of these descriptors and how they were applied in this study

provide a claim to dependability "to the extent that they produce complementary results" (Lincoln & Guba, 1982, p. 248).

The final criterion for trustworthiness outlined by Lincoln and Guba (1982) is confirmability. Confirmability was fulfilled through triangulation, peer debriefing, and member reflection, as well as through practices of researcher reflexivity (Lincoln & Guba, 1982) and sincerity (Tracy, 2010). Through a researcher journal, I continued to discover my own "underlying epistemological assumptions, reasons for formulating the study in a particular way, and implicit assumptions, biases, or prejudices about the context or problem" (Lincoln & Guba, 1982, p. 248). Further, through practices of sincerity (Tracy, 2010) I have been transparent about the methods, findings, and challenges throughout the research process.

Ethics in Virtual Qualitative Inquiry

In addition to the criteria for establishing trustworthiness, other ethical and equitable considerations were employed, based on the research of Roberts et al. (2021) on rigorous virtual qualitative research. The first was appropriateness of conducting research in a virtual format. Organizations within the movement to end poverty led by the poor engaged meetings, actions, press conferences, and gatherings virtually, particularly since the start of the COVID-19 pandemic. Additionally, the pilot study was conducted virtually. Therefore, there was familiarity within the organizations regarding organizing and research conducted virtually. Further, it was in the best interests of the researcher and the organizations to limit risks due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. Because visits to each of the organizations would have required travel, both the researcher and the community visited would have been put at risk, particularly because the communities include those already struggling to have their basic needs of housing, living wage, paid sick leave, and healthcare met. While the transition to virtual qualitative research

meant a potential loss of the richness of understanding the local context of the community and organization, the risk was mitigated through additional sources of data collection including videos produced or livestreamed by the organizations and asking interviewees to describe what the researcher would have experienced in person that could not be fully captured through virtual research.

The second consideration for methodological rigor of virtual qualitative research was technological tools and access. Organizations within the movement were primarily utilizing Zoom for meetings and gatherings since the start of the pandemic. Further, the pilot study, with leaders from each of the three organizations, was conducted via Zoom. Each organization had the capacity for Zoom engagement and assisted individuals with technological access when needed. These conditions lent support for conducting individual and group interviews through Zoom, while observations and artifacts were collected through whatever medium each organization utilized to publish their own content.

The final consideration to ensure methodological rigor of virtual qualitative research was researcher positionality. Specifically, Roberts et al. (2021) ask: "how can I develop a rich understanding of the context of my study without being physically present in my research site?" (p. 11). Developing a deep understanding of the context is, perhaps, the most challenging of the considerations of virtual research, particularly for case study research. Following the suggestions given by Roberts et al. (2021), I consulted other resources online about the context of the organizations and watched videos from the organizations which showed their communities. I further mitigated this challenge by asking the participants what I would have learned about their organizations had I been able to conduct the research in-person. Many participants offered rich descriptions of their contexts and organizations that further illuminated the data.

Ethics and Researcher Positionality

      As was introduced in Chapter 1, I have been a participant and leader in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. for almost two decades. Because of my involvement in the movement, I have personal and collegial relationships with many other leaders from organizations across the country. I, also, have been both learner and teacher (Freire, 1970) of the analysis developed collectively within the movement, particularly related to the use of the Bible (Theoharis, 2014, 2017). I entered the movement as a graduate student who was struggling to pay for tuition, housing, and food. At the same time, my family was struggling with the fallout from the housing and financial crisis that took our home from us. I am now a faith leader in the movement, as well. Therefore, throughout the research process I intended to avoid the false dichotomies that faith leaders are not part of the poor and dispossessed to avoid false narratives of who is poor and why we are poor which obscure class consciousness and disorganize the poor and dispossessed (Sarkar et al., 2018).

      In the research process I moved into an additional and new role within the movement: researcher. I attempted to embody a counter-hegemonic narrative about SML researchers. There are many examples of methodological literature which acknowledge and attempt to lessen divisions between researchers and those being researched, but which also focus on differences instead of solidarity (Earl, 2017; Mellor et al., 2014; Vanner, 2015). For this research, given my subjectivities and positionality, I leaned on the work of Gutierrez and Lipman (2016) about social movement activist researchers as I brought important dimensions with me into this new, complex role as faith leader-working-class-researcher in the movement to end poverty led by the poor.

The practice of social movement activists also becoming social movement researchers is not new (Caruso, 2011, 2019; Choudry, 2015; Colón-Rivera, 2017; Curnow, 2017; Kapoor, 2011; Unroe, 2020; Zielińska et al., 2011). In their work with the Collaborative for Equity and Justice in Education, Gutierrez and Lipman (2016) engaged as both activists and researchers and stated, "activist researchers must be more thorough, more accurate, because the stakes are higher" (p. 1243). This statement resonated with me as I conducted research within a movement to which I am deeply committed. I held myself accountable to both the academic and ethical standards of rigorous qualitative research, as well as to the very individuals whom I have been organizing alongside for almost two decades. These dual levels of accountability provided not a bias, but an added level of rigor and importance to get it right "because the stakes are higher" (Gutierrez & Lipman, 2016, p. 1243). It is to the benefit of the movement that I engaged this research with ethics and integrity. Research, when interwoven with social movement organizing, is also a tool for social change (Cox & Nilsen, 2014). Therefore, I applied principles from Gutierrez and Lipman (2016) to my own social movement research, such as (a) collaborative research and knowledge production, (b) continued commitments to the movement's 4Cs of clarity, competency, commitment, and connectedness, (c) and the role of research as a form of organizing, leadership development, and social movement praxis. My research, thus, became a form of "social movement praxis" (Gutierrez & Lipman, 2016, p. 1244) for the development of myself, the participant organizations, and the movement as a whole.

Institutional Review Board Approval

I applied for approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) in accordance with ethical standards of research practice. In my initial application for review, I incorporated suggestions from Perrault and Keating's (2018) research on improving online informed consent

forms, as well as Roberts et al.'s (2021) recommendations for ensuring equity when conducting

qualitative research virtually. The adaptations to the informed consent form and process included

a shorter version of the form which incorporated bulleted lists, colors, friendlier language, and

considerations of technological access and proficiency (Appendix A). The IRB, however,

requested significant changes to the consent form. After submitting four IRB applications, I

reverted the consent form to the traditional format required by the IRB, eliminating the

considerations I had incorporated (Appendix B). The final application, with the overhauled

informed consent form, was approved on February 20, 2022 (Appendix C).

Informed Consent Process

I initially contacted leaders of each organization through Signal, an encrypted messaging

application which is used as a primary mode of communication between many leaders in the

movement, to let them know I would be emailing a letter of invitation for their organization to

participate in the study (Appendix D). Once the organizations indicated they would participate in

the research, I began to schedule individual interviews. For the first interview with an

organization, I requested the leader electronically sign the letter of invitation to acknowledge the

inclusion of publicly available materials within the study's data collection process and to

reiterate the organization's name would be specified within the research report, but not

individual participant names. Additionally, for each interview, I collected the Informed Consent

form for individual participants (Appendix B). The forms were created using Alchemer, an

online survey and forms platform. The link to the forms were texted through Signal and/or

emailed to participants after they agreed to participate in the study. At the start of each interview,

before beginning recording, I confirmed receipt of the form and reviewed it with the participant.

In some cases, I put the link to the form in the Zoom chat for the participant to complete as we

were meeting before we began the interview. I was the only person with access to the completed informed consent forms. At the conclusion of the research, pdfs of the completed forms were downloaded and stored on my password protected external hard drive. The online informed consent form and responses were subsequently deleted.

Protections of Participant Anonymity

In addition to the protections of anonymity explained above for completed informed consent forms, the following steps were also taken to ensure individual participant anonymity. Interview recordings were downloaded from the Zoom storage cloud and then deleted from Zoom. Video recordings were then uploaded to NVivo transcription service and original video recordings were deleted. Transcribed interviews did not include any identifying information about participants. Transcriptions were deleted from the online NVivo transcription service. I stored the interview transcript on my password protected computer as a document and in NVivo throughout the research and writing phases. At the conclusion of the research, the transcripts were archived to my password protected external hard drive. All stored interview data excluded information identifying individual participants and referenced only the organization's name.

Population

The selection of organizations began in the pilot study which utilized purposive sampling (Merriam, 2001) to select participants who were part of organizations with the most developed praxis of engaging the Bible in their organizing. Members of each of the organizations were part of the pilot study and each organization was mentioned repeatedly by other pilot study participants as being exemplary in their engagement of the Bible in the movement. That they are exemplary in this manner addresses the problem statement that guides this research, further tying

the bounding and selection of cases to the problem statement, research purpose, and research questions (Yin, 2018).

Further, the selection of three poor people's organizations who are considered exemplary in their engagement with the Bible in their organizing exemplifies Yin's (2018) concept of replication logic, in contrast to sampling logic. Replication logic in case studies outlines an interwoven way to define, select, analyze, and conclude within multi-case studies. Yin (2018) states

> The simplest multiple-case design would be the selection of two or more cases that are believed to be literal replications, such as a set of case studies with exemplary outcomes. Selecting such cases requires prior knowledge of the outcomes, with the multiple-case inquiry focusing on how and why the exemplary outcomes might have occurred and hoping for literal (or direct) replications of these conditions from case to case. (p. 59)

For this study, literal replication was used to select cases that were expected to have similar findings about their engagement with the Bible because they are each embedded in the context of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. and because they are all poor people's organizations.

Contexts

Yin (2018) explains the importance, within case study research, of distinguishing the context and case to define how the case is bounded. The pilot study revealed that the movement to end poverty led by the poor is one context in which poor people's organizations operate. For example, most organizations are connected to other collectives within the movement, such as PPC:NCMR, Kairos Center for Religions, Rights, and Social Justice, Popular Education Project, University of the Poor, Freedom Church of the Poor, and the Reading the Bible with the Poor

Cohort. However, poor people's organizations, also, operate within a local context of organizing their community around a particular issue(s) and within geographic, religious, political, and demographic contexts. The pilot study explored the context of the movement to end poverty as a whole. In contrast, this study sought to understand the local contexts in which each organization is embedded. Table 2 summarizes the local contexts of each organization.

Table 2 *Local Contexts of Organizations*

	Chaplains on the Harbor	**Union de Vecinos**	**Raise Up the South**
Location	Grays Harbor County, Washington	Boyle Heights, Los Angeles, California	North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia
Primary Religious Expression	A ministry of Episcopal Church	Catholic	Inter/Non-denominational
Primary Organizing Issues	Housing & Homelessness	Tenant Rights & Immigration	Living Wage & Right to form a Union
Primary Demographics	Rural white	Latinx	Black

Therefore, the organizations operate within multiple contexts including, (a) their local context and (b) the larger movement context.

Bounding of Cases

Defining the boundaries of a case "will help to determine the scope of your data collection and, in particular, how you will distinguish data about the subject of your case study (the 'phenomenon') from the data external to the case (the 'context')" (Yin, 2018, p. 31). The cases in this study were bounded by unit and time. The unit utilized to bound the cases was the organization for four reasons. First, the pilot study revealed the importance of collectivity in the

movement to end poverty in the U.S. Leaders rarely, if ever, discussed their individual work alone. Participants discussed the importance of uniting, of doing work together, of studying and thinking together, of marching and protesting together. The documents analyzed in the pilot study described the organizing work as collective, collaborative, and liberative in both content and process. Collectivity in the movement is also a key theme found within the theoretical framework of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. Therefore, inquiry of a collective, as opposed to individuals, fits best with the philosophy and practice of the movement itself. Second, another aspect of the pedagogy of the movement that was found in the pilot study and theoretical framework was the poor organizing the poor through organizations of the poor and dispossessed. Therefore, an organization is a natural bounding that exists within the movement. Third, Yin (2018) suggests that concrete units are needed to bound a case, not an abstract concept. Exploration of concepts related to engagement of the Bible in organizing is not a concretely bounded case, but an organization's engagement of the Bible, particularly through exploration of interpretation and integration of specific biblical passages is concrete and, therefore, bounded. Finally, the research questions explicitly define poor people's organizations as the unit of inquiry to fulfill the research purpose, an example of Yin's (2018) statement that "the bounding should also tighten the connection between your case and your research questions…" (p. 31). These four reasons support the bounding of cases as that of organizations. The cases were also bounded temporally (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The period specified was December 2021 through August 2022.

Data Collection

As is necessary with qualitative case study research, multiple forms of data were collected for each case (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2018). Data were collected virtually during the 9-

month period which bounded the cases. Data collected included observations, semi-structured

individual and group interviews, artifacts, documents, and a researcher journal. Collecting and

analyzing multiple sources of data is common within case study research (Baxter & Jack, 2008)

and contributes to the triangulation of data (Tracy, 2010) and rigor and trustworthiness of the

research (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Table 3 summarizes the types of data collected, including when

and how it was collected, as well as the corresponding research questions which pertain to each

data type.

Table 3 *Summary of Data Collection Type, Timeline, and Modality*

Type of Data	Who/What	When	Modality	Research Questions
Semi-Structured Interviews	2-4 individual or group interviews with organization leaders	March - Aug	Zoom	RQ1, RQ2, RQ2a, RQ2b
Documents	Devotionals written by anyone in the orgs	Jan – Feb	*We Cry Justice* devotional book	RQ2, RQ2a, RQ2b
	Supplemental materials to *We Cry Justice* book	Jan – June	Kairos Center website	RQ2, RQ2a, RQ2b
Observation	Freedom Church of the Poor services with orgs	Feb – Aug	Livestreamed on Facebook	RQ2, RQ2a, RQ2b
	Poor People's and Low-Wage Worker's Mass Assembly	June	Livestreamed on website	RQ1
Artifacts	Articles, text messages, and videos written or produced by the org	March - Aug	Blog, Signal, YouTube	RQ1, RQ2, RQ2a, RQ2b

Reflexive Journal & Analytic Memos	Researcher	Dec - Oct	NVivo & handwritten journal	RQ1, RQ2, RQ2a, RQ2b

In addition to the information outlined in Table 3, Appendix E outlines the complete list of data collected. The steps for data collection and analysis of all data sources is outlined in Appendix F while the collection of the specific data types is explained next

Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews are a common methodological tool in qualitative research and "have always been central to social movement research" (Blee & Taylor, 2002, p. 92). I conducted semi-structured interviews with individuals of each organization utilizing an Interview Protocol (Blee & Taylor, 2002; DeMarrais, 2004). The interview protocol was adjusted throughout the data collection process to account for lessons learned during previous interviews, such as the best order of questions. The final version of the protocol can be found in Appendix G.

In addition to semi-structured interviews with individuals, social movement research also describes semi-structured group interviews (Blee & Taylor, 2002). Group interviews differ from focus groups in that focus groups aim to facilitate "the interaction of the group to stimulate participants to think beyond their own private thoughts and to articulate their opinions" (Kleiber, 2002, p. 91). By contrast, group interviews are utilized to conduct interviews in which power differentials between researcher and participant may be present. For example, Johnson-Bailey (2002) adjusted her interview process during the course of her study with economically disadvantaged women because "talking with them as a collective gave them power" (p. 126). Therefore, I conducted group interviews when interviewing participants who are leaders in the

poor people's organizations with whom I had no prior contact or relationship to account for the power differential in my positionality as a researcher.

Observations

Case study research typically includes conducting observations to allow the researcher to come to a greater understanding of the case (Stake, 1995). Observations should be aimed at the particular issues or research questions being explored (Stake, 1995). To that end, I conducted observations of Freedom Church of the Poor services which took place from December 2021 to August 2022 in which a leader from one of the three organizations was leading a portion of the service. Additionally, a leader from each organization spoke at the PPC:NCMR's Mass Poor People's and Low Wage Workers' Assembly and Moral March on Washington on June 18, 2022. Therefore, I observed this event as well.

Observations were conducted virtually through livestream of the events. When possible, I conducted the observations synchronously by keeping "a good record of events to provide a relatively *incontestable description* for further analysis and ultimate reporting" (Stake, 1995, p. 62). When it was not possible to observe the events synchronously, I observed the recording from the livestream later. As suggested by Merriam (2001), I took notes on the physical or virtual setting or context, participants, activities and interactions, conversation, subtleties, and my own reactions and behavior. I also took screenshots to document aspects of the events. From the notes and screenshots, I produced a document of Field Notes which were uploaded into NVivo for analysis. The Observation Protocol can be found in Appendix H.

Documents & Artifacts

The documents collected included the chapters in the devotional book *We Cry Justice* which were written by leaders within the organizations in this research, as well as supplemental

resources for the book. Artifacts included articles or videos produced by the organization which further illuminated the data found in interviews, observations, and documents. The artifacts served as "substitutes for records of activity that the researcher could not observe directly" (Stake, 1995, p. 68). As with the other data sources, prior to data collection I created a guide for collecting document and artifact data. The Protocol for Collection and Analysis of Documents and Artifacts can be found in Appendix I.

Data Management

Each of the three major case study methodologists emphasize the need for a well-organized data management system (Merriam, 2001; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2018). Because case study research requires multiple types of data to be collected for each case, a large amount of data is produced in case study research. Yin (2018) and Merriam (2001) both, also, discuss the advantages and challenges of using qualitative data management software. Both emphasize the importance that software assists the researcher in data management and analysis, though it is the researcher doing the managing and analyzing.

I used NVivo for data management and analysis, having used it previously for both the pilot study and literature review. Prior to data collection I set up my NVivo project to begin to manage the data (Richards, 2015). First, I created each organization as a case in NVivo. This was used to assign each datum a case as soon as it was imported into NVivo. Next, I uploaded all documents related to the study that were not data, such as the IRB application and approval, letters of invitation to organizations, data source protocols, etc. to maintain all documents related to the study in a singular location (Richards, 2015). Then I created folders for each type of data to establish a system of organization for importing data (Figure 6).

Figure 6 *Data File Management in NVivo*

Finally, I also created a system of organization for memos to enable discoveries to be easily

recorded and located throughout the data analysis process. Richards (2015) suggests creating

memos about method, about documents, and about emerging ideas. I adapted these categories by

creating folders for memos as shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7 *Memo Management System in NVivo*
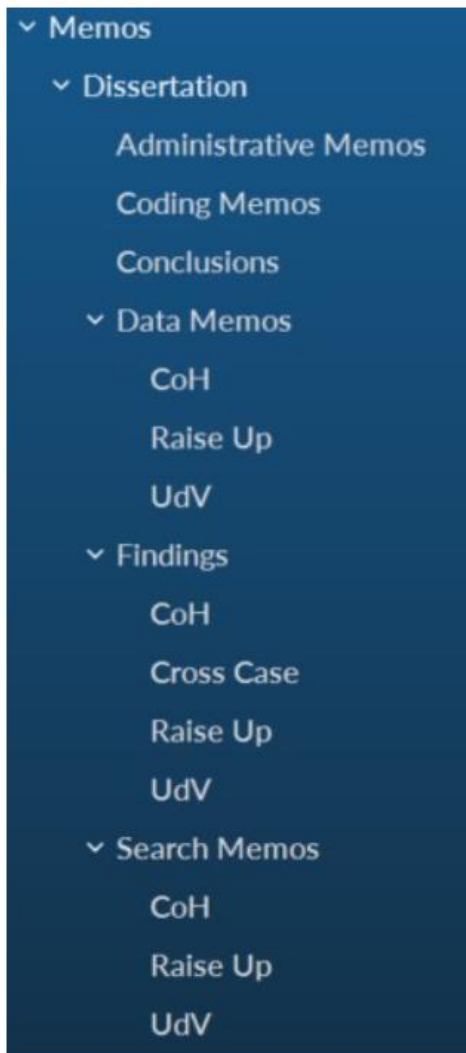
Administrative Memos included the Log Trail, in which I recorded every action and decision throughout the research process, as well as my Reflexive Journal. By storing all related documents, data, and memos in NVivo, I was able to easily access every aspect of the research, as well as easily search the documents when needed.

Data Analysis

As with most qualitative research, the processes of data collection and data analysis were iterative processes (Agee, 2009; Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 2018). The following explanation of data analysis includes defining the units of analysis and specifying the steps of analysis taken within single case and cross-case analysis.

Unit of Analysis

An important aspect of case study research involves defining the units of analysis which may be the same as or different from the case itself (Yin, 2018). For this research, the units of analysis related directly to the research questions. The first research question explored how the organizations are informed by the Bible. Therefore, one unit of analysis in each case was the organization, to discover the how the organization is informed by the Bible in their organizing. The second research question inquired about particular biblical passages used within the organizations. Therefore, the second unit of analysis in each case are the Bible texts used. Figure 8 illustrates the cases and research design previously described, while highlighting the dual units of analysis within each case.

Figure 8 *Research Design and Units of Analysis*
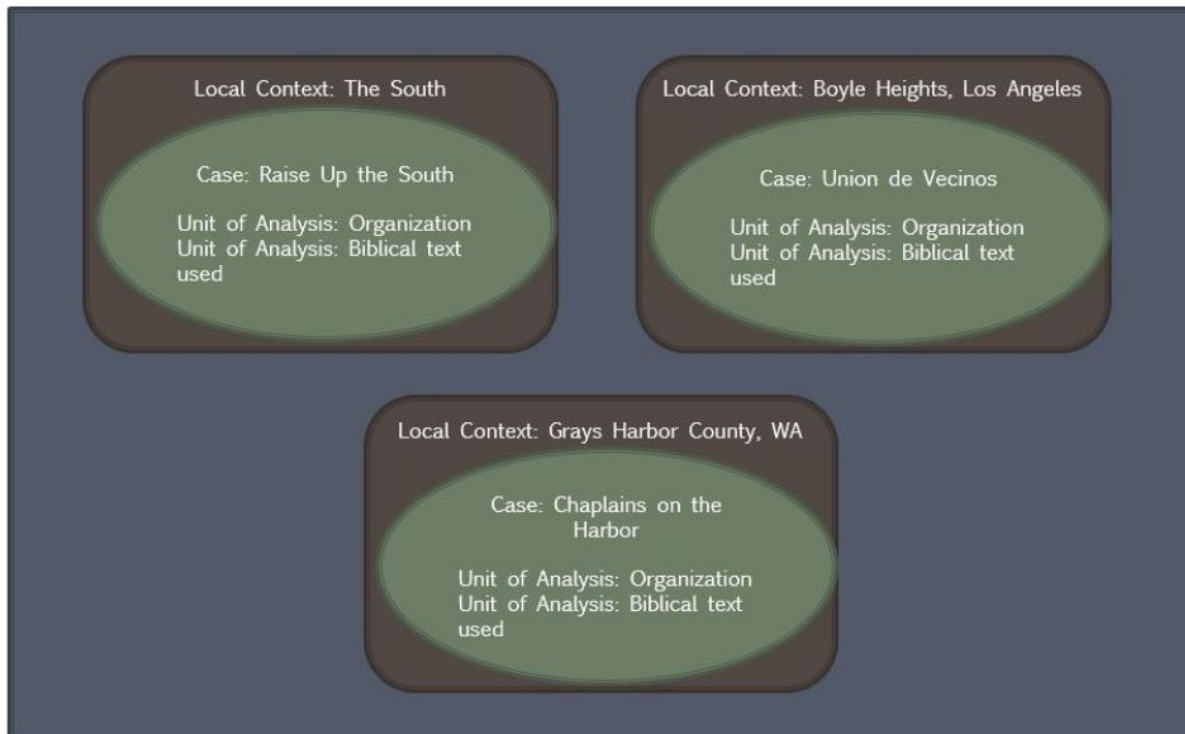
Throughout data analysis any biblical passages mentioned within the data were recorded in each organization's Biblical Passages Table (Appendices J-L). Analysis then proceeded within multiple stages beginning first with single-case analysis (sometimes called within-case analysis) and preceding to cross-case analysis (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015; Yin, 2018).

Single-Case Analysis

Analysis began with single-case analysis of each organization, in which "each case [was] treated as a comprehensive case in and of itself" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 234). Each datum for an organization was analyzed through pattern matching (Yin, 2018) which I conducted using a combination of coding techniques, including concept coding, provisional coding, and theoretical coding (Saldaña, 2016). According to Saldaña (2016), concept codes "assign meso- or

macro- levels of meaning to data or to data analytic work in progress" by using "a word or short phrase that symbolically represents a suggested meaning broader than a single item or action" (p. 119). As such, concept codes include both nouns and processes. Because this study bounded each case as an organization, not individuals, it includes the hope of "transcend[ing] the particular participants of [the] fieldwork and to progress toward *ideas* suggested by the study" (Saldaña, 2016, p. 120) and, therefore, concept coding was an appropriate option. Further, Saldaña's (2016) description of the best practices of concept coding that combine words or phrases together is indicative of dialectics, a key element of the theoretical framework and SML. Further, concept coding facilitates critical thinking and reflection through analytic memo-writing and is appropriate for case study research as way to lump large amounts of data (Saldaña, 2016).

As I analyzed the data, I entered all references to biblical passages into that organization's Biblical Passages Table (Appendices J-L). Yin (2018) recommends the use of a word table to record findings during data collection. Reference to a biblical passage included either citing the biblical story by book, chapter, or verse or by quoting a portion of a biblical passage. When biblical passages were quoted, I utilized biblegateway.com to find the book, chapter, and verse described. When entering the data into the table, I first summarized the context in which the organization used the passage, then entered the passage reference, data source, interpretation, and integration. Finally, I used provisional coding in the last column of the table. Provisional codes are predetermined and generated from such preparatory work as a pilot study or the researcher's previous knowledge or experiences (Saldaña, 2016). The provisional list of codes utilized for this portion of the data analysis originated from the liturgical seasons established by the Freedom Church of the Poor, an online faith community of which all three organizations are part. The seasons which used for provisional coding include:

- Advent of a Revolution

- Birth of a Movement

- Learn as We Lead

- Struggle and Lament

- The Days of Liberation

- Jubilee

Appendix M includes the descriptions of the seasons that were written by leaders of the Freedom Church of the Poor, including myself. The seasons listed in the Biblical Passages Table in italics were seasons that were preassigned within the data itself. Those not italicized are provisional codes I assigned to that specific biblical reference used by the organization.

After a first cycle of coding, using concept codes and provisional codes, with all the data for one organization, I also coded all the memos I had created related to that organization. The memos which reflected my own ideas and questions throughout the research process were treated as data (Richards, 2015). Following the coding of memos, I ran queries within NVivo and wrote memos about what I found in the queries. This is a practice similar to Saldaña's (2016) process of Code Landscaping. Most often the initial queries were text searches on words that had been used often within the data. Exploring the queries allowed me to zoom into the data and zoom back out again to understand how particular concepts were at work within the data. Out of these queries I began to draw images (Richards, 2015) of the data to attempt to put some order to it. Saldaña (2016) refers to this process as Operational Model Diagramming.

After these initial analytic steps, I created a framework matrix to view everything coded at each code for the organization. Framework matrices are especially useful in case study research because the display of rows and columns assists in case analysis (Jackson & Bazeley,

2019). I used the framework matrix to review and summarize what was coded at each code for the single case. While summarizing each code for each case I kept an analytic memo to record umbrella themes as they emerged. This process of completing the framework matrix and discerning umbrella themes served as second cycle coding using theoretical codes (Saldaña, 2016). Theoretical coding paired well with conceptual coding used in the first round in that it "functions like an umbrella that covers and accounts for all other codes and categories formulated" (Saldana, 2016). Further, theoretical coding helped to build analysis related to the research questions. After constructing the framework matrix and identifying theoretical codes, I followed the remaining steps listed in Figure 9, a screen shot of an analytic memo I created to track the single-case analysis process.

Figure 9 *Analytic Memo of Single Case Analysis Process*
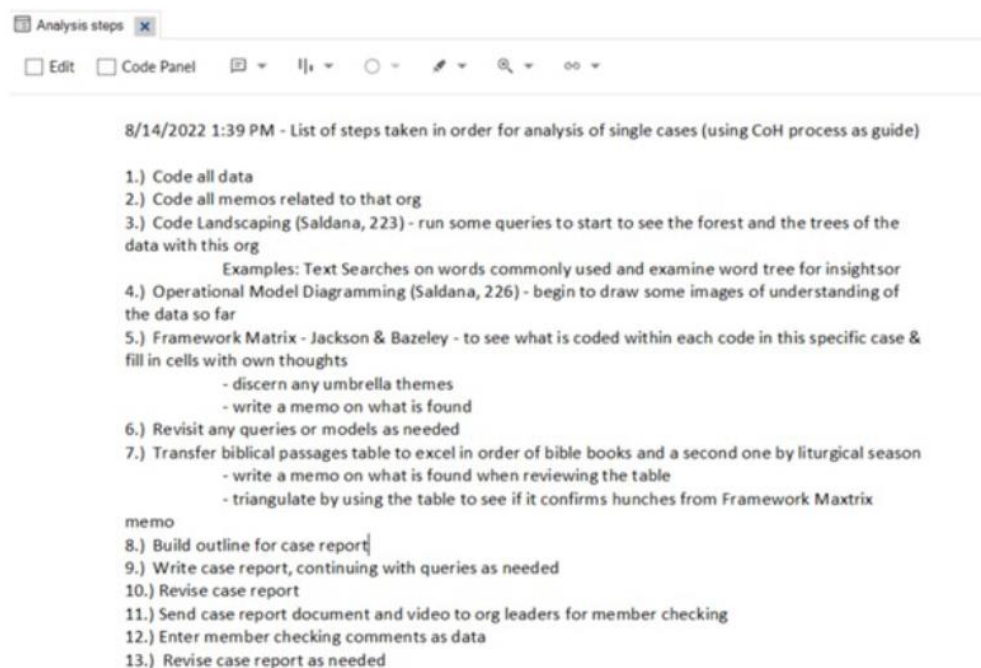
These analytic steps were utilized with each single case before proceeding to cross-case analysis.

Cross-Case Analysis

Yin (2018) identified cross-case synthesis as an additional analytic technique useful within multiple case study research because "the goal is to retain the integrity of the entire case and then to compare or synthesize any within-case patterns across cases" (p. 196). Cross-case analysis and synthesis represents stage two of data analysis and builds upon the analysis conducted of each single case in stage one. The goal of cross-case analysis is to conceptualize at a higher level and to maintain a holistic understanding of each case and across cases to posit analytic generalizations (Yin, 2018), also called naturalistic generalizations (Stake, 1995).

To proceed with cross-case analysis I created another framework matrix with each of the organizations as rows and the codes as columns. This allowed me to compare the summaries of each code for each organization and begin to theorize across cases through an analytic memo. I, then, combined the table of biblical passages from each case into one table to review the biblical passages referenced across all cases. I reviewed each case report and recorded reflections in analytic memos. I synthesized these findings into themes to answer each research question.

Additionally, I used theoretical propositions, created prior to data collection to increase the rigor of the cross-case inquiry (Yin, 2018). The findings from single-case analysis were compared to each theoretical proposition. The theoretical propositions included:

1. Poor people's organizations engage the Bible because of individuals' faith expressions and the Bible as a resource for organizing a movement for social change.

2. Use of the Bible by poor people's organizations provide a means for leadership development.

3. Poor people's organizations engage the Bible as a means of organizing not just with people of the Christian faith, but also with those who are not Christian.

4. The Bible is integrated in different ways for people who are entering the movement work from different contexts (for example, for faith leaders and for activists who may have been hurt by the church).

5. Poor people's organizations use the Bible exemplifies a dialectical relationship between learning, education, organizing, and leadership development.

The theoretical propositions served as a strategy for cross-case analysis which allowed for "elevation of any cross-case patterns to a higher conceptual plane" (Yin, 2018, p. 197), in pursuit of a high-quality analysis of cases.

Data Representation

Data representation in qualitative research requires rich, thick descriptions (Bhattacharya, 2017; Tracy, 2010) and is particularly essential in qualitative case study research. Therefore, the data in this study were represented, first, through single-case descriptions through case report. The format of writing up single case reports as individual sections and then the cross-case reports as another section is recommended by Yin (2018). Each organization's case report followed Stake's (1995) suggestion of emphasizing storytelling and vignettes through the following outline:

1. Entry vignette

2. Issue identification, purpose, and method of study

3. Extensive narrative description to further define case and contexts

4. Development of issues through examination of research questions

5. Descriptive detail of key pedagogical themes

6. Closing narrative

After I composed each case report, I created a video summarizing the key findings. The case report and video were then sent to the participants from the organization for member reflection (Tracy, 2010). I also requested feedback on the case reports from other researcher-educators in the movement to end poverty led by the poor as a form of peer debriefing (Guba & Lincoln, 1982). Feedback from participants and peers was carefully considered and incorporated where appropriate. After cross-case analysis, the cross-case report was also shared for peer debriefing. The three case reports and cross-case report make up the findings of the study and can be found in Chapter Four.

Chapter Summary

Chapter Three outlined the qualitative research paradigm and case study methodology utilized within this research, followed by discussion of the ethical considerations taken within the research process. Following those sections, I described the data collection, management, analysis, and representation processes I utilized. Chapter Four describes the findings of this research through three single case reports followed by the cross-case report.

Chapter 4 - Research Findings

The following chapter explicates the findings of the research purpose and questions through three single case reports and a cross-case analysis report. The purpose of this research was to understand how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible in their organizing. The specific questions for this study were:

1. How are poor people's organizations informed by the Bible in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S?

2. How do poor people's organizations use biblical passages to organize in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S.?

    a. How do poor people's organizations interpret biblical passages?

    b. How do poor people's organizations integrate biblical passages into their organizing?

Chaplains on the Harbor Case Report

The crowd gathered outside the courthouse in anticipation, solidarity, and resolve as the plaintiffs from Chaplains on the Harbor prepared to enter the building for the first hearing of a second federal lawsuit filed by leaders of Chaplains on the Harbor. It was a somewhat unlikely crowd to have gathered outside of a federal courthouse, including Episcopal clergy, indigenous faith leaders, residents of a destroyed homeless encampment from a variety of faith traditions, and leaders from Chaplains on the Harbor which included both clergy and those who had experienced poverty and homelessness. The crowd assembled prior to the court hearing to support the plaintiffs who brought the suit against the City of Aberdeen, WA for, as one leader described it, "violating homeless people's human rights, constitutional rights, and treaty rights." Plaintiffs included eight residents and one family member of a resident of a homeless

encampment along the Chehalis River, along with Rev. Monroe, co-founder of Chaplains on the Harbor, a ministry among the homeless, hungry, and incarcerated in Grays Harbor County, Washington. The suit asserted that the constitutional rights of the residents had been violated in a sweep of the homeless encampment by the City of Aberdeen, while not providing any alternative living site for the residents of the camp.

Before entering the courtroom together, the group assembled for a "Courthouse Liturgy for Human Rights" which included reading two passages from the Hebrew Bible, drumming from members of the native indigenous community, and the clergy encircling the plaintiffs and laying hands on them for a time of prayer. The scripture passages read that morning, Job 24:1-8 and Isaiah 5:8-10, described the systems that are created to produce and perpetuate poverty. The prayer for the plaintiffs acknowledged the Holy One who is "always closest to those of us who have no shelter but heaven over our heads" (Scott, 2019, Prayer section) and asked for protection, defense, and love. From there the crowd walked directly into the courthouse.

Once inside the plaintiffs took their seats while the rest of the group crowded in, filling both sides of the courtroom with Episcopal clergy. The presence of the Episcopal clergy was described by one Chaplains on the Harbor leader as "a huge kind of support to show for the plaintiffs." The show of support particularly surprised the judge who became flustered by the pressure caused by the presence of a courtroom full of clergy supporting the homeless plaintiffs whose rights had been violated. The judge, a leader of Chaplains on the Harbor stated, "damn near got slain in the spirit."

> And I watched the Holy Ghost work him over right before my eyes. I watched a lot of sick, deceitful rhetoric about homeless people spill out of his mouth until he was just about emptied, like a purge. And then I watched him, a man who has probably been in

control of most of his interpersonal interactions for the vast majority of his life, lose

control of his own internal narrative in his own courtroom. In front of homeless plaintiffs,

in front of two dozen clergy from the diocese who turned out to support us. Time got

weird. It was a perfectly clear and sunny day, but the room got hazy. He was not

sympathetic. He did not have the correct analysis. He said all the wrong things. He ruled

in our favor anyway.

The leader from Chaplains on the Harbor who recounted this experience in a sermon likened the

scene to Luke 18:1-8, the parable of the widow and the unjust judge.

The experience of Chaplains on the Harbor that day illuminates the mission and ministry

of the organization, particularly how the Bible informs their work and how they interpret and

integrate the Bible into their ministry. This case report explores how poor people's organizations

in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible in their organizing,

through a single-case analysis of the organization, Chaplains on the Harbor. The primary aim of

this case report is to describe how Chaplains on the Harbor is informed by the Bible (RQ1), how

Chaplains on the Harbor uses biblical passages to organize as part of the movement to end

poverty led by the poor in the U.S. (RQ2), including how the organization interprets biblical

passages (RQ2a) and how the organization integrates biblical passages into their organizing

(RQ2b). To that end, this case report first describes Chaplains on the Harbor (also referred to as

Chaplains) and the context in which it operates, followed by detailed description of how

Chaplains is informed by the Bible and the techniques they use to interpret the Bible. Next

includes description of how Chaplains integrates the Bible in their organizing in different ways

depending on which groups of people they are organizing. Finally, two examples of pedagogical

praxis, (a) building and proclaiming a counternarrative and (b) the leadership of the poor, are explored.

Understanding Chaplains on the Harbor and Its Context

Chaplains on the Harbor began in 2013 in Grays Harbor County, Washington to meet the physical and spiritual needs of a growing population of poor, homeless, hungry, incarcerated, and addicted members of the community. The co-founders had been trained in theological schools and were pursuing or discerning calls to ministry within the Episcopal Church. Both had experienced poverty and/or homelessness and had navigated supporting friends and family through addiction and incarceration. The ministry began with one of the co-founders, who grew up in the Harbor area, visiting the homeless encampments in the county to offer a pastoral presence and a sandwich.

Today the organization operates feeding programs, homeless shelters, a farm and food co-op, and continues to provide chaplaincy and a pastoral presence, including crisis intervention, to the poor, homeless, and incarcerated communities within Grays Harbor County. These ministries are defined by the organization as projects of survival and described on the website as, "a way of regularly gathering struggling people together to meet immediate needs, as well as to build relationships and strategize and organize around issues of injustice" (Chaplains on the Harbor, 2016). The organization is formally a congregation of the Diocese of Olympia of the Episcopal Church and, according to one leader, is considered the largest congregation in the diocese. The organization is led by staff, board members, and volunteers through an explicit philosophy of leadership which states:

We believe in healing here, and we believe that transforming unjust social structures from the bottom up is entirely possible. At Chaplains on the Harbor, we look to support

leadership among the people who are struggling most in this county – people who have

been locked up, thrown out, and often forgotten by those in power. We truly believe that

everyone can be a leader on some level, no matter where they are at. We also provide

staff leadership opportunities for a core group of people in our base who have managed to

work through some of their own healing and stabilize. In a community with limited

resources and a lot of instability, supportive employment is a game-changer in building

the long-term leadership of directly-impacted people. (Chaplains on the Harbor, n.d.)

The philosophy of leadership was embodied in the leaders interviewed, most of whom spoke of

their recent prior experiences of poverty, hunger, or homelessness as the reasons they are now

serving in leadership roles with Chaplains.

Chaplains operates within a context of contradictions. First, Grays Harbor County is a

rural, deindustrialized community with high rates of unemployment, hunger, substance use,

homelessness, and incarceration. Meanwhile, interview and artifact data indicated the political

leadership within the county continues to dehumanize and criminalize the poor. For example, in

Aberdeen, the largest city within the county, 1 in 16 people are homeless. Yet in the most recent

mayoral election the winning candidate "literally ran on being anti-homeless and getting rid of

the homeless. That was the whole campaign…not by housing them but by making them move

[somewhere else]," as recounted by a leader in the organization. Another major contradiction

within the local context of Grays Harbor County pertains to the religiosity of the community.

Though the Pacific Northwest is known to be an area of "nones", meaning of no religious

affiliation, there are a variety of faith traditions represented within the different constituent

groups affiliated with Chaplains. The homeless and incarcerated community, and therefore the

leadership of Chaplains, represent religious traditions such as Mormon, Shaker, Christian, Norse

Heathenism, Odinism, Asatru, atheism, and indigenous spiritual traditions including the Quinault, Quileute, Queets, Chehalis, Chinook, and Shoalwater Bay. Meanwhile, elected officials and public service workers often express an evangelical form of Christianity that seeks to convert those in need of services before they can receive those services. Undergirding such expressions is a biblical and theological understanding of personal responsibility and individual choices as the cause for one's misfortunes. The leaders explained this contradiction with a concrete example when asked about other shelters and feeding programs in the county that are associated with Christian ministries and provide worship in addition to food and shelter.

Leader 6   It's a requirement.

Leader 5   It's a requirement. And they lock the door at the mission.

Leader 4   They'll tell you in their meetings that they don't, but they do. But I have
             had friends and I almost lived there and I actually decided I'd rather just
             sleep on the streets than there because they'll wake you up in [*sic*] like
             five or six to do your chores and then you got to do Bible study…We've
             got to follow wild rules, like...

Leader 6   Even if you're not staying there, for a meal, you have to attend an hour
             of service before the meal.

Therefore, even though the Pacific Northwest and many in the poor and homeless community in Grays Harbor County are not Christian, public officials and community agencies are often embedded in a theology and biblical understanding that expresses an individualist, moralistic Christianity.

Additionally, Chaplains, as a congregation within the Episcopal Diocese of Olympia, relates to other Episcopal congregations in their area. According to one leader, the Episcopal Church is a "very liberal denomination with kind of a very liberal reading of the Bible, which is not necessarily our reading of the Bible." These churches often view the Bible as "suggestions for good reading," emphasizing "the individualistic, moralistic narrative or the literary narrative"

of the biblical interpretation, an approach in opposition to Chaplains' understanding and use of the Bible. Further, some of the Episcopal congregations do not support the work of Chaplains. Therefore, the contradictions of the religious context extend beyond differences in religious expression to contradictions of opposing theologies and biblical interpretations which result in conflicting ways of engaging the poor and homeless of Grays Harbor County. The variety of religious contexts in which Chaplains operates leads to their use of the Bible in specific ways in particular times and circumstances, and not in others. These nuances of how, when, and with whom Chaplains utilizes the Bible is explored next.

Biblical Understandings that Inform Chaplains on the Harbor (RQ1)

To explore how Chaplains interprets and integrates the Bible into their organizing work, we must first understand how the Bible informs the work of the organization. The data show three prominent ways that the Bible informs Chaplains including (a) the faith traditions and lived experiences of the organization's leaders, (b) how the Bible is wielded for harm within the local context in which Chaplains operates, and (c) a liberatory understanding of the Bible and poverty.

Faith Traditions and Lived Experiences

As described above, there are a variety of faith traditions and spiritual expressions within the leadership of Chaplains, including that of the two Episcopalian co-founders. These two leaders have spoken publicly about their own lived experiences of poverty, homelessness, and addiction. Their lived experiences contributed to their analysis of the conditions of poverty, what it takes to solve it, and the role of their faith tradition in doing so. Both have experienced and studied liberation theology of Central and South America with its reading of the biblical text as liberatory and from a materialist, as opposed to spiritualized, lens. Further, many of the leaders

within Chaplains have experiences of oppressive, individualistic, and moralistic theologies and biblical interpretations of Christianity which they recounted during interviews.

Bible Wielded for Harm in Grays Harbor County

The local context in which Chaplains operates includes a variety of faith and religious traditions, but much of the local power lies with officials and agencies who wield the Bible in ways that harm the poor and homeless in Gray's Harbor County, according to Chaplains' leaders.

> So, we see the Bible being used a lot against…homeless people. So very much the largest organizations that [provide] homeless services in the area are all run by very Christian people and usually run on a very high barrier, very, you know, you must go to church to come to our program sort of way.

The lived experience of leaders within Chaplains who have experienced the harm of these practices, as well as the faith formation in liberation theology of the co-founders, has led to an understanding of the Bible that is different from the dominant narrative at work within Christianity in Grays Harbor County. Though most leaders in Chaplains are not Christian, the leaders understand the power of the Bible as a moral authority and the ways it has been wielded to damage the poor and justify oppression. Therefore, Christian or not, they turn to the Bible to present a moral and religious counternarrative to the dominant theological and biblical understanding in their community. As such, Chaplains' use of the Bible is informed by the misuse of the Bible within their local context, a view they have arrived at due to their own lived experiences in poverty and experiences of liberatory understandings of the Bible.

Liberatory Understanding of the Bible and Poverty

Therefore, Chaplains' understanding of the Bible is itself informed by the leaders' faith traditions and lived experiences, as well as their experiences of the use of the Bible in harmful

ways within their community. As such leaders in Chaplains operate with the assumption of God's preferential option for the poor as it is outlined in the Bible. The concept of the preferential option for the poor is a key concept in liberation theology that has influenced the co-founders of Chaplains. Following from that key concept is Chaplains' understanding of the Bible as a text of liberation, not charity, and as a collection of stories of struggle against empire. Further they find in the Bible an explanation that poverty is created by those who enact and enable systems of oppression and models for overcoming struggles against empire and oppression. One of those models, for example, is the life and ministry of Jesus as a guide for organizing the poor and marginalized in society. These elements of how Chaplains understands the Bible, thus, informs how they interpret the Bible and how they integrate the Bible into their organizing and ministry.

Biblical Interpretations (RQ2a)

Chaplains' biblical interpretations are informed by their faith traditions and lived experiences of poverty, the contradictions of the local religious context, and their liberatory understanding of the Bible's view of poverty and the poor. Three main interpretative techniques emerged to explain how Chaplains approaches biblical interpretation. First, Chaplains approaches biblical interpretation through an *historical, materialist lens*. In writings and sermons, Chaplains leaders explicate the historical context of the text and view it through a materialist lens, as opposed to a spiritualized reading of the text. For example, on July 10, 2022 a Chaplains leader preached at the Freedom Church of the Poor's weekly worship service titled "Bible, Empire, and the Control of Bodies." The service was held as a place of mourning and care "in light of the Supreme Court's overturning of Roe v. Wade" and "to challenge the use of

the Bible to defend a distorted moral framework around bodies and our relationship to them and each other" (Freedom Church of the Poor, 2022c), as seen in Figure 10.

Figure 10 *Promotion for July 10, 2022 Freedom Church of the Poor Service*

SUNDAY July 10, 2022

Freedom Church of the Poor

Season of Jubilee:
Bible, Empire, and the Control of Bodies

Empire has a long history of control, coercion, and subjugation of bodies. In light of the Supreme Court's overturning of Roe v Wade, the Freedom Church of the Poor gathers to mourn and care for each other as we confront the implications of this decision. We also gather to challenge the use of the Bible to defend a distorted moral framework around bodies and our relationship to them and each other. Reflections and analysis will be offered by Rev. Liz Theoharis and Aaron Scott.

Image: Jessica Boyle, PPF PA helping to lead a recent Poor People's Campaign march. Photo credit: Steve Pavey

KAIROS CENTER

Facebook Live Gathering
6:00pmET/5:00pmCT/3:00pm
https://www.facebook.com/kairoscenternyc

Note. Image promoting an upcoming Freedom Church of the Poor worship service with a Chaplains on the Harbor leader preaching. From Kairos Center for Religions, Rights, and Social Justice. (2022, July 10). *Season of jubilee: Bible, empire, and the control of bodies* [Livestream]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/kairoscenternyc/videos/620484299291243/

The first sermon, from a Chaplains leader, began with describing the historical context of the two biblical texts most often used by the anti-abortion movement as biblical justification for their stance (Jeremiah 1:1-5 and Genesis 1:28 and 2:24). Similarly, another leader emphasized the importance of the passages in Isaiah 58 and Luke 1:46-55 for the work of Chaplains, particularly noting their use of a materialist reading of these texts. Isaiah 58 includes the words of the prophet

Isaiah to the nation of Israel proclaiming that fasting while perpetuating systems that create and

sustain poverty is offensive to God. Instead, the fasting God desires from the nation is "to loose

the bonds of injustice, to undo the straps of the yoke, to let the oppressed go free, and to break

every yoke" (New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition, 2021, Isaiah 58:6). Likewise, the

Lukan passage is the song of Mary, the mother of Jesus, in which she sings of God bringing

down the rulers and lifting up the lowly, feeding the hungry and sending the rich away empty.

The historical, materialist reading of the texts employed by Chaplains emphasizes the material

conditions of poverty and oppression in the communities of Isaiah and Mary and recognizes

God's actions and desires to end poverty.

The second interpretative technique utilized by Chaplains is an *empire-critical reading* of

the biblical text. Empire-critical interpretation is related to a historical, materialist understanding

because most of the biblical text was written under conditions of empire. In utilizing an empire-

critical lens, Chaplains seeks to interpret passages within the context of the ruling empire under

which that text was written. For example, the devotional chapter "Walking Off the Job to Help

God" uses an empire critical perspective to explore the role of fishermen under the Roman

Empire to understand Matthew 4:12-23 and John 21:1-14 when Jesus calls the disciple to leave

their nets and follow him.

> Fishing in the ancient Mediterranean was neither the safest nor most comfortable work.
>
> Fish was a staple food across the ancient Roman Empire, consumed by all classes, and so
>
> fishing was a major industry. You had the people who caught it, the people who built the
>
> boats, the people who sold licenses and collected taxes on it, the police who cracked
>
> down on illegal fishing, the people who ran fish processing facilities, the merchants who
>
> shipped it. All of this was taking place in a society where the vast majority of people

were living in poverty and barely surviving day to day. There was no "middle class" in

Jesus' lifetime. There were the elites, and then there was everyone else. People who

fished for a living were in that "everyone else" group. (Scott, 2021, p. 105-106)

For Chaplains, interpreting the Hebrew Bible and New Testament texts in this historical, material

context necessitates reading the texts through an empire-critical lens.

The two interpretative techniques of historical-material lens and empire-critical reading

inform Chaplains' third interpretive technique of drawing upon *parallel characters and*

conditions from the biblical text. Chaplains makes comparisons between people living under

imperial oppression and poverty in the biblical texts and the poor and oppressed in Grays Harbor

County. The character comparisons relate both to the oppression experienced because of unjust

systems and of God's preferential option for the leadership of the poor and oppressed to change

those systems. Similarly, Chaplains finds character parallels among those who perpetuate or

create unjust systems in the biblical narrative and in their local, contemporary context.

Particularly, but not exclusively, Chaplains draws upon the person and ministry of Jesus. While

recognizing the conditions and circumstances are not equal, Chaplains draws upon the parallels

of imperialism, colonialism, and the need, not for reform, but for a complete overhaul of society

to change the conditions for those most affected by them. Examples of Chaplains' interpretative

work in this area can be seen throughout the Biblical Passages Table (Appendix J). For example,

in a sermon given at an Episcopal church, one leader preached from Luke 18:9-14 and likened

tax collectors in the New Testament text to drug dealers in Grays Harbor County, citing the

social and economic parallels of the roles. Similarly, the same leader cited the use of Matthew

26:6-13. The Matthew text was utilized within an organizing and leadership development school

during which participants likened the town of Bethany in the text to Felony Flats in their own

context because of the conditions of poverty and the disparaging perspective of the area from the rest of the community. The interpretative technique of drawing on parallel characters and conditions was discussed in an interview when a leader was asked about what passages Chaplains uses regularly and why.

> And I think the other piece is the idea of Jesus was [*sic*] arrested and incarcerated and executed, that kind of way of the cross. Partly because we experience, we interface with so much death in this community. I mean, I can't count the number of people I buried and literally staff meetings every Monday morning are who died this week. You know, who do you know who's died? And so, I think that's something that weighs really heavily on us, that poverty is death.

In making sense of the death in their community due to poverty and homelessness, Chaplains draws upon the biblical narrative of Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution and interprets those texts in their historical, material context through an empire-critical reading which leads to an understanding of the parallel characters and conditions in their own community and organizing work. Chaplains consistently used the three key interpretative techniques in their organizing work. However, how those interpretations were integrated in their organizing varies depending on which demographic Chaplains is in engaging at the time. The differences of integrations of biblical interpretations are explored next.

Integrations of Bible and Organizing (RQ2b)

Chaplains engages various types of groups in their organizing work. These groups include Chaplains' leadership, base community, faith communities, and the public. Within most of these groups is also a demographic distinct to Chaplains' work: people of other or no faith tradition. How Chaplains integrates their biblical interpretations varies with each group.

Additionally, Chaplains engages two overarching pedagogical practices when integrating the Bible in their organizing: (a) counternarrative and (b) leadership of the poor.

Integrating the Bible in Organizing Constituent Groups

The findings of this study show three aspects of Chaplains' integration of the Bible with each of these constituent groups. The three aspects include the integrations of projects, pedagogies, and purposes, as displayed in Table 4.

Table 4 *Chaplains Integration of the Bible and Organizing with Various Constituencies*

	Projects	**Pedagogies**	**Purposes**
Leaders	Political education Collective ritual & prayer	Critical reflection Unlearning Teaching conditions Leadership of the poor	Building an analysis and counternarrative Leadership Development
Base	Relational & conversational Projects of survival: meeting material & spiritual needs	Informal Leadership of the poor	Share counternarrative Counteract shame Counteract white supremacy
Faith Communities	Sermons Sharing resources Mobilizing for direct action	Teaching conditions Centering lived experiences of the poor Unlearning Leadership of the poor	Promoting counternarrative of liberation, not charity Leadership development
Public	Sermons Protest Advocacy Public ritual & prayer Court cases Website & blogs Publications	Teaching conditions Leadership of the poor Agitating	Counternarrative Counteract white supremacy
Other Faiths	Projects of survival: meeting material & spiritual needs Political education	Informal & nonformal Leadership of the poor	Counternarrative

How Chaplains integrates the Bible through projects, pedagogies, and purposes with each of the constituent groups is explored next.

Integrating the Bible with Chaplains' Leaders. The leadership of Chaplains consists of staff, board members, and frequent volunteers. Therefore, the leadership is made up of the two co-founders, local clergy, and, primarily, poor and homeless leaders who are employed through a supportive employment model. Leaders serve in various capacities including overseeing the shelter, writing the newsletter that is sent into the jails, running the feeding programs, and overseeing the farm and food co-op. Leaders engage the Bible in their organizing work at Chaplains primarily through political education and collective rituals and prayer. For example, Chaplains held a Freedom School for leaders of the organization which included education about political economy, history, and the Bible. The Bible study consisted of utilizing the interpretive techniques of analysis through historical-material and empire-critical lenses to understand parallel characters and conditions in Matthew 26:6-13. Additionally, leaders regularly engage in rituals of remembrance and mourning through collective prayer, often utilizing biblical texts of death such as the Stations of the Cross and texts of Jesus' arrest and execution. Through these projects, Chaplains leaders utilize pedagogical techniques including critical reflection, unlearning false and harmful narratives about poverty and the poor, teaching conditions, and lifting up the leadership of the poor. The purpose of these projects and pedagogies is to build an analysis and counternarrative, itself a process of leadership development for leaders in Chaplains.

Integrating the Bible with Chaplains' Base. Chaplains' leaders discussed their base as the community of poor, homeless, and incarcerated individuals in Grays Harbor County who are served by the organization's projects of survival (i.e., shelters and feeding program) and are the base of their organizing efforts. Their model of community organizing is based upon the base communities of Central and South American liberation theologians and faith leaders which

influenced Chaplains' co-founders. Most of the base are not Christian and while Chaplains is a congregation of the Episcopal Church, the leadership is very clear that they "are not proselytizing and not converting people. And we are really explicit about that because so many of the people in our base have faced that kind of spiritual and religious exploitation just to get their basic needs met." Leaders serve through a chaplaincy model in which people are given the spiritual care and resources they request, regardless of spiritual or faith tradition. And, yet, because of the contradictory expressions of Christianity in their area, Chaplains leaders do see a need to engage the Bible with those in the base who are not Christian, as clearly expressed in an interview.

> It's a narrative, I think that's important even for people who don't necessarily identify with Christianity on the ground. Both offering pastoral care and outreach that has no ties to religious affiliation…We're not there to tell people what to believe. We're there to support whatever they do believe. But it is still important, I think, even for there to be a narrative that uses the Bible in a different way than they're normally used to hearing. Just a counternarrative.

Because much of the dominant Christian narrative in Grays Harbor County blames the poor for their poverty, the poor and homeless often come to Chaplains with a lot of shame. A biblical counternarrative that is liberatory helps to counteract and overcome that shame by placing the blame on systems that create and perpetuate poverty. Additionally, Chaplains leaders assert Christianity is often used as a cover for respectability politics and white supremacy in their context. Therefore, Chaplains uses the Bible with their base to counteract the forces of white supremacy as well. Chaplains conveys this counternarrative relationally and conversationally when engaging with their base in activities such as visiting the homeless encampments or

through the feeding programs. Because this work is carried out by the leadership of Chaplains who are also poor or homeless, these projects are an embodiment of the leadership of the poor.

Integrating the Bible with Faith Communities. As was explored in the section above on the context of Chaplains' work, the faith communities the organization encounters are varied in their engagement with the work of Chaplains. This section will focus solely on the faith communities that support Chaplains. Chaplains is often invited to preach and lead Sunday worship within, primarily, Episcopal faith communities who support their work. Leaders deploy to these congregations in teams and are intentional about having poor and homeless leaders as part of the delegation. This practice exemplifies both the collectivity and the emphasis on the leadership of the poor within Chaplains. Faith communities, thus, engage in the Bible with Chaplains through sermons. Other projects through which Chaplains integrates the Bible in their organizing work with faith communities is through sharing of resources and mobilizing faith communities for direct action. Sharing of resources includes in-kind donations such as offering space to host a feeding program, as well as monetary donations toward the projects of survival, organizing, and ministry of Chaplains. Faith leaders, clergy and lay, are also mobilized for direct action such as attending court hearings, engaging in protests, and leading public prayer vigils. Through these integrative projects, Chaplains engages faith communities in pedagogical activities such as teaching of conditions, centering the lived experiences of the poor, unlearning dominant theological narratives and biblical interpretations, and the leadership of the poor. Chaplains engages these projects and pedagogical activities with faith communities for the purpose of promoting a counternarrative of liberation, not charity, and leadership development of individuals in faith communities toward further engagement with the organization and the movement to end poverty.

Integrating the Bible with the Public. Regarding their work with the public, Chaplains operates within a context which the organization sees as hostile to the poor and homeless in Grays Harbor County, as well as to the organizing and ministry of Chaplains. A frequently told story is of a congregation who once hosted a feeding program of Chaplains but decided to stop sharing their space when there were too many homeless people around the church during the day. After Chaplains left, the church erected a six-foot-tall metal fence around the building and hung a sign that said, "Everybody Welcome." Additionally, the city of Aberdeen implemented homeless encampment sweeps, destroyed all the belongings of members of the homeless community, and prevented Chaplains leaders from visiting the community to provide care. Further, this hostility often manifests within a biblical narrative of personal responsibility as the solution to alleviating poverty, blaming the poor and homeless for their conditions. However, as one Chaplains leader wrote, "the Bible is the most positive media we have about poor people" (Scott, 2021, p. 106). Because of this difference in understanding of the biblical text and mission of Chaplains from other public entities in the community, Chaplains integrates the Bible in their public organizing work to proclaim a counternarrative of God's preferential option for the poor, the will of God for all to have abundant life in a material, not just spiritual capacity, and to counteract the white supremacy that undergirds assumptions and theologies about the poor. Because the Bible is viewed as a moral authority by many public entities, Chaplains sees it as a powerful tool to reveal a counter-interpretation of the biblical text. Through public sermons, protests, advocacy, public prayers and rituals, court cases, blogs, and publications Chaplains teaches the public of the conditions and lived experiences of the poor and homeless in their community, agitates toward change, and elevates the dignity and leadership of the poor.

Integrating the Bible with Those of Other Faiths or No Faith Tradition. Though Chaplains is a congregation of the Episcopal Church, many of those whom Chaplains engages day to day are not Christian, practicing other faith or spiritual traditions or claiming no faith tradition. Chaplains understands that many people in their context have rejected Christianity because of how the Bible has been wielded against them. Chaplains' leaders explained, though, there is still a respect for and understanding of the Bible as a moral authority and, particularly, for the person and ministry of Jesus. Even for those who do not view the Bible as a moral authority, the local context of Grays Harbor County is one in which the public officials and those in power use their interpretation of biblical principles to support their actions of proselytizing, homeless encampment sweeps, and the like. Chaplains, therefore, finds it important to teach their base and leadership of the Bible's preferential option for the poor to counteract the dominant theological and biblical interpretations operating in the public square, shelters, and jails. Chaplains leaders are intentional about not proselytizing, even when using the Bible. The Bible is used educationally with people of other faiths in informal and nonformal ways to train and develop the base and leadership in the use of the biblical narrative for their own empowerment and for the building of the power of the poor to change oppressive systems. Further, by providing food, shelter, and crisis care, what Chaplains refers to as projects of survival, the organization meets the material and spiritual needs of people of other faiths, an embodiment of the organization's interpretation of the biblical text. Therefore, Chaplains engages the base and leadership toward liberation and transformation through biblical interpretation that honors the experiences and leadership of the poor and blames those who create systems of poverty instead of the poor themselves.

Pedagogical Praxis of Integrating the Bible in Organizing

The findings of this case study show that Chaplains integrates the Bible differently with the various groups with whom Chaplains engages. These differences manifest through various projects, pedagogies, and purposes of the use of the biblical text with their five main constituent groups. Across their work with all five groups, though, there are two key pedagogical practices. First, one purpose for which Chaplains integrates the Bible with all constituent groups is to build and proclaim a counternarrative to the dominant narrative of poverty and the poor. Second, with all constituent groups Chaplains integrates the Bible through a pedagogical practice of the leadership of the poor. Because these forms of biblical integration are present with each of the constituent groups, they will be explored in more detail next.

Counternarrative. As a Chaplains leader explained, the organization prioritizes the development and dissemination of a counternarrative because the dominant narrative is, at best, disempowering but usually damaging to the lived experiences and conditions of the poor and homeless.

> I think part of empowering people is to be able to turn around or turn on their head the narratives that have been used in this country for so long to kind of keep poor people quiet. And so we do a fair amount of that educational work. Whatever people's religious backgrounds are, we all hear that same narrative. We all have [heard] that same story about how Jesus wants you to be good and doesn't want you to use drugs. And I am not saying that drugs are good in any way, but those types of narratives that are very simplistic and very based on personal accountability and personal responsibility while completely leaving out collective systemic reality, as if the Bible has nothing to say about that, as if Jesus had nothing to say about it, I think is really harmful and really harmful in poor communities.

The dominant Christian narrative, therefore, is one of individualized moralism while the counternarrative being developed and proclaimed by Chaplains promotes economic and human rights and systemic change led by the poor and oppressed.

Just as Chaplains integrates the Bible differently with different constituent groups, the actions related to their counternarrative varies by group. For example, interviewees described the leadership of Chaplains building or crafting the counternarrative, as both an educational process and one of leadership development. Leaders, then, share that crafted counternarrative with Chaplains' base, including with people of other faiths, "almost like putting on body armor, like you just load people up with everything that's going to support and defend them when they have to go toe to toe with power," as expressed by an interviewee. Then, with faith communities and the public, Chaplains proclaims or promotes that counternarrative to expose those who are not poor and homeless to the lived experiences and leadership of the poor and dispossessed. A key pedagogical element that occurs across all groups is an aspect of unlearning the dominant narrative and how it pervades policy and public life, as well as the lived experiences of the poor and homeless.

Though there are various ways Chaplains integrates the counternarrative in their work with the different constituent groups, the elements of the counternarrative are the same. First, is the relationship between Chaplains' counternarrative and the Bible. This relationship builds upon how Chaplains is informed by the Bible and interprets the Bible through historical-material and empire-critical lenses, revealing parallel characters and conditions, to show God's preferential option for the poor. Second, the counternarrative embodies an aspect of teaching about the conditions of poverty and homelessness in Grays Harbor County. For the leadership and base teaching about conditions involves developing an analysis of the conditions and causes of

poverty and homelessness. For faith communities and the pubic, the counternarrative helps to reveal such conditions to those who do not experience them. Third, Chaplains builds and promotes a counternarrative to oppose the dangerous and insipient ideology of white supremacy they encounter within their local context, which is often parallel to dominant biblical interpretations about poverty and the poor. White supremacist ideology is, also, found in other religious and spiritual traditions within Chaplains' context; therefore, the Bible is not the only text or tool used to oppose white supremacy through a counternarrative. However, according to one leader, because in the U.S. "the Christian narrative has been embedded in white supremacy from the beginning…rooted in the doctrine of discovery" the Bible is a primary text Chaplains utilizes to counteract white supremacist ideology within Christian communities.

> If we're going to use the Bible in talking to poor people, we also need to recognize and be really explicit about the way the Bible has been used to destroy our communities and how the biblical narrative has been used so heavily in the United States to oppress black and brown communities….It's so very fundamental and sometimes I think we don't talk enough about how fundamental the biblical narrative has been in that whole idea of manifest destiny and the conquest of Canaan and the parallels between those that native theologians have talked so much about. It's so deeply embedded in our culture and just as deeply embedded in poor white culture as in ruling class white culture. And in some ways I think that poor white people are constantly basically waiting on…the fulfillment of this promise that if they're agents of Empire, if they uphold the push westward and act as agents of the U.S. Empire, that at some point they're going to get what they were promised…and the constant hope for that fuels so much of this intense racial division in the United States that keeps getting in the way of any kind of class solidarity.

Because of how the Bible has been used to prop up white supremacist ideology, Chaplains emphasizes using the Bible to construct a counternarrative that opposes such an ideology. Relatedly, a fourth element in Chaplains' counternarrative concerns that of shame: the shame experienced by poor people because of the dominant narrative used in their context by some faith communities and the public. According to one leader, the dominant narrative, as well as white supremacy's role in it, creates feelings of shame among the poor because it blames the individual for their conditions of poverty and homelessness. For example, in the devotional "Survival Economics" a Chaplains leader wrote, "As in the time of Ruth, the contemporary world of the poor is filled with impossible choices. I remember my sense of deep shame during my own bout with homelessness, and the lengths I went to hide my struggle" (Monroe, 2021, p. 204). The dominant narrative about poverty uses the Bible to shame the poor but Chaplains' counternarrative lifts the stories, struggles, and leadership of the poor found within the Bible to counteract the shame experienced by many in the poor and homeless community in Chaplains' context. How Chaplains counteracts the shame inflicted upon the poor through lifting up the leaders of the poor is the fifth element of the counternarrative they develop. Using the Bible Chaplains shows the parallels of the struggles, as well as the leadership of the poor both in the Bible and in their contemporary organizing. Figure 11 contains a summary the activities and elements Chaplains includes in their counternarrative.

Figure 11 *Chaplains Counternarrative Activities and Elements*
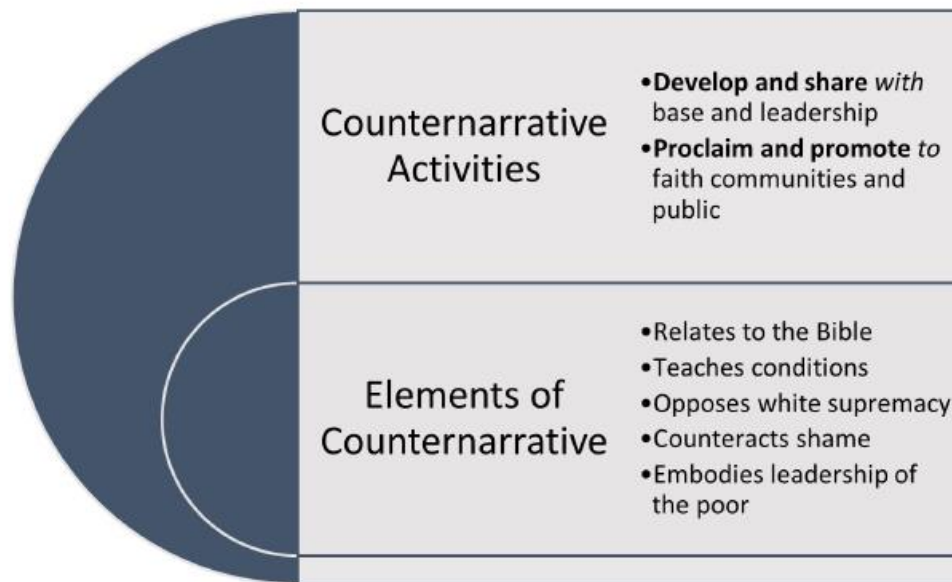
While the leadership of the poor is an element of Chaplains' counternarrative, it is also a pedagogical tool used by Chaplains to craft the counternarrative. The leadership of the poor as pedagogy is explored next.

Leadership of the Poor. A second key pedagogical practice is Chaplains' emphasis on the leadership of the poor connected to their use of the Bible in organizing. First, Chaplains prioritizes the leadership of the poor "because people at the bottom are the ones who know how profoundly things need to change" (Scott, 2021, p. 107). Chaplains employs an intentional process of leadership development in identifying leaders from within their base, who then become volunteers or staff of Chaplains. The leadership of the poor occurs through care for one another, organizing others for change, advocating to the city or county officials, operating feeding or shelter programs, and participating in the Poor People's Campaign: A National Call

for Moral Revival. Therefore, the leadership of the poor is embodied in each of the ways that Chaplains integrates the Bible in their organizing with each constituent group. Chaplains finds, within the Bible, parallel leaders who are poor or oppressed yet are called by God as prophets and change makers with particular emphasis on Jesus as poor, homeless, incarcerated, "and leading a movement of people in the same boat, not just to do some feeding programs here and there, although they definitely did that, but to build power," according to a Chaplains leader. The leadership of the poor is demonstrated by why and how Chaplains organizes in their context.

Summary

Chaplains on the Harbor's organizing work is informed by the Bible through the faith traditions and lived experiences of their leadership and base, the contradictions of Christianity in Grays Harbor County, and their liberatory understanding of the Bible and poverty. Relatedly, Chaplains utilizes historical-material and empire-critical lenses to interpret the Bible, examining parallel characters and conditions to the poor and homeless of Grays Harbor County today. Chaplains, then, integrates the Bible in different ways with the five main constituent groups with whom they minister and organize to promote a counternarrative which proclaims and embodies the leadership of the poor. Each of these findings are displayed in Chaplains' Stations of the Cross ritual.

Stations of the Cross

The first time I viewed the compiled Stations of the Cross drawings in 2016 it was powerful and sobering, a moving retelling of the struggles, lived experiences, and leadership of poor people, and the parallels between the life and ministry of Jesus and that of the leaders of Chaplains. In the Christian tradition the Stations of the Cross is a prayer and ritual observance practiced during Holy Week, the days between Palm Sunday and Easter, when Christians

remember Jesus' condemnation, arrest, jailing, and execution. The stations offer participants a

chance to meditate on a series of scriptures depicting the last days of Jesus' earthly life. Often

images, decorative windows, or plaques are used to illustrate each scene of the biblical text. On

Maundy Thursday in 2016, Chaplains on the Harbor set up a Stations of the Cross ritual for the

leadership of the organization to gather and reflect on the parallels between these last days of

Jesus' life and the struggles of the poor and homeless in the Chaplains' community. The

scripture passages were posted around the room as leaders were invited to reflect on their

meaning for the poor and homeless in Grays Harbor County. Then young people in the group

created drawings to depict the parallels.

Figure 12 *Stations of the Cross: Jesus is Condemned to Death*
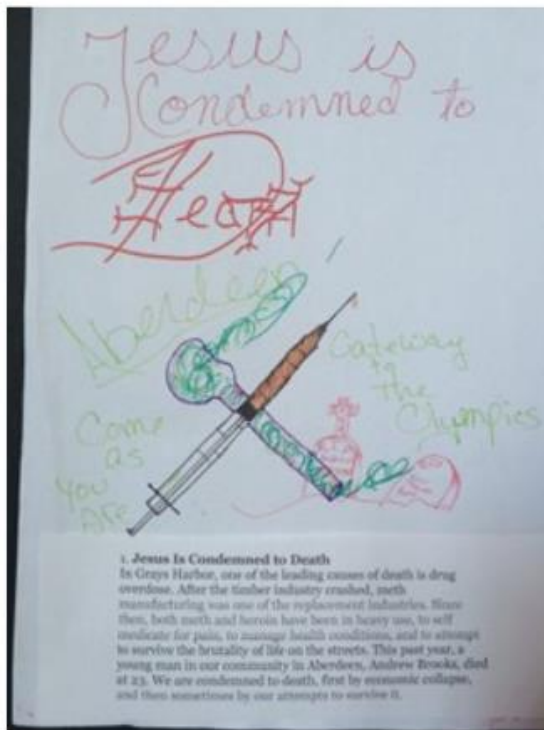
Note. From Kairos Center. (2016, March 26). *Stations of the cross from Grays Harbor County.*

https://kairoscenter.org/stations-cross-grays-harbor-county/

The meditation ends with words and images of mourning those in Grays Harbor County who died in the last year from poverty and homelessness. A picture of an 18-year-old who had died next to his tent in a homeless encampment was paired with the scripture text when Jesus was taken down from the cross by the women. Without explanation or exegesis, the clarity of the parallel characters and conditions between the biblical text and the poor and homeless of Grays Harbor County are proclaimed.

Chaplains' Stations of the Cross ritual has continued to facilitate the teaching of conditions, the creation and proclamation of a counternarrative of poverty and the poor, and the integration of the Bible within Chaplains' organizing work with their leaders, base, faith communities, and the public. In 2019 Chaplains organized a Stations of the Cross Aberdeen Reality Tour in which the Episcopal bishop and clergy joined with leaders and

> folks living on the streets [to] trace the last steps of Jesus while telling the untold story of people experiencing poverty and homelessness in Gray's Harbor County [closing] with a street memorial to our beloved dead, lost to poverty and violence. (Scott, 2019a, para. 1)

Figure 13 *Chaplains Memorial Site*

Note. From Scott, A. (2019, April 20). *Stations of the cross: Aberdeen reality tour in Grays Harbor County, WA.* https://kairoscenter.org/stations-of-the-cross-aberdeen/

Photos from the Stations of the Cross Aberdeen Reality Tour were compiled with the scripture texts and published. These rituals continue to be circulated each year during holy week for ongoing meditation and reflection, an annual observance of the parallels between the poverty and death of Jesus and those of Grays Harbor County.

Raise Up the South Case Report

A video image of a long line of brown paper grocery bags, sitting in a parking lot, filled with canned goods and produce pans out to show many more rows of the filled grocery bags. Individuals wearing surgical and N-95 masks unload boxes out of a truck while others package

the food into the grocery bags. Near the lines of grocery bags is a table with pamphlets. As the camera zooms in, the content of the pamphlets comes into focus, describing the groups that have organized this "political food distribution project" including Raise Up the South, Carolina Jews for Justice, and the North Carolina Poor People's Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival. The promotional video of Fed Up! Food Distribution continues with interviews from leaders of these organizations as the background video shows other leaders delivering bags of food to homes and engaging in masked, socially distanced conversations with those receiving the food. One leader remarked, "when we give people food it is more an act of solidarity, not an act of charity." Fed Up began as a collaborative political food distribution project during the COVID-19 pandemic to meet the community's immediate needs during a time of crisis, while also educating those receiving food about the systemic causes of poverty and organizing to bring more people into the movement to end poverty and its interlocking injustices. Another leader remarked, "Fed Up is different because we're not only handing out food; we're handing out knowledge. We're letting people know why we're in this predicament…Other organizations just hand [out] food and send them on their way. You gotta talk to me!" In another video taken at a Fed Up Friday, a leader with Raise Up commented they were not just feeding the poor, but feeding the revolution. Leaders with Raise Up the South find hope through this project "which is stepping in to do what our government isn't, by building worker power and keeping bellies full." Sometimes Fed Up leaders deliver food to homes and that "is when you can sit down and you can talk with them. You break bread together, that makes a whole big difference."

Figure 14 *Raise Up Leader Describes Fed Up! Food Distribution*

Note. Screenshot from Raise Up. (2020, September 30). *We are fed up* [Video]. YouTube.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GpNdKZFefRw

To break bread together is a commonly used phrased which refers to 1 Corinthians 10:16, "The

bread that we break, is it not a sharing in the body of Christ?" (New Revised Standard Version

Updated Edition, 2021, 1 Cor. 10:16). The subtle reference to the biblical text in relation to Raise

Up the South's political food distribution project exemplifies the ways in which Raise Up the

South engages the Bible in their organizing to end poverty.

This case report will explore how poor people's organizations in the movement to end

poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible in their organizing, through a single-case

analysis of the organization, Raise Up the South. The primary aim of this case report is to

describe how Raise Up the South is informed by the Bible (RQ1), how Raise Up the South uses

biblical passages to organize as part of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S.

(RQ2), including how the organization interprets biblical passages (RQ2a) and how the organization integrates biblical passages into their organizing (RQ2b). To that end, this case report will first describe Raise Up the South (also known as Raise Up) and the context in which it operates, followed by detailed description of how Raise Up is informed by the Bible and the techniques they use to interpret the Bible. Next includes description of how Raise Up integrates the Bible through culture building, political education, and projects of survival. Following is exploration of three aspects of pedagogical praxis, (a) influence of political and religious history and culture, (b) unlearning and learning, and (c) organizing as ministry, followed by a concluding vignette that exemplifies Raise Up's biblical interpretation and integration.

Understanding Raise Up and Its Context

Raise Up is part of the Fight for $15 and a Union movement. It started in 2013, originally named NC Raise Up but recently changed its name to reflect a new organizing strategy of expansion into South Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia. The organization fuses workplace organizing with community organizing to build a multiracial low-wage workers union, not based on trade or individual workplace alone, but across the lowest paid sectors of wage labor including fast food, dollar stores, and care settings. Workers often face working conditions that include low wages, harassment, eviction, discrimination, wage theft, and union busting. Raise Up is worker-led and organizes in urban and rural areas throughout a broad region of the south. Leaders carry out their mission through organizing, education, walkouts, strikes, boycotts, and marching on the boss. Workers across various sectors and workplaces support one another in their direct actions against their respective workplaces and are, also, supported by faith and community partners.

Raise Up was formed around the same time that the Moral Mondays Movement was also rising in North Carolina, led by Rev. Dr. William J. Barber II. Therefore, the organizing of Raise Up became intertwined with Moral Mondays' faith-based, fusion organizing. Dr. Barber now co-chairs the Poor People's Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival and the deep relationship with Raise Up has continued. Raise Up continues to engage faith communities in two primary ways. The first is through leaders of faith communities who support the work and workers of Raise Up. These faith leaders attend protests, pray with workers, attend Bible study, and more. According to leaders of Raise Up, the involvement of faith leaders lends authority and credibility for the workers. Secondly Raise Up engages faith communities by informally attending church together. Workers regularly gather on Sunday mornings to attend church services of faith communities that support the work of Raise Up. According to a Raise Up leader, these visits to churches are "separate from, but a result of" the organizing of Raise Up.

The South: A Place of Contradictions

When describing the history and context of Raise Up and the importance of organizing low wage workers in the south, one leader commented that the south is a place of deep contradictions. The historical, political, and religious landscapes of the south have made it both a place of intense inequality and oppression, as well as a place which has led and can lead the nation to liberation. This context informs the mission of Raise Up and how the organization encounters and engages the Bible.

The analysis of leaders in Raise Up is that "the South is the bedrock of reaction in this country…where some of the most regressive, anti-people policies come from. Not just today, but going back through history" (University of the Poor, 2022, Interview question 6). Yet, "mass movements in the South are really what catalyze broad social transformation nationwide"

including Reconstruction, the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Civil Rights Movement, the original

Poor People's Campaign, and union organizing in the south, such as the Southern Tenant

Farmers' Union (University of the Poor, 2022, Interview question 6). "So that's the

contradiction: that on the one hand it is the base of reaction, but within that it's the most fertile

ground, I think for making really broad transformative change" (University of the Poor, 2022,

Interview question 6). Such contradictions manifest in Raise Up's work today as they seek to

build a multiracial union in the area of the country where slavery and segregation were once

widespread.

Raise Up is, strategically, a multiracial worker-led union. One leader of Raise Up

described her experiences of racism and discrimination as a fast-food worker in the south

explaining that white workers are often treated better by management than black workers in an

intentional effort to exploit the deep racial divides in the south. Most of the workers in Raise Up

are black and the organization works to fight back against such discrimination through an

intentional effort of uniting the workers across racial lines.

> One thing that's really important to us is grounding ourselves in the history of white
>
> supremacy and struggles against it and the way that, specifically in the south, labor has
>
> been exploited in a racialized way, but in such a way that exploits all workers regardless
>
> of race. So, one thing I talk about a lot is if you look at the poverty rates among white
>
> people in the Black Belt counties where slavery was most widespread and where today
>
> there's still the highest levels of white supremacy, white poverty rates are on average
>
> higher than in the rest of the country. So, I think what that really shows is that white
>
> supremacy has to be combated directly and confronted and that it really doesn't benefit
>
> poor whites and that multiracial coalition is really necessary.

The contradiction of the deep racial divides and how they continue to be exploited to the detriment of multiracial workers' unions is also the deep power that multiracial organizing holds to transform the nation.

The contradictions of the religious landscape of the south are intertwined with the historical and racial landscape, all of which influence Raise Up's context. As leaders described, the South is deeply religious, particularly expressed through evangelical Christianity. The social movements that have been born in the South, such as the anti-slavery movement, Civil Rights, and the original Poor People's Campaign, had deeply religious ties. Yet the south was described by one Raise Up leader as "a hotbed for Christian nationalism." This context of religious contradiction influences Raise Up and is manifest in workers' lives. For example, one leader estimated that 90% or so of the workers in Raise Up are Christian, mirroring the religiosity of the region, yet many, especially within the LGBTQ community, have left or been shunned by their congregations. As will become apparent throughout this case report, the historic, racial, and religious contradictions within the south, that manifest organizationally and individually, impact the informal and strategic ways that Raise Up engages the Bible in their organizing. Figure 15 depicts how the Raise Up is informed by, interprets, and integrates the Bible within this context, encircled by important pedagogical practices utilized by Raise Up.

Figure 15 *Raise Up's Engagement with the Bible*
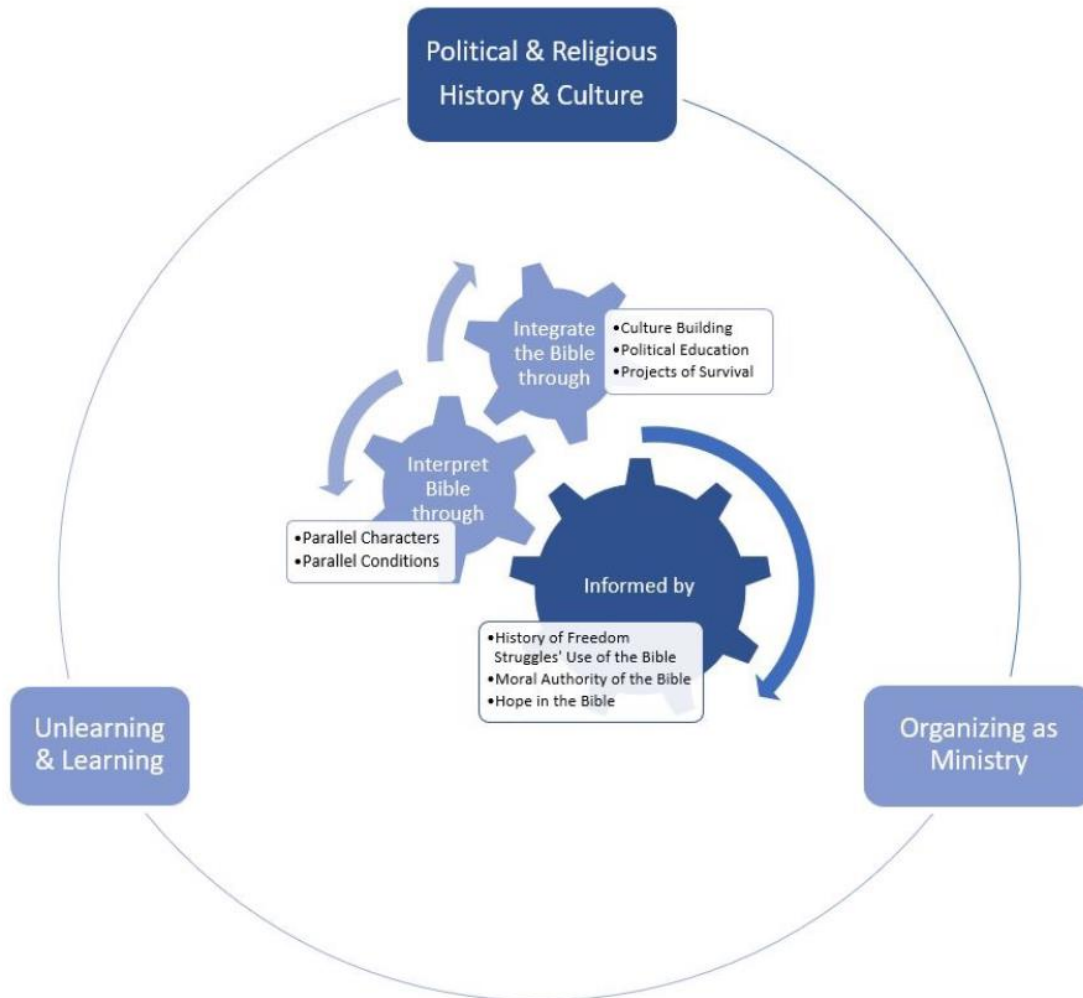
The following sections of the case report will explore these findings in detail.

The Biblical Understandings that Inform Raise Up the South (RQ1)

The historical and religious context of Raise Up has influenced how the organization is informed by the Bible in three ways, (a) history of southern freedom struggles' use of the Bible, (b) moral authority of the Bible, and (c) hope found in the Bible. First, the history of freedom struggles in the south have relied heavily on the Exodus story in the Hebrew Bible as a parallel of the anti-slavery struggles. The lineage of the use of this text in today's freedom struggle

waged by Raise Up is apparent in the Biblical Passages Table (Appendix K) by how often it was

referenced by the organization as foundational for their work. Raise Up leaders describe the story

as one in which the poor take back their God-given dignity and liberation. The second way in

which the Bible informs Raise Up is through the moral authority afforded to the sacred text.

Because of the deep religiosity of the region, biblical references appear in everyday life and are

granted a great sense of authority. The moral authority granted to the Bible informs the workers'

faith as individuals, as well as the collective understanding of the importance of the Bible in the

milieu in which they are organizing. The first two ways that Raise Up is informed by the Bible,

historic use of the Exodus story and the moral authority assigned to the Bible, converges in the

third way which is how Raise Up is informed by the Bible through hope. Leaders in Raise Up

draw upon what they describe as an unshakeable hope to continue in their struggles against

current conditions. This deep, not superficial, hope provides strength for continued organizing

and joy when victorious. Leaders of the organization find hope in the promises of God fulfilled

throughout history, including those expressed in biblical narratives, and share affirmations from

scripture to inspire hope in one another as they struggle through each day. This hope informs the

organizing of Raise Up, as well as how Raise Up interprets the Bible.

Biblical Interpretations (RQ2a)

Raise Up draws *parallels of characters and conditions* between the biblical text and

workers organizing today. As shown in the Biblical Passages Table (Appendix K), Raise Up

often interprets scripture through the lens of conditions of labor, those in power who perpetuate

exploitive conditions, and workers or other poor leaders who organize movements of change

against such conditions. One leader remarked that it has "been really powerful to kind of

compare [biblical narratives] and [use them] as an analogy to what low wage workers go through

today." Another leader regularly sends text messages with scripture verses that exemplify parallel characters and conditions of the Bible with those of Raise Up to workers she is organizing. For example, she frequently draws upon Isaiah 65:23, "They shall not labor in vain nor bring forth for trouble; for they are the seed of the blessed of the Lord, and their offspring with them" (King James Version, as quoted in interview).

> So, with that is none of us should be able to labor in vain. And that's like living in poverty and struggle every day and as you're working and you're beating yourself up…My great-grandmother used to make me read this every day and I didn't understand it. And what I grasp from it is, the labor and the work they have done, they have done so much work on this Earth for us to where they made a pathway for us, but we are still struggling and we are fighting poverty and going through the racism every day, discrimination every day, being looked down on every day of our life…So we have to keep fighting because the fight is never over until we change the narrative. I love that scripture.

Similarly, leaders rely on the examples of leaders in the biblical text for organizing lessons, inspiration and hope, particularly through the struggles of working conditions and organizing.

Integrations of Bible and Organizing (RQ2b)

Raise Up integrates the Bible in their organizing in three distinct ways: (a) culture building, (b) political education, and (c) projects of survival. These forms of integrating the Bible into organizing are influenced by Raise Up's local context, namely the religiosity of the south and the history of southern freedom struggles

Bible in Culture-Building

The Bible is an integral aspect of the culture of Raise Up, reflective of the culture of the south. Culture-building using the Bible is incidental to the work of the organization in many ways. For example, during a break in a recent training meeting a spontaneous conversation broke out about whether Jesus would be on the side of the workers organizing for higher wages and a union. Though Jesus and the Bible were not the topic of the meeting, the discussion emerged because the Bible is a "very deeply ingrained frame of reference for folks" which contributes to how the organizational culture is influenced by the Bible. Other informal conversations that include the Bible occur when workers are organizing other workers. Through such informal conversations leaders engage biblical stories, "make pedagogical points, and build strong relationships and organizing bonds," according to one of the leaders. Beyond informal conversations, the Bible also plays a role in building culture as workers attend church and pray together. The Lord's Prayer and Psalm 23 are often spoken as words of comfort between workers as they encounter difficult working conditions and as inspiration for taking direct action at the workplace. Music is another informal way that the incorporates the Bible into the culture of Raise Up. "We've used a lot of church music…Everybody knows certain gospel songs, especially, and really transforming those into movement songs has been another tool and tactic we've used a lot." Another leader expanded on how music builds culture through

> keeping everyone together and keep shaking and keep fighting and keep singing the freedom song until we see a change in what we're fighting for on a [*sic*] everyday basis. And that's one thing I always encourage the workers with on an everyday basis. And I just like build my own relationship and that family momentum with them as well. I love it.

The Bible, therefore, facilitates building a culture of hope, collectivity, solidarity, and encouragement to help workers through the daily grind of working in poor conditions and the grind of standing up to managers and companies. Because the Bible is embedded in the culture of the south, and therefore in the lives of the workers, the Bible also builds the culture of Raise Up, creating a feeling of being church together, as expressed by one of the leaders.

Bible in Political Education

In addition to the informal ways the Bible is incorporated into building the culture of Raise Up, it is also integrated in strategic and planned political education, an integral aspect of their organizing. Raise Up engages political education for the purposes of leadership development. The organization has held Organizing Academies with workers. In such leadership development trainings and in staff meetings, leaders use readings from *We Cry Justice: Reading the Bible with the Poor People's Campaign* (Theoharis, 2021) and lead educational sessions through the lens of faith and the Bible. One leader utilized a chapter on Revelation 13 to create a poster depicting how poor and low-wage workers resist empire through the power of political education.

Figure 16 *Promotion for January 30, 2022 Freedom Church of the Poor Service*
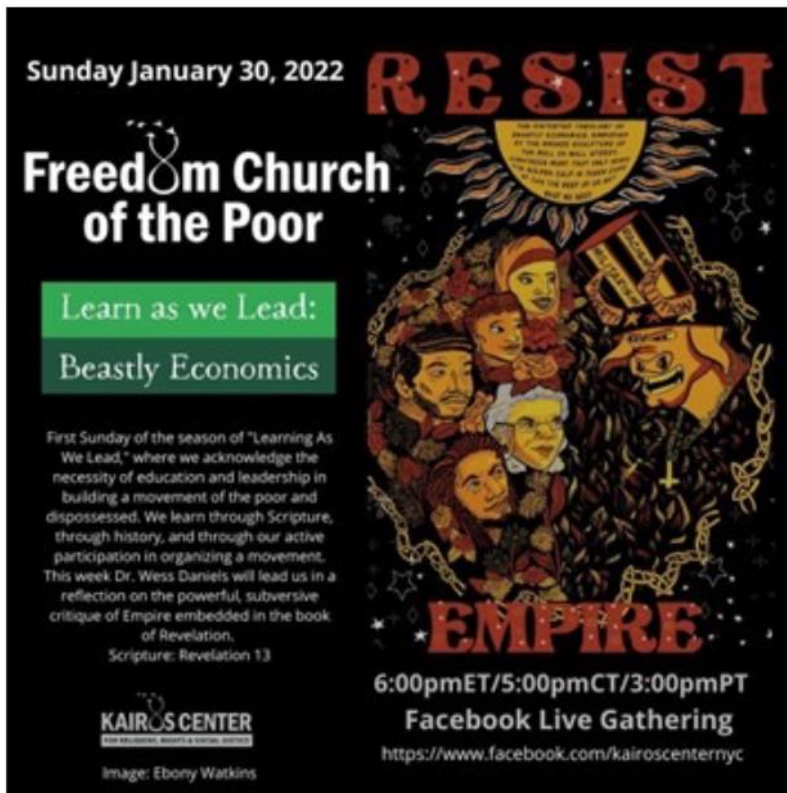
Note. From Freedom Church of the Poor. (2022, January 30). *Learn as we lead: Beastly economics* [Livestream]. Facebook.

https://www.facebook.com/anewppc/videos/1611371382555488

The bull in the poster represents empire while the faces depict poor and low-wage workers organizing against empire. "With the contrasting symbols of light and darkness I tried to portray the power of political education and action…It's not the waking; it's the rising" (Freedom Church of the Poor, 2022a, 29:59). Political education, the artist-leader explains, is the process through which people learn not just to be aware of systemic injustices, but to take action against unjust systems. Here this leader uses an artistic depiction of a biblical text to represent the power

of political education, embodying an example of how Raise Up incorporates the Bible into political education.

The main pedagogical technique used when engaging the Bible in political education at Raise Up is understanding the Bible as an organizing guide, therefore, the scripture itself is an educational resource for political education. "The more I read the Bible, the better of an organizer I am because you can pull out every bullet point for organizing and it's exactly what people in the Bible were doing…what Jesus was doing with the disciples," explained a Raise Up leader. The Bible serves as an organizing guide for workers to organize clergy and faith communities as well. Workers regularly invite their faith leaders to support their work and engage in educational conversations with them. Additionally, in one community in South Carolina the workers are developing a curriculum proposal they are presenting to faith leaders to go into churches and engage in weekly political education discussions with the church youth. When approaching political education through the guidance of the Bible, leaders then engage such educational sessions through dialogue, a pedagogical technique often associated with biblical teaching. While today most people view the Bible as a written text, it emerged within an oral culture and has historically been taught and learned orally. Raise Up continues this oral tradition with biblical narratives. Therefore, the Bible is both the content of and guide for political education by Raise Up leaders.

A pedagogical technique leaders utilize when integrating the Bible into political education is study and discussion of the use of the Bible within the history and freedom struggles of the south. Specifically, leaders draw upon Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s speeches and analysis because

he's also somebody who everybody of course loves and admires, especially black folks in

the south we're organizing with. But when you really unpeel the layers and look at his

theology, you really see how just radical and revolutionary his vision was. And so, you

know, we've just done a lot of work kind of looking at his view of the Bible and his view

of American society and how racism operates in this country and what the 1968 Poor

People's Campaign was.

Raise Up, therefore, integrates the Bible into political education in trainings and meetings

through dialogue, understanding the Bible as an organizing guide, and utilizing the history of

freedom organizing in the south, for the purposes of leadership development. In other words, the

Bible is used to bring people from the waking to the rising.

Projects of Survival

As described at the beginning of this case report, Raise Up also engages the Bible

through projects of survival, the most recent example of which is the Fed Up Food Distribution

project. This project of survival was described as feeding bodies as well as souls. Further, a main

objective of Fed Up is to educate those receiving food about the root causes of food insecurity

and hunger within a society of abundance. Therefore, the project is termed "political food

distribution [in which leaders are] stepping in to do what our government isn't by building

worker power and keeping bellies full" (Bullard II, 2021, p. 98). As explored at the start of this

case report, one leader described this project as one of breaking bread together, a reference to 1

Corinthians 10:16. The use of this phrase in the context of Fed Up demonstrates how this project

of survival is intertwined with biblical understandings and how Raise Up is informed by the

religious context in which it exists.

Pedagogical Praxis of Integrating the Bible in Organizing

Figure 15 depicts the relationship between how Raise Up is informed by the Bible, interprets the Bible, and integrates the Bible with three elements of pedagogical praxis that both influence and are influenced by Raise Up's engagement with the Bible. The overarching themes include the political and religious history and culture of the south, unlearning and learning, and organizing as ministry. These themes and how they interact with Raise Up's engagement with the Bible will be explored next.

Influence of Political and Religious History and Culture. The political and religious history and culture of the south is the context in which Raise Up organizes, as was described in detail above. Because the south is a place of deep contradictions, which imposes both challenge and opportunity for organizing, political and religious history and culture is an integral aspect of how the organization is informed by, interprets, and integrates the Bible. Leaders within the organization expressed this explicitly.

> [The south is a] really, deeply religious area and I just think in terms of the political
> geography of the south, our analysis is that the south has really been key to the political
> development of the nation as a whole, for better and for worse.

The contradictions inherent in the south, as described above make it a place "where there's a lot of potential for a faith-based organizing frame." This history and culture, thus, influences how Raise Up is informed by the Bible in that most members have "a religious orientation." By extension, Raise Up interprets the Bible through expression and exploration of the parallels of oppression and freedom struggles in the Bible with particular emphasis on past southern freedom struggles. The organization, then, integrates the political and religious history and culture of the

south into how it uses the Bible to build organizational culture, for political education, and within projects of survival.

Dialectic of Unlearning and Learning. Raise Up leaders expressed the importance of the process of unlearning within how the organization engages the Bible. Because of the political and religious history and culture within the south, Raise Up leaders and supporters have been steeped in an interpretation of scripture that justified slavery, segregation, and, today, Christian nationalism. Leaders, therefore, referenced their own processes of unlearning the ways they had been taught about the Bible for themselves and in organizing workers.

> One thing I had [to do] is unlearn and relearn. It's just how there's so many things that I was taught growing up about the Bible and Christianity in general and I have found a truer meaning to it in doing this work. Along with reading the Bible with the poor [and] how the stories connect…and one way the Bible has been taught is to keep people in their situations. And people feel a sense of shame. But [then] they learn the truth about the Bible and that the Bible is full of stories and testimonies of people being oppressed, rising up, and taking their freedom, you know?

The process of unlearning and learning that leaders referenced for themselves and the workers they are organizing occurs through informal conversation about biblical stories, political education, Bible studies, and involvement with Freedom Church of the Poor. Similarly, unlearning is an important part of the work that Raise Up leaders do with clergy and other community partners, to unlearn the way they understand the Bible, and relearn it from the perspective of the organized poor. Referring to such partners one leader reflected, "for a lot of community allies…it's also a learning experience for them to kind of relearn what religion could

mean and could be and what a liberatory religion could look like." The unlearning and relearning process occurs through informal conversation, political education, and Bible study.

Organizing as Ministry. The third pedagogical practice, organizing as ministry, emerged from both explicit and implicit ways that Raise Up leaders described their work in the organization, including those of faiths other than Christian. "Some co-workers are of different faith; some co-workers struggle with faith or say they are not of faith…But we all can agree that [organizing] is a form of ministry, whatever way we look at it." Some leaders expressed an understanding of their organizing work as a vocational calling, reading scripture and praying daily for guidance and discernment when organizing workers. One leader commented, "I'm doing the work of the Lord and doing the will of the Lord," while another expanded on the idea of organizing as ministry.

> And our job as organizers is to wake people up and say that Jesus said "I've come that you may have life and life more abundant." The enemy comes to steal, kill, and destroy. That's wage theft. That's unsafe working conditions. That's unsafe neighborhoods. That's food deserts, food insecurity, no access to health care. So, you know, what we're doing is ministry…They will see God by you just loving on them, by you just listening and that is ministry. And that's the best way of organizing because it's genuine.

The religious context of the south, intertwined with the faith traditions of the leaders, leads to an understanding of organizing as ministry, guided by the Bible as an organizing guide as explored above.

Moses was the Greatest Union Leader

On Sunday May 8, 2022, a Raise Up leader preached for a Freedom Church of the Poor service entitled "Days of Liberation: Organize," focused on Exodus 5-6 and low-wage workers

organizing unions, specifically Starbucks Workers United and Amazon (Freedom Church of the Poor, 2022b). The subtitle that often appears in Bibles to describe this section of the text is "Bricks Without Straw," the setting of which is when Israelites are enslaved by Pharoah. Moses and Aaron approach Pharoah saying, "Let my people go" so they can celebrate their religious observance. Pharoah responds with more work and less resources. The reading concludes with God promising deliverance for the Israelites. While attending the worship service I recorded my reflections.

> As I heard the scripture read it was like listening to arguments today about why businesses can't find enough workers: they are too lazy, they don't want to work, it's their own fault. I also noticed that the Israelite overseers were operating on behalf of Pharoah…That's what empire demands of the poor and dispossessed…
>
> [The preacher] talked about how this story was one that many of us had heard multiple time before, as had he, but it was through his leadership in Freedom Church of the Poor and as an organizer that he began to read it differently. This reminds me of unlearning more traditional readings of the text. Then he talked about this text as a Guide to Organizing Strategy and proceeded to lay out organizing lessons for today.

- Marching on the Boss
    - o Moses and Aaron brought the concerns of the workers to Pharoah
    - o Like when workers come together to bring a list of grievances to management with a timeline of when it needs changed
    - o Moses delivered that petition to Pharaoh
- Retaliation
    - o Organizers and workers expect there to be retaliation. It is a tactic management uses to try to scare workers.
    - o Pharoah stated if they had time to reap and make sacrifices then they have time to work more – if you have time to lean, you have time to clean
    - o This fear tactic is one that management uses to try to intimidate people from speaking up. And if they succeed in scaring you then "someday they'll have you mopping the ceiling."
    - o Some of the Israelites did get scared and told Moses it was better before.
        - • Organizers often come up against that from workers and have to have a strategy of saying: how good did you really have it before though? Which is a way of helping workers see the conditions and get past the fear.
- Go Back to the Teacher
    - o Organizers don't have all the answers and need to go to others for help.
    - o Moses goes to God
- Finding strength and hope in God's promises
    - o God says tell them "do you know who I am? Tell them I am the Lord!'
    - o In our hardest struggles we can find hope in what God has already done and the promises God has given and in that find strength and hope.
    - o Meant in a spiritual sense but in a very real and material sense, sharing that he finds hope and strength from the Starbucks and Amazon workers (both other speakers in the service) who are organizing unions in what were once considered impossible places to organize. But it is possible and in that we can have faith.

The sermon on Moses as the Greatest Organizer exemplifies the connections of how Raise Up engages the Bible in organizing. Through a context of the political and religious history and culture in the south, Raise Up is informed by the hope found in the Bible, the moral authority of the Bible, and the history of southern freedom struggles' use of the Bible. How Raise Up is informed by the Bible leads to biblical interpretations which find parallel characters and

conditions within biblical text and struggles of low-wages workers today, which Raise Up integrates through culture-building, political education, and projects of survival. Raise Up's engagement with the Bible manifests in processes of unlearning and learning, an understanding of organizing as ministry, and relying on the Bible as an organizing guide.

Union de Vecinos Case Report

The neighborhood is filled with bright colors in the foliage, in murals painted along the roadside, and the clothes of the people. Sounds of mariachi and other street music fill the air. So many stories are told of sharing food like tamales, carne asadas, nopales, and rice and beans that one can almost smell aroma. Elderly community members gather with adults, youth, and children for food, games, and work. These are the images portrayed in the stories and videos shared by leaders of Union de Vecinos. Leaders of the neighborhoods who are part of Union de Vecinos have worked hard for many decades to preserve their communities and values and that work continues as developers, investors, and local politicians attempt remake the neighborhoods in their image.

Throughout their 26-year history, Union de Vecinos (or Union of Neighbors) has organized to keep their neighborhoods in Boyle Heights, Los Angeles from succumbing to gentrification and displacement.

Figure 18 *Union de Vecinos Protest of Gentrification*

Note. From Chapter 21 slide of Kairos Center. (n.d.). We Cry Justice Arts + Culture Companion

Project [Google slides]. https://kairoscenter.org/resources_cpt/we-cry-justice-cultural-arts-

project/

The most recent campaign, "Food, Not Rent," was a rent strike during the early stages of the

COVID-19 pandemic when many people in the community lost their income and could not

afford to both pay rent and feed their families. The organization has also worked to prevent mass

evictions since the end of the federal eviction moratorium due to COVID-19 and the ensuing

economic crisis.

Underlying these actions and embedded in the life of Union de Vecinos is an

understanding of how the Bible guides such efforts. For example, a leader explained the Lukan

version of the Beatitudes in which Jesus proclaims, "Blessed are you who are poor for, yours is

the kingdom of God" (New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition, 2021, Luke 6:20b)

provides direction for how the organization responds to the needs within their communities.

> So whenever we are stuck in what to do or how we respond to those problems, we go
>
> back to [the Beatitudes] and say, 'What is our role in the community?' And our role in
>
> the community is to make sure that people who have no homes have a home, that the
>
> people who are in jail be freed from being in jail, the hungry get food.

The values Jesus exemplified in his ministry, including the agency of the poor, guide the work of Union de Vecinos from its inception through the present.

This case report will explore how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible in their organizing, through a single-case analysis of the organization, Union de Vecinos. The primary aim of this case report is to describe how Union de Vecinos is informed by the Bible (RQ1), how Union de Vecinos uses biblical passages to organize as part of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. (RQ2), including how the organization interprets biblical passages (RQ2a) and how the organization integrates biblical passages into their organizing (RQ2b). To that end, this case report will first describe Union de Vecinos and the context in which it operates, followed by detailed description of how Union de Vecinos is informed by the Bible and the techniques they use to interpret the Bible. Following is a description of how Union de Vecinos integrates the Bible in their organizing and exploration of pedagogical practices that guide such integration. Finally, the report closes with the description of the annual Las Posadas event, an organizing tradition that embodies how Union de Vecinos engages the Bible in their work.

Understanding Union de Vecinos and Its Context

Union de Vecinos is organized east of the Los Angeles River in the Boyle Heights area of the city of Los Angeles. It is an area populated primarily by immigrants from Mexico and Central America. Most of the residents of the area are Catholic, having brought with them cultural and religious traditions from their home countries. In fact, one Union de Vecinos leader explained Boyle Heights has "9 Catholic churches in a 6.5-mile radius." The cultural and religious heritage of the Boyle Heights residents influenced the origins of Union de Vecinos, as well as the work of the organization throughout its 26-year history.

Prior to organizing Union de Vecinos, a congregation in the neighborhood was organizing residents through Comunidades Eclesiales de Base (CEBs), or Christian base communities. CEBs originated in Central America as part of the growth and application of liberation theology. The CEBs associated with Union de Vecinos read and reflected on biblical texts to craft a response to the conditions and realities the communities faced. Many of the participants of the CEBs organized within this congregation were residents of the Pico Aliso public housing project.

In 1996 Pico Aliso was set to be demolished through a plan from federal, state, and city governments which would have displaced 10,000 residents, to make way for new development. The Pico Aliso residents, particularly those engaged in CEBs, were against the demolition of their homes. Yet the leadership of the congregation sided with the developers and chose to support the demolition of the Pico Aliso housing projects, despite the displacement it would cause to those in its own community. Residents who were outraged and betrayed by the decision of the clergy to support the development then left the organization that hosted the CEBs to form Union de Vecinos. Since its inception Union de Vecinos "focus[ed] on people most affected by

political, economic, and socially oppressive conditions and take[s] their lead"(Alcocer et al., 2021, para. 4). While it is now a secular organization, no longer connected to a particular faith community, many of the leaders were part of the CEBs prior to the formation of Union de Vecinos and continue to practice their faith.

Throughout its history Union de Vecinos has continued to organize their community around issues of immigration, food, and housing, with particular emphasis on having people stay in their homes, as explained by one of the Union de Vecinos leaders.

> Now for a couple of decades the principle of making sure that people have a home has been very, very, very important. Our goal in general in Boyle Heights right now is to make sure that people stay wherever they are living in the middle of the pandemic and after the pandemic in the middle of an economic crisis. So that transfers our struggle to not just asking for more housing, but to making sure that people stay in their homes.

This effort at organizing for housing stability means opposing demolitions designed to bring in new development and currently means opposing evictions in the midst of a global pandemic and economic recession. The organization is divided into 12 neighborhood committees guiding the work of their neighborhood, prioritizing such projects as "cleaner alleys, fixed potholes, more lighting, safer streets and crosswalks, stop signs and traffic lights and habitable homes" (Alcocer, 2021, p. 186). Further, Union de Vecinos has played a critical role in the development and organizing of the LA Tenants Union and is the East Side Local of that union. Union de Vecinos is, also, part of the California Poor People's Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival and partners with global movements.

It is this context of Union de Vecinos, particularly the cultural and religious history and values, which influences how Union de Vecinos engages the Bible in their organizing to end

poverty. While Union de Vecinos is no longer directly associated with a specific faith

community, many of the neighborhood leaders were part of the early history and are people of

faith for whom the Bible plays an important role in their lives. Therefore, Union de Vecinos

continues to engage the Bible. Figure 19 depicts the ways in which this context influences how

Union de Vecinos is informed by the Bible, interprets the Bible, and integrates the Bible.

Figure 19 *Union de Vecinos' Engagement with the Bible*
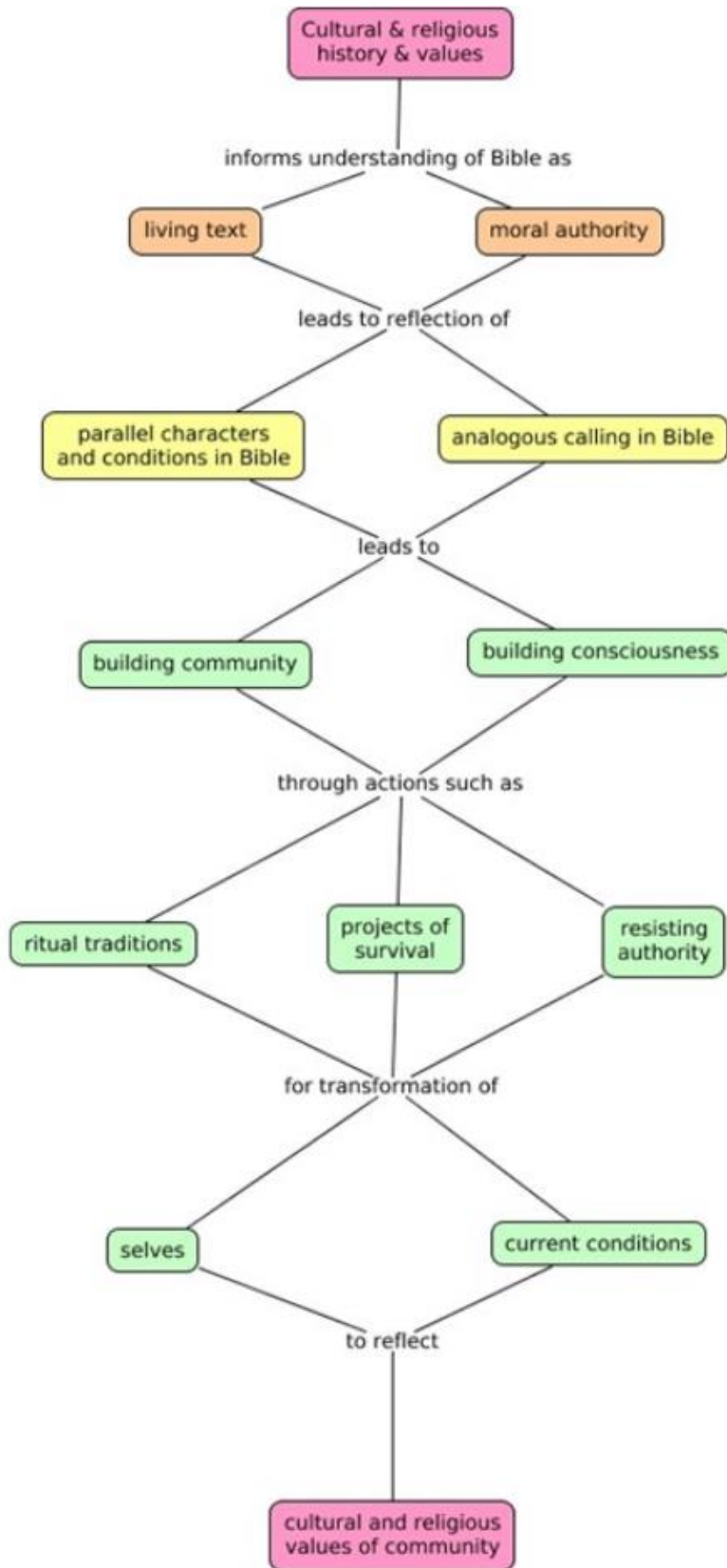
Each of these aspects of Union de Vecinos's engagement with the Bible will be explored in depth below.

The Biblical Understandings that Inform Union de Vecinos (RQ1)

Union de Vecinos understands the Bible as both a living text and a moral authority (see in Figure 19 in peach) which flows from the history and context of the organization's origins and members. Having come out of the tradition of CEBs which uses the Bible as a source for reflection, neighborhoods that continue to use the Bible for reflection begin, first, with their experience of the problems, conditions, and realities in their communities. Having come to a shared understanding of these conditions, they then reflect on the biblical text to guide their actions and response. They are informed by an understanding of the Bible as a living process to return to again and again as conditions and situations change. Therefore, they are not informed by the Bible in a fixed, fundamentalist way, but in a way that invites reflection on current realities and conditions and applying questions of the text to those realities. A leader who was part of the origins of Union de Vecinos explained it this way.

> So in the base communities, people read the Bible to reflect on their reality, not to do an interpretation of the Bible, but to look for a response for their faith perspective to what needs to happen in the community. And that's basically the community asking each other, "How does the Bible tell us or guide us into responding to our problems?"

The leader offered an example. At one point in time the women in the neighborhood were fearful of being outside when it was dark. They had heard media reports of gang violence and "at night as the sun would set, they would lock themselves in their homes." When reading the biblical story of Jesus inviting Peter to walk on water during a storm, the women began to ask each other what the storm was in their community. They agreed it was their fear of the gangs at night.

So they decided, little by little, to come outside and look around. And little by little, they

discovered nothing was happening, that actually the gang members, when they would see

the women hanging outside, they would move away and go to other places because they

were shy. So the community, in a way, they started walking on the water in the middle of

a storm.

Leaders recounted that different communities may come to different responses to a problem even

when reflecting on the same text. Also, coming back to the same text at another time or with a

different set of issues to resolve may yield other applications from the text. In this way, Union de

Vecinos is informed by an understanding of the Bible as "a living thing versus the text as a dead

end," as stated in an interview, because of the influence of CEBs.

Secondly, the organization is informed by an understanding of the Bible as a moral

authority. Because of the deep faith and religiosity of the community members, the Bible is held

in high esteem. Community members, also, understand the authority of the Bible as higher than

that of the clergy or other faith authorities who attempt to interpret the Bible for the community.

Instead, the neighborhood committee leaders and members have an understanding that they too

can engage the biblical text collectively and ask questions of it to respond to their own realities.

The cultural and religious history and values of the community inform how Union de Vecinos

understands the Bible: as living word and as moral authority. These, then, lead to how the

organization interprets the Bible.

Biblical Interpretations (RQ2a)

In engaging the Bible as a guide for reflection about how to respond to current

conditions, Union de Vecinos draws *parallels between the characters and conditions* in the

biblical text and in their own lived experiences. According to one of the leaders, community members

> [see] themselves reflected in Mary and Joseph migrating, bringing their child into a world that they know is not the best, but trying to do the best for them. Comparing the conditions in which Jesus was born to the conditions in which they come here into the United States. It's not the castle that they were promised or that American dream, but it becomes this humble community with houses in need of repair that have cockroaches and similar conditions to where Jesus was born in the stable with animals.

In other examples the leaders at Union de Vecinos compared their experiences of organizing their community to Jesus' 12 disciples who organized the movement of Jesus followers. Similarly, when developers and other local officials attempt to convince the community members that gentrification is community betterment, Union de Vecinos leaders compared their experience to the biblical text in which the Pharisees try to trap Jesus by asking whose face is on the coin.

> Just like Jesus with the Pharisees, many communities question the order under which they live and the plans that others have for them. When they challenge the established order, they are confronted with authorities who maintain that order. The experts question their intelligence and seek to shame them into submission by their own words. But like Jesus, the women of Boyle Heights question that power. (Vilchis, 2021, p. 95)

While informed by the Bible as a living text and moral authority, the members of Union de Vecinos reflect on the biblical text by exploring parallel characters and conditions that enlighten their response to the problems within their community.

Similarly, Union de Vecinos interprets an *analogous calling* of themselves and those within the biblical text. By engaging the Bible as a living text and reflecting on its guidance for encountering current realities and conditions, Union de Vecinos perceives and embodies a calling analogous to that within the scriptures, particularly through the ministry of Jesus. The organization's understanding of their analogous calling was expressed as the communities' values and the need to go back to the Bible for reflection to determine what action is necessary based on those values. In so doing the community is asserting their calling is to build the kind of community Jesus and the early church did. Examples of this analogous calling are apparent in the biblical reflections previously discussed in this case report, including the calling to walk on water during the storm, to question the authorities as Jesus did of the Pharisees, as well as reflections and actions that will be explored later including feeding the hungry and homeless and ritual traditions.

Integrations of Bible and Organizing (RQ2b)

As seen in Figure 19, Union de Vecinos integrates the biblical interpretations of parallel characters and conditions and analogous calling through *building community* and *building consciousness*. For Union de Vecinos building community does not simply mean creating interpersonal friendship connections, as the term is often used. Instead, members of the organization work together to quite literally build the infrastructure of their community that has been neglected or threatened by local officials. The neighborhood committees organize themselves and their neighbors to engage projects that build the safety, beauty, and democracy of the community (Figure 20). In a video about the work of the neighborhood committees a posted sign reads, "Esta es mi comunidad yo la limio yo la cuido," (This is my community. I care for it. I take care of it.) as residents paint the alleyways (CHClosangeles, 2015, 2:02)

Figure 20 *A Union de Vecinos Neighborhood Committee at Work*

Note. Screenshot from CHClosangels. (2015, March 25). *Union de Vecinos – Neighborhood Committees* [Video]. YouTube.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wg3rsBulzFw&list=PLcNPe751wUVfi17h4KPTD3keVkVzlOev7&index=12

Other community building projects include community meals, feeding the homeless, and educationals about organizing. At a recent event in a leader's backyard, approximately 40 people gathered to hear from members of Potero al Popolo (Power to the People), a national movement in Italy, about creating similar kinds of community projects as way to assert the power of the people in providing for needs the government has abdicated (Figure 21).

Figure 21 *Union de Vecinos Community Educational*

Note. Screenshot from Union de Vecinos East Side Local. (2022, August 21). *Potero al Popolo Presentation in LA* [Livestream]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xd4QMZeH9e0

As one Union de Vecinos leader described, this work of building community is to "[help] build the world that they want to create and see."

An important component, then, of building that community is, also, building consciousness about current conditions. When engaging in reflection on the biblical text, community members also bring their questions and challenges within their communities. Through the reflection process, they build collective consciousness as they seek to better understand those conditions in order to address them. For example, the women who engaged in biblical reflection about the gang members learned that their perceptions were based not on interactions with gang members but on the media's portrayal of gang violence. Through engagement in biblical reflection, leaders within Union de Vecinos respond through actions that

seek to build community and consciousness. Three such actions, also highlighted in green in

Figure 19, include (a) ritual traditions, (b) projects of survival, and (c) resisting authority.

Ritual Traditions

Each year Union de Vecinos Neighborhood Committees observe multiple ritual traditions

which merge cultural and religious history and values, biblical interpretation, and building

community and consciousness. For example, in October neighborhoods observe Dia de los

Muertos (Day of the Dead) as "a moment to reflect on the people we've lost in our

communities," according to one of the leaders. This time of remembrance was especially

significant during the COVID-19 pandemic in which many community members died. In other

years, the leader went on to explain, the Dia de los Muertos observance was organized around

making peace treaties among rival youth gangs.

> We've had spurts of gun violence in Boyle Heights. For example, we do intentional
>
> knock-on doors, talk to folks, pick and get some of these youth to be part of [the Dia de
>
> los Muertos] process. Require them to do peace treaties…So two rival gangs and have
>
> conversations with them to figure out how do we stop the violence, at least during the
>
> process of where we're remembering the folks that they've lost…And it usually lasts
>
> longer than just the event. But we try to make sure people understand that we're not at
>
> war with each other and they shouldn't be either. There's [*sic*] bigger things that we need
>
> to fight back against.

Throughout this process the communities "pull out [biblical] passages for reflection purposes of

our communities and why we're doing this event." Another example includes the observance of

Dia de la Virgen de Guadalupe on December 12th which is accompanied by nine days of prayer.

"But within this prayer, they talk about the struggles that they're going through in the community

and really figuring out how to not just pray for them but take action collectively to fix some of those issues." The primary example of this process is Las Posadas which will be explored in more detail below. With each of these observances, the process of cultural and religious history and values, intertwined with biblical reflection and action, exemplify Union de Vecinos's integration of the Bible into their organizing.

Projects of Survival

Another way in which Union de Vecinos is committed to building community and consciousness is through projects of survival. Such projects are born out of biblical reflection in which neighborhoods ask how the Bible helps them to respond to the realities and conditions within their communities. One such example occurred when a neighborhood gathered to ask what could be done in the community for the homeless who were coming to the church asking for food. They collectively reflected on the text of Jesus multiplying bread and fish to feed thousands in the hungry crowd, as a leader recounted.

> The women got hung up on the question of what do you have. So interestingly then in the community they say, "Well, what do we have?" Some people had beans, some people had rice, some people had tortillas. Out of that reflection, out of that conversation, they said, "Well, it is on us to feed the homeless in our community." So, one night a base community decided to prepare a meal with beans, rice, and bread and tortillas. And that night they fed 100 men which, for us, was a repetition of the miracle itself.

This action, born out of theological reflection on Jesus feeding the multitude, is an expression of building community and consciousness. It is a project of survival, instead of an act of charity, because of the "constant reflection of what is our responsibility in responding to a state that is excluding the poor and that is pushing the poor out of the city," said a Union de Vecinos leader.

The community, therefore, is asserting their own moral and political agency to care for one another in the absence of an adequate social welfare system to care for the community. Ritual traditions, also, often include an aspect of being a project of survival in that it involves feeding the community and building community and consciousness. The projects of survival are often, also, connected to how the community resists authority.

Resisting Authority

A third action of how the Bible is integrated in the organizing of Union de Vecinos, through building community and consciousness, is through resisting authority. This does not mean that Union de Vecinos sets out to resist authority just for the sake of doing so, but that during biblical reflection on current community conditions they often feel called to a type of action that puts them in opposition with authorities. The origin of Union de Vecinos, when the residents of the Pico Aliso housing project defied the authority of the church, of local officials, and of developers exemplifies this. Similar actions have been repeated through the rent strikes during the COVID-19 pandemic as the community discerned a calling to spend their limited resources on food, not rent. In an interview, a leader reflected on Union de Vecinos' history of resisting authority.

> Actually, for the whole history of Union de Vecinos our struggle has been a struggle of the community defining what's good for them versus a dominant institutional set of relationships and practices that say that there is one way of making life better in the community. And really, if this is a strong ideological battle, we're basically for decades, if not generations, been sold the idea that development, investment, and economic progress are the necessary, beneficial realities that are going to improve life for the community, for the poor. And really what we've been living throughout all these years is

with trickledown economics and an ideological pushing that somehow more money in the

community is going to bring more extra material benefits for the people. But the reality is

that development, investment, and speculation really have been the results, and that

means displacement of people, a rejection of people's needs and an emphasis on the

expertise of technocrats and people who really don't understand the reality of the

community.

Understanding this set of conditions has empowered the community to claim their moral and

political agency and to resist the authorities who claim to be operating on behalf of the

community.

When Ana and Delmira opposed the proposal for an arts district in their neighborhood,

artists, developers, college professors, politicians, and reporters asked: "Don't you want

to improve your community?" The development of an arts district was a strategy to

gentrify the neighborhood and increase land values. It would encourage the privatization

of public housing that protects very low-income families and promote rent increases and

evictions in the neighborhood. Ana and Delmira asked the people in the room: "Is the arts

district going to bring back the housing we lost and lower our rents?" The artists silently

left the room, and the developers and politicians waited for each other to answer.

(Vilchis, 2021, p. 94)

Such efforts that resist authority flow directly from the community seeking to live out their

cultural and religious values. Elements of resisting authority are often found within aspects of the

ritual traditions and projects of survival. Together these three actions of ritual traditions, projects

of survival, and resisting authority lead to transformation in the community.

The efforts of building community and consciousness, resulting from biblical interpretation and understanding the Bible as a living word and moral authority, aim to transform individuals, the community, and conditions. For Union de Vecinos leaders, transformation is understood as an activity of organizing and ministry.

> It's God's work. It's not just organizing for the sake of organizing; it's organizing to transform the world…It's really about transforming and working with each other and changing the things that are happening.

The actions resulting from reflecting on current realities and conditions, as well as on biblical stories, bring forth transformation to "create[e] the world we want to see together." This is a world that reflects the values of the culture and religiosity of the community (Figure 19).

Pedagogical Praxis of Integrating the Bible in Organizing

Two key pedagogical practices define how Union de Vecinos integrates the Bible in their organizing. The first is the process of reflection and action in determining the steps of the organization and the second is ongoing organizational learning.

Reflection and Action. The Bible is part of the reflection process for some neighborhood committees who meet monthly for biblical reflection. Also, organizing ritual traditions often involves reflecting on key biblical passages in conversation with lived experiences and current conditions, as summarized by one leader.

> Whether it's talking about the gang members we've lost over the years and how do we decrease the violence within our communities, but also the Virgin, when we talk about it within the context of colonization, how our communities were colonized. They were trying to force them into Christianity…So going back to those roots as well which helps

our communities connect to their indigenous roots…Utilizing the different parts of the

Bible, I think is very important in that.

The pedagogical process of reflection and action is tantamount to the organizing of Union de

Vecinos and the Bible plays a particular role, described by another leader.

The picture that our faith or our community presents to us through the Bible, also, is a

challenge for us to turn that into reality here at home. So little by little out of that

experience, reading the Bible, reflecting on that, taking action, seeing what was

necessary, what they were told to do, members of the community started seeing

themselves as actors in their own community, applying their own faith to the promise of

their own community, which radically changed how they saw themselves in their

community and the role they had to play to determine their reality.

The process of reflection and action, then, empowers Union de Vecinos community members to

lead change within their neighborhoods.

Ongoing Organizational Learning. The second key pedagogical principle expressed by

Union de Vecinos is the desire for ongoing organizational learning. In interviews and

observations, leaders frequently described the desire for the organization to "go deeper" or

pursue greater understanding of particular topics. Examples include expanded use of the Bible

within organizing conversations, reflecting on the Exodus story through Union de Vecinos's

context, and pursuing a collective interpretation of the Bible and abortion. Additionally, the

organization is now engaging an internationalist position within movement organizing and seeks

to incorporate an understanding of organizing with the Bible internationally. Finally, there is a

desire to reflect on the Bible in relationship to white Christian nationalism and how popular

religiosity in the country is impacting the local communities in Boyle Heights.

But I think that would be an argument for us to deepen our own understanding and our own comfortability with reading the Bible, with reflecting on the Bible, and using the Bible as a form of reflection to talk about the issues that affect the community. And also, the importance of religiosity and popular religiosity and the importance of community organizations, groups, and people who are working for justice to the accompany the community in that reflection with their own faith.

The desires for ongoing organizational learning about the Bible and related organizing topics and strategy speaks to a perspective of ongoing leadership development of individuals and the organization. As the organization takes new positions or grows into new sectors of organizing, they want their use of the Bible to accompany that growth, underscoring the organization's engagement with the Bible as a living text to guide reflection based on current realities.

Las Posadas

On a designated day in December the culmination of months of planning begins as members of the community gather at the first stop of Las Posadas. Two children, dressed as Maria and Jose, carry a baby to lead the procession.

Along the route we stop at places where we are organizing, and people share a poem, a skit, or a testimony. Some tell stories of why they migrated, or about their landlord who refuses to fix up their building, or about elected officials who don't want to meet their demands. At each stop we sing *"En el nombre del cielo hos pido posada"* ("In the name of the heavens we ask for refuge"). On the third stop we enter and there is food, a pinata for the children, candy, and music. This is a true celebration of the birth of a man who came to teach us how to save ourselves. (Alcocer, 2021, p. 186)

The size of the crowd grows with each stop along the nine-day celebration journey as more and more of the community participates.

Figure 22 *Las Posadas Observance*

Note. From Chapter 43 Slide of Kairos Center. (n.d.). We Cry Justice Arts + Culture Companion Project [Google slides]. https://kairoscenter.org/resources_cpt/we-cry-justice-cultural-arts-project/

The Posadas celebration itself is the result of months long planning and organizing by the neighborhood committees of Union de Vecinos. The work of the neighborhood committees to plan Posadas includes reading and reflecting on the biblical nativity stories and asking how the community and conditions in Boyle Heights are reflected in the story, as a Union de Vecinos leader described.

>   According to the tradition, [Mary and Joseph] are looking for a place, they can't find a
>
>   place and they're in a barn, surrounded by the animals in horrible conditions. And that's a

question we always go back to the text and talk about, that and the persecution [by]

Herod of the children and the impact that the king's role plays on the lives of the children

because Herod is afraid of all this inspiration, of this sense of hope to have been born in

the community. We look at the inspiration of the wise men looking for Joseph and Mary

and the idea of us having to look for Joseph and Mary in our community. And in our

community, it is very relatable because we're talking about migrants who…come to the

United States looking for a better life. People have been displaced from their community,

looking for a place to be, and then the struggle that comes with being here in the

community. So, every year during Posadas, we spend some time reflecting on that

reality…And different years, different moments, different communities give us different

responses.

From these reflections of the parallel conditions, characters, and calling found in the biblical text,

the neighborhood committees then organize their stop along the Posadas. They coordinate who

will prepare and bring which food. They knock on doors to invite their neighbors to join them.

Each is an act of building community and consciousness as they enact this ritual tradition,

resulting in transformation of individuals and the community and toward greater embodiments of

the community's cultural and religious history and values.

Cross-Case Analysis

The previous sections of this chapter presented single case descriptions for each of the

three poor people's organizations researched. The following section presents a cross-case

analysis of the research topic across all three organizations. The analysis begins by presenting

findings of each research question across the three cases followed by two pedagogical practices

utilized by the three organizations. Next, includes a summary of the findings for each single-case

analysis and the cross-case analysis. Finally, I use the theoretical propositions outlined in chapter three to analyze the findings across all cases, as suggested by Yin (2018).

How Poor People's Organizations are Informed by the Bible (RQ1)

There are four main elements that emerged as important to how the three poor people's organizations in this study are informed by the Bible. The elements include (a) the local context, (b) the battle for the Bible, (c) the Bible as an organizing guide, and (d) the moral authority of the Bible. The local context in which each organization operates is embedded in cultural, historical, religious, and political contexts which influence the demographics of the organization, the religious and cultural traditions of the organizations' leaders and members, the social issues the organizations address, and the historical framework through which the organizations understand their identity and that of their community or region. Table 5 provides examples of how the local contexts have informed the organizations' engagement with the Bible.

Table 5 *Organizational Engagement with Bible Informed by Local Context*

	Demographics	*Religious & Cultural Traditions*	*Social Issues Addressed*	*Historical Framework*
Chaplains on the Harbor	"So it's a majority white community we're working in…also, a very large presence of native people, both on the street and in our work." "a post-industrial logging town on the far edge of the West Coast…with close to 50% of people on public assistance, over 75% of children qualifying for free lunch, and one out of 16 people homeless" (Monroe, 2021, p. 204)	"[We are] everything from Episcopal priest to pagan practitioners or agnostic or Native American practitioners. So, we've got kind of a really wide range of religious belief in the organization as well. And so that kind of sets the tone, too, for how we approach both Christianity and its sacred texts."	"Organizes for dignity and survival among Jesus' people: the jobless, the homeless, the incarcerated, the addicted" (Kairos Center, 2016, para. 1)	"The Christian narrative has been embedded in white supremacy…very rooted in the doctrine of discovery. I think poor white people, even [those] living in homeless camps, are still in some ways waiting for the fulfillment of this promise that if they uphold the push westward and act as agents of the U.S. empire that at some point they are going to get what they were promised [in the American dream]"

| Raise Up the South | "The majority of our members are black workers. Although we're a multiracial organization, a majority of our members are black."

"I'd say the overwhelming majority of our members are very religious and have very deeply held faith beliefs, especially Christianity... Probably 90% of our members consider themselves Christian." | "[There's] something very unique to the religiosity of the South and the role of religion and movement building in the South, the role of morality and faith, really." | "And our job as organizers is to wake people up and say that Jesus said I've come that you may have life and life more abundant. The enemy comes to steal, kill, and destroy. [That enemy] is wage theft. That's unsafe working conditions. That's unsafe neighborhoods. That's food deserts, food insecurity, no access to health care." | "We really try to call on…the history and tradition of southern freedom struggles. So we do a lot of work calling on the SNCC tradition and the original Poor People's Campaign tradition and some of the really incredible union organizing that's had a very faith centered orientation. Just having a sense of that history that we walk in, I think, is really important to understand Raise Up." |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Union de Vecinos	"We have a huge immigrant population…mostly Latinos from Central America and Mexico." "[We are] primarily Catholic and different variations of Christians. There's the Baptists, Pentecostals, and all of that too."	"Going back to [our] roots as well helps our communities connect to their indigenous roots, their Mexican roots." "…from the beginning the values, the analysis, and the reflection of what needs to be done in the community grows from the community's perspective and from the faith perspective of the community and the tool of reflection always has been the Bible."	"[Our] point of departure is the experience of our community members. We believe that the problems of poverty can only be solved by giving power to the most affected. They are the ones best suited to coming up with the best solution." (Alcocer et al., 2021, para. 5) "the community decided to find ways to feed the homeless, to feed the community itself…the principle of making sure people have a home it's been very important…making sure that people stay in their homes"	"We talk about…the context of colonization, how our communities were colonized, and they were trying to force them into Christianity" "…founded in 1996 by public housing residents to fight against the proposed demolition of homes…Before forming Union de Vecinos, the residents of Pico Aliso were organized in Comunidades Eclesiales de Base (CEBs)…Every week members of the CEBs met to read the Bible and discuss the issues affecting their community." (Alcocer et al., 2021, para. 1 & 2)

Note. Quotes are from interviews unless otherwise noted.

As displayed in Table 5, though the contexts of the organizations are different, each are informed in their engagement of the Bible by their local context in unique ways.

Secondly, though each organization operates within a unique local context, each encounters the battle for the Bible within their organizing. Every organization expressed how the Bible is used in ways that blame the poor for their poverty, perpetuate white supremacy and Christian nationalism, and support policies and practices that devalue, degrade, criminalize, or denigrate the poor. Each organization, then, engages with the Bible in ways that counteract the impact of oppressive and dehumanizing uses of the Bible, thus engaging in a battle for the Bible.

To that end, the third way the organizations were informed by the Bible is through understanding the Bible as a guide for organizing. From understanding Jesus' ministry as "mobilizing and building a movement in ancient Palestine with the poor and outcast people," as expressed in an interview with a Chaplains leader, to seeing "organizing stories" throughout the biblical text, as a Raise Up leader stated, to being grounded in the principle values of the Beatitudes which proclaim "blessed are the poor," as a Union de Vecinos leader explained, the organizations are informed by an understanding that the Bible provides inspiration, strategy, and tactics for organizing a movement led by the poor. A particular concept through which all organizations are informed by the Bible as an organizing guide is the expression of the preferential option for the poor, a concept expressed in liberation theology which describes God's solidarity with the poor and oppressed.

Finally, each organization expressed an organizational understanding of the Bible's moral authority. For Union de Vecinos, this moral authority of the Bible inspires the communities to seek answers for themselves about the problems in their community, instead of relying on clergy to interpret the Bible for them. The deep religiosity of the South informs Raise Up's claim of the

moral authority of the Bible as expressed in the lives of individual workers and in the regional and organizational culture. Even for those who are not Christian, such as many of the people Chaplains on the Harbor works with, the Bible is perceived as a moral authority with which "you just load people up with everything that's going to support and defend them when they have to go toe to toe with power." The moral authority of the Bible is present within the lives of individuals and the organizations, particularly as they engage in the battle for the Bible. The four elements which inform the organizations' engagement with the Bible, (a) the local context, (b) the battle for the Bible, (c) the Bible as an organizing guide, and (d) the moral authority of the Bible, are interrelated and guide how the organizations interpret the Bible.

Biblical Interpretations by Poor People's Organizations (RQ2a)

The four elements which inform poor people's organizations' engagement with the Bible, described above, guide how the organizations interpret the Bible. While there were interpretative techniques some organizations used more than others, two prominent interpretative techniques were present across all organizations, namely (a) beginning with the lived experiences and analysis of the poor and (b) the identification and exploration of parallel characters and conditions within the biblical text.
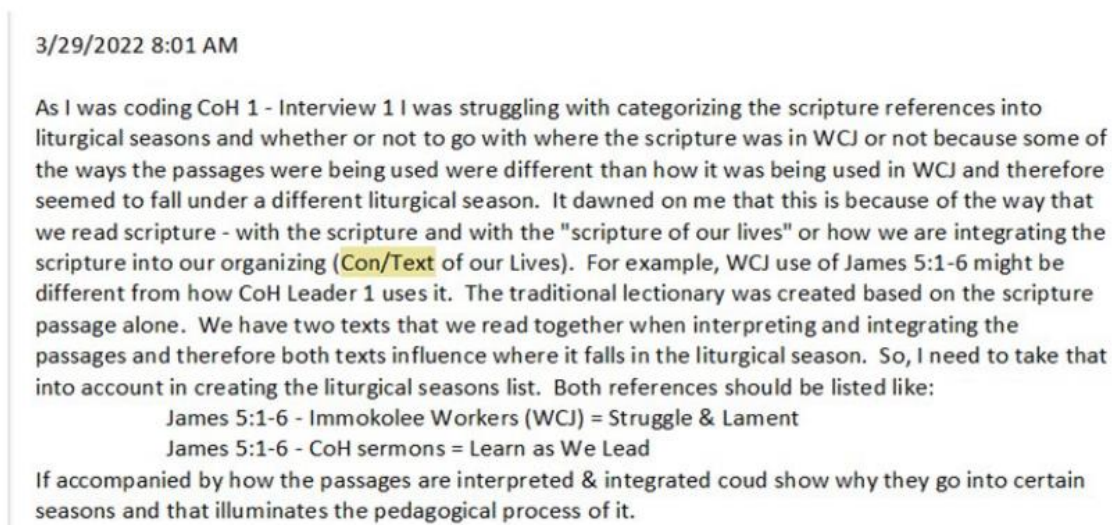
The first prominent interpretative technique was beginning with con/text of the lived experiences and analysis of the poor in their communities, instead of beginning with the biblical text itself. A Union de Vecinos leader described the process as

> to first look at the reality as the point of departure and not at the text. So, you start with
> the everyday life of the people, with their own issues, with their own concerns and a
> shared understanding of those issues and concerns and then going back to the Bible to ask
> of the Bible, how does that inform our own reality as opposed to the other way around.

Chaplains and Raise Up approached biblical interpretation similarly, bringing to the text the experiences, insights, and questions of the poor organizing for large scale social change.

As a researcher I discovered this important aspect of interpretation early in the data analysis process. While coding the first interview for biblical references and inserting them into the Biblical Passages Table, I realized entering the scripture reference alone was not enough information to code to one of the liturgical seasons because the lived experiences and analysis of those engaging the text influenced how the text was being interpretated and applied (Figure 23).

Figure 23 *Analytic Memo of Context of Biblical Interpretation*

3/29/2022 8:01 AM

As I was coding CoH 1 - Interview 1 I was struggling with categorizing the scripture references into liturgical seasons and whether or not to go with where the scripture was in WCJ or not because some of the ways the passages were being used were different than how it was being used in WCJ and therefore seemed to fall under a different liturgical season. It dawned on me that this is because of the way that we read scripture - with the scripture and with the "scripture of our lives" or how we are integrating the scripture into our organizing (Con/Text of our Lives). For example, WCJ use of James 5:1-6 might be different from how CoH Leader 1 uses it. The traditional lectionary was created based on the scripture passage alone. We have two texts that we read together when interpreting and integrating the passages and therefore both texts influence where it falls in the liturgical season. So, I need to take that into account in creating the liturgical seasons list. Both references should be listed like:
      James 5:1-6 - Immokolee Workers (WCJ) = Struggle & Lament
      James 5:1-6 - CoH sermons = Learn as We Lead
If accompanied by how the passages are interpreted & integrated coud show why they go into certain seasons and that illuminates the pedagogical process of it.

At that point I inserted a column into the Biblical Passages Table to list the Con/Text in which the organizations were interpreting the passage. This proved necessary as multiple passages were interpreted by the organizations in different ways depending on the context of the interpretation at that moment.

The second interpretative technique utilized by each organization was the identification and exploration of parallel characters and conditions in the biblical text to the realities and lived

experiences of the poor within the organization. Leaders identified within the biblical text the conditions of imperial rule, oppression, and exploitation experienced by biblical characters and made connections to their own lived experiences and efforts toward organizing resistance against such forces. Examples of characters with parallel conditions to the organized poor include Ruth, Mary and Joseph, the disciples, Jesus, Moses, and Amos. Similarly, the organizations identified biblical characters who created or perpetuated the conditions and suffering of others including the Judge, Pharoah, and Herod. Parallel conditions refer to the material conditions of the poor in the biblical narratives and that of the organizations including hunger, homelessness, poverty, and unpaid labor. A full accounting can be found in the Biblical Passages Table (Appendix N).

Appendix N displays a combined Biblical Passages Table with all 118 biblical references found in the data across all three organizations. The breadth of Bible passages listed in the table spans from Genesis to Revelation. While not every book of the Bible is represented, each of the major genres of biblical books appear in the list. The two books or types of books utilized frequently by all the organizations include the Exodus story and the gospels. Further Appendix O shows the same passages organized by liturgical season. Each liturgical season is represented in the findings as well. These findings show that the organizations utilize and interpret biblical passages from a variety of biblical genres and beyond simply passages that reference poverty or the poor. Instead, the organizations find parallel characters and conditions throughout many books of the Bible and within all of the liturgical seasons utilized by Freedom Church of the Poor.

Integrations of the Bible and Organizing (RQ2b)

The three organizations presented distinct ways in which they integrated the Bible into their organizing work. Figure 24 depicts the prominent ways each organization integrated the Bible into their overall work to end poverty as it was manifest in their context.

Figure 24 *Themes of Biblical Integrations in Organizing*
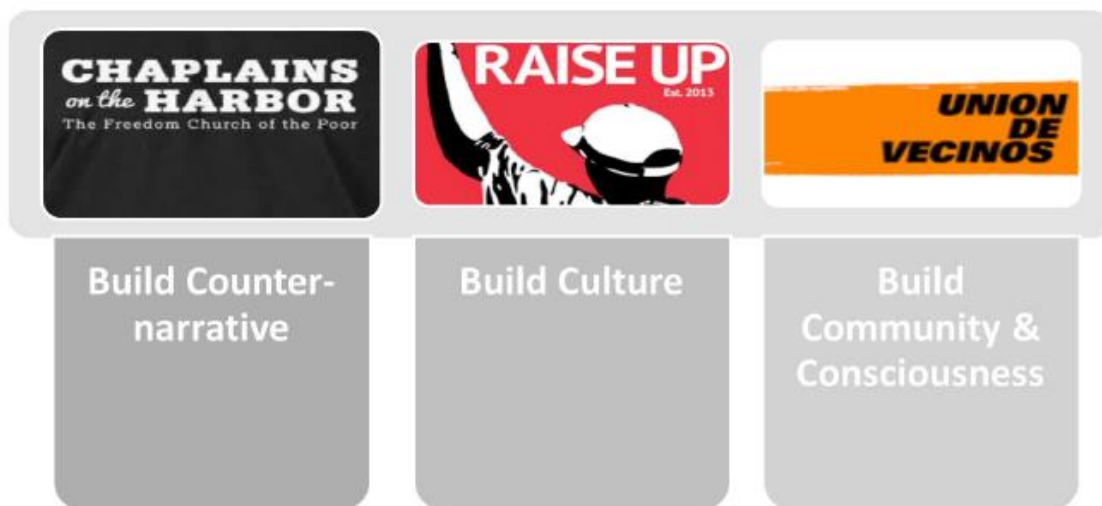
While obvious differences exist within how each organization expressed its primary engagement with the Bible, taken together the findings express how poor people's organizations engage with the Bible to organize around the issues in their context and contribute to building a movement to end poverty led by the poor. The organizations engage the Bible to build the movement to end poverty led by the poor by building a counternarrative, building culture, building community, and building consciousness.

Integrating the Bible in Relationship to Clergy and Faith Communities

The relationship to local clergy and faith communities was, also, a prominent topic within each organization's case report. How the organizations engaged with clergy and faith

communities varied. However, there were three distinct ways the organizations integrated the

Bible in their relationships with clergy and faith communities including (a) defying, (b)

organizing, and (c) raising. The organizations actively defied clergy and faith communities

whom they perceived as preaching or acting in ways that were harmful to the poor in their

communities. For example, a Union de Vecinos leader commented,

> At some point in history, the women in the community realized that the [religious]
>
> authority itself wasn't always reflective of the values and life of the community. So, we
>
> started seeing that the most important thing is not to wait for authority to define reality
>
> for them, but for the community's faith, life, and contradictions to be the one that defines
>
> what is to be done in our community. So, we're a little bit skeptical of institutional
>
> authority within the church, and that's the product of a life and an experience and
>
> sometimes a sense of disconnection of the authorities with the everyday life of the
>
> community.

Likewise, Chaplains defies and opposes the dominant narratives taught and preached about the

poor by constructing and proclaiming a counternarrative rooted in the Bible, while Raise Up's

work is in direct defiance of faith leaders who espouse ideologies of white Christian nationalism.

The second way the organizations were in relationship with clergy and faith communities

was by organizing them. They mobilized clergy and lay leaders to support court appearances,

strikes, and protests. Additionally, the organizations preached in churches or taught political

education within congregations. Within Raise Up, leaders built relationships with clergy and

congregations who supported their work and often attended those congregations together for

worship. It was churches who hosted Union de Vecinos on their 4-day journey from Los Angeles

to Washington DC for the Mass Poor People's and Low-Wages Workers' Assembly and March

on Washington. Each of the organizations engaged clergy and/or faith communities in partnership, mobilization, and/or education as a means of organizing them to be part of the movement to end poverty led by the poor.

Thirdly, the organizations engage faith leaders and faith communities by raising them. Each of the organizations engaged in some form of leadership development which utilized the Bible. Each, also, participates in the Reading the Bible with the Poor Cohort and Freedom Church of the Poor, both projects within the movement to end poverty led by the poor. As a leader from Chaplains stated, they are "rais[ing] leaders from the ground up." Leaders within Raise Up lead Bible study, prayer gatherings, and send scripture verses for others within the organization. For a leader within Union de Vecinos, participation in Freedom Church of the Poor and Reading the Bible with the Poor Cohort offers opportunity to learn more about the Bible and how to use the Bible in organizing for liberation.

Pedagogical Praxis of Integrating the Bible in Organizing

Just as in the single-case analyses, specific pedagogical practices emerged within the cross-case analysis of how the organizations integrate the Bible in their organizing. Specifically, the cross-case analysis revealed two key points of praxis including the role of emotions in organizing with the Bible and multi-racial organizing with the Bible.

Bible, Organizing, & Emotions. An unexpected finding was the significance of emotions in how and why the organizations engaged the Bible in their organizing work. Each organization, for example, expressed how the Bible had been used by others to shame the poor in their community. For example, a leader from Raise Up expressed, "one way the Bible has been taught is to keep people in their situations. And some people feel a sense of shame." Within Union de Vecinos, authorities tried to shame the community members when they pushed back on

policies that bring harm to the community. Chaplains' leaders expressed the deep shame that often accompanies living in poverty or homelessness. For each organization, though, engaging the Bible in organizing is way to counteract the shame that the poor experience elsewhere. According to a Chaplains leader,

> [The Bible] honors people's lived experience which people have a lot of shame about. People have a lot of shame about the things they've had to do to survive, whether it's because they were incarcerated or they had to be involved in the drug economy or they use drugs or whatever…there's just a lot of shame and a lot of shaming that has come through the church. So, if you can use any biblical text to say, "You know what, what is shameful is the system. What is shameful is the system creating these conditions, not you for having to survive it," that goes a long way.

Leaders in the organizations found a sense of authority in utilizing the Bible as a resource in organizing. Having the moral authority of the Bible as backing provided a counteraction to the shame inflicted by narratives that blame the poor.

Additionally, the organizations expressed a deep hope and joy that is a result of their organizing and their engagement with the Bible. In a Freedom Church of the Poor service during the season of Struggle and Lament, a Raise Up worker reminded the congregation that it is movement leaders' responsibility to wail in the streets, as well as to emphasize the victories, hope, and joy found in the midst of struggles. Similarly, in the December 5, 2021 Freedom Church service, a leader from Union de Vecinos commented that the communities that are part of the organization are "more than just a neighborhood; it is a family. If anyone is hurting, all are hurting" (Freedom Church of the Poor, 2021, 23:46). Likewise, a Chaplains on the Harbor

leader, after reviewing the draft case report for member reflection, responded in an email with the following statement.

In terms of themes, there's been one thing emerging for me lately that feels important:

My whole faith formation – from age 5 through seminary – was heavy on somber and superficial joy. That cuts across denominations, political leanings, and a whole range [of] contexts. Even when there was fun stuff happening (like at church camp), the conversation would always come back to "Ok but why are we REALLY here?" which was the cue for everyone to act sadder, more angry, more serious, more grieved. This has been completely and seamlessly consistent with my experience of organizing. And in both my church and organizing experience, the Bible is leveraged to set that tone (usually for very compelling and righteous reasons).

But our base at COH really evangelized me to come to terms with the power of militant, irrepressible joy. This is joy beyond optimism and honestly, joy beyond a future-oriented hope that anything will ever get better. I was trained – in the church and movement – to see joy as either frivolity or escapism. But how I have witnessed joy at work on the ground is very much an assertion of dignity, an assertion of power, and an assertion to have "abundant life" right here and right now, despite the whole world telling people they don't deserve it. This has shifted the way I read the Bible. Certainly, it is full of sobering, harrowing, and grief-filled stories. It is also just as full of stories about Jesus constantly sitting around eating and drinking with his rowdy crew. I am starting to see that part of things as far more central to the power of our movement – as a place we need to be tending if we really want to win.

The poignant description of deep joy and hope that is an expression of abundant life was echoed in various ways by each of the organizations and could be seen in the video artifacts and observations of the life of the organizations. The Bible was central to the organizing work of counteracting shame and embodying collective joy and hope.

Multiracial Organizing with the Bible. The strategic importance, as well as challenges, of multiracial organizing was also a theme across the three cases. Though the racial makeup and context of each organization differed, the importance of organizing across racial divisions, and using the Bible to do so, was part of each case. Chaplains, for example, encounters white supremacist organizing, as well as more incipient expressions of white supremacy within churches and local politics. Their multiracial organizing is undergirded with an analysis of how the Bible is rooted in narratives and actions of white supremacy throughout the U.S. and then, counter-organizing through a counternarrative that uses the Bible to build a multiracial organization and movement. Union de Vecinos, similarly, explores the history of how the Bible has been used to justify colonization and how they are now using the Bible to "decolonize…the minds of our communities." The organization also expressed the need to better engage in counter-organizing against the rise in white Christian nationalism across the country and the importance of deeper biblical analysis to do so. Raise Up expressed the need for multiracial organizing as the only way to combat racism and white supremacy in the South. The Bible is a point of commonality among workers of various races and so is a point of unity across racial differences.

The three organizations, while multiracial, each have a predominant demographic within the organization (Chaplains – poor white, Raise Up – black, Union de Vecinos – Latinx). Because the organizations are each part of the movement to end poverty and connected to one

another through projects and campaigns such as Poor People's Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival and Freedom Church of the Poor, the multiracial nature of the movement to end poverty is apparent. Through organizing exchanges and participation in national rallies and protests, leaders of the organizations are building a multiracial movement.

Summary

Thus far chapter four has explored the research questions through single-case descriptions of each organization, as well as through cross-case analysis. Table 6 depicts a summary of the findings for each research question per single case and cross-case analysis.

Table 6 *Summary of Findings*

	Informed by the Bible	Interpret	Integrate	Pedagogical Themes
Chaplains on the Harbor	Faith traditions and lived experiences Ways Bible is wielded for harm Liberatory understanding of the Bible and poverty	Historical-materialist lens Empire-critical lens Parallel characters & conditions	Differences by constituency	Counternarrative Leadership of the poor
Raise Up the South	History of freedom struggles' use of the Bible Hope in the Bible Moral authority of the Bible	Parallel characters Parallel conditions	Culture building Political education Projects of survival	Influence of political and religious history & culture Organizing as ministry Dialectic of learning and unlearning
Union de Vecinos	Living text Moral authority	Parallel characters & conditions Analogous calling	Building community Building consciousness	Reflection & action Ongoing organizational learning
Cross-Case	Local context Battle for the Bible Bible as organizing guide Moral authority of Bible	Begin with con/text of our lives Parallel characters & conditions	Various ways of working with clergy and faith communities: defying, organizing, raising	Bible, organizing, and emotions Bible & multiracial organizing

The findings of single- and cross-case analyses informed the analysis of theoretical propositions.

Analysis of Theoretical Propositions

As previously explained, a series of five theoretical propositions were outlined prior to beginning data collection for use in Level 2 analysis within this cross-case report. Yin (2018) recommends relying on theoretical propositions as one strategy for analysis in case study research to "shape data collection and...[yield] analytic priorities" (p. 186). Analysis of each theoretical proposition will be discussed next.

Theoretical Proposition 1: Poor people's organizations engage the Bible because of individuals' faith expressions and the Bible as a resource for organizing a movement for social change.

The data show that the individual faith expressions of those involved with each of the three organizations in this study are one reason that the organizations engage the Bible. Within each organization the members of the community or organizational leaders, or both, are Christian. The data also show the organizations engage the Bible as a resource for organizing a movement for social change. This is expressed through building a counternarrative, building culture, and building community and consciousness, as well as the ways in which the organizations put the Bible in conversation with their own lived experiences and material conditions. Additionally, the organizations engage the Bible in relationship to the expressions of Christianity in their local context. The ways in which the larger community and public officials engaged the Bible and Christian narratives, also, impacted the reasons the organizations engaged the Bible. For example, the data from Chaplains on the Harbor reveals the organization engaged the Bible to counteract how the Bible was wielded for harm against the poor and homeless by public officials, churches, and other service providers in the community. Raise Up and Union de Vecinos also encountered ways that the Bible was used for harm in their communities, but largely engaged the Bible because of the faith expressions of the poor in their respective

communities. Therefore, while there is evidence to support Theoretical Proposition 1, it can be

modified to better reflect the findings. The modified version is: *Poor people's organizations*

engage the Bible because of individuals' faith expression and the role of the Bible within the

organization's local context, as a resource for organizing a movement for social change.

Theoretical Proposition 2: *Use of the Bible by poor people's organizations provide a means for*

leadership development.

Each of the organizations engaged the Bible for purposes of leadership development,

largely through educational processes. Chaplains incorporates study and reflection of the Bible

with their staff as a component of the leadership development process. Raise Up, also,

incorporates the Bible into leadership development processes such as their Organizing Academy.

Leaders at Raise Up also discussed their own leadership development processes regarding the

Bible through their participation in other projects within the movement to end poverty, such as

Freedom Church of the Poor. Union de Vecinos regards organizing activities such as Las

Posadas as both organizing and education. The Bible is incorporated into that process as well.

Further, Chaplains and Raise Up also discussed their efforts at leadership development with the

Bible in their organizing work with clergy and faith communities. Through formal political

education and informal conversations, leaders of both organizations engage intentional efforts of

leadership development with clergy and faith communities. Therefore, there is evidence to

support Theoretical Proposition 2.

Theoretical Proposition 3: *Poor people's organizations engage the Bible as a means of*

organizing not just with people of the Christian faith, but also with those who are not Christian.

The case report on Chaplains on the Harbor outlines in detail their organizing with people

who are Christian and those who are not. Raise Up and Union de Vecinos also use the Bible even

when organizing those who are not Christian. A leader from Raise Up reflected on how they engage the Bible with those who are not Christian.

Well, you know, it's interesting. I'd say I'd talk about two different things. First would be the workers who are members of Raise Up and then also just kind of broader community support networks. And so with workers there is a huge percentage of folks who have a Christian background. But I will say, a large portion of our membership are from the LGBTQ community and have been shunned by the religious institutions they were raised into. And so even among folks who may identify as Christian or have a Christian background, it can be a little dicey to reintroduce some of the faith-based stuff. [But] there have been a lot of folks who kind of found their religion again by being in Raise Up, specifically, I think, LGBTQ folks. And then, the other thing I'd say is with a lot of our community partners who aren't necessarily low-wage workers, but people of goodwill who want to support the organizing the workers are doing, it's much more common for those folks to not be religious. And I think it's one of the creative tensions in movement building that exists. But having faith leaders present speaking in religious tongue can be uncomfortable for a lot of community allies, but I think it's also a learning experience for them to kind of relearn what religion could mean and could be and what a liberatory religion could look like. So it's not all cut and dry and easy. There [are] a lot of contradictions to navigate, both among our members and with the community at large [who] support the workers.

Similarly, Union de Vecinos encounters community partners who do not share the same religious expression as the members of the communities they are organizing, as one leader reflected.

At some of these events, we've had folks saying, 'Well, it's religious; we don't want to be part of that.' And for us, it's not the religious aspect that we're trying to push down your throat, but it is the community building process that I think you need to be part of because whether you like it or not a lot of these folks are religious and if you want to interact with them in creating a different type of community and world, then you have to be part of some of these spaces. A lot of us have to leave our comfort zone to build something like this.

The data affirm Theoretical Proposition 3 that the organizations engage the Bible with people of various faith expressions.

Theoretical Proposition 4: *The Bible is integrated in different ways for people who are entering the movement work from different contexts (for example, for faith leaders and for activists who may have been hurt by the church).*

The data expressed in Theoretical Proposition 3 and in the case reports confirm this proposition. Organizations integrate the Bible as an expression of faith for those who understand the Bible as a sacred text, including the poor, faith communities, and public officials. However, each organization also expressed that while they incorporate the Bible in their organizing with those who are not Christian, they do not do so with the hopes of conversion or proselytizing, but because their organizing context necessitates it. Instead, the Bible is incorporated differently as a tool of political education, to counteract harm, and as a process of leadership development for those who support the work of the organizations.

Theoretical Proposition 5: *Poor people's organizations use of the Bible exemplifies dialectical relationships between learning, education, organizing, and leadership development.*

Each organization described informal organizing conversations in which the Bible is referenced as an expression of learning and unlearning about how the Bible supports their organizing. The organizations also have structured educational opportunities which incorporate the Bible including staff development, organizing academies, and reflections on current community conditions. Further, the use of the Bible in both informal learning and structured, nonformal education is interconnected to both activities of organizing, the leadership of the poor, and leadership development. Learning, education, organizing, and leadership development operate as interconnected actions of the work of the organizations and engagement with the Bible serves as a specific example of the relationships. Figure 25 indicates the dialectical relationships of these activities within the work of these organizations.

Figure 25 *Dialectical Relationships of Pedagogical Praxis*

Therefore, the data provide evidence to support Theoretical Proposition 5.

Chapter Summary

Chapter Four has presented research findings in the form of four case reports including three single-case reports and one cross-case report. The reports provide rich description of how Chaplains on the Harbor, Raise Up the South, and Union de Vecinos engage the Bible in their organizing including how the Bible informs their organizing, how the organizations interpret the Bible, and the ways the organizations integrate the Bible into their organizing. Table 6 displays a summary of these findings. Additionally, in chapter four I analyzed five theoretical propositions to further illuminate how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible in their organizing. The final chapter synthesizes and discusses the findings and offers implications for practice and further research.

Chapter 5 - Discussion

Previous chapters outlined the need for research on how organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor are engaging the Bible within their organizing. This research is grounded in the theoretical framework of the theory and praxis of the movement to end poverty in the U.S. and includes an overview of SML literature outlining the categories of class analysis, social movement organization, and learning, education, and organizing in social movements. Chapter three outlined the case study methodology that is tied to the research purpose which was to understand how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible in their organizing. The specific questions for this study were:

1. How are poor people's organizations informed by the Bible in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S?

2. How do poor people's organizations use biblical passages to organize in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S.?

   a. How do poor people's organizations interpret biblical passages?

   b. How do poor people's organizations integrate biblical passages into their organizing?

The preceding chapter offered three descriptive case studies, as well as cross-case analysis, of how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor engage the Bible. The findings show that poor people's organizations are informed by their local religious context, the battle for the Bible, understanding the Bible as an organizing guide, and the moral authority of the Bible. The organizations interpret the Bible beginning with their lived experiences and analysis of conditions, then finding parallel characters and conditions in the Bible. The Bible is integrated differently by the organizations through building a

counternarrative, building culture, and building community and consciousness. Each

organization integrated the Bible through pedagogical praxis such as the leadership of the poor,

projects of survival, learning and unlearning, resisting authority, and exposing contradictions.

Further, the organizations engage with clergy and faith communities through defying,

organizing, and raising leaders. Finally, emotions and multi-racial organizing are key elements of

pedagogical praxis across the three organizations.

Chapter five expounds on the findings summarized above and detailed in chapter four to

draw conclusions about how poor people's organizations engage the Bible in their organizing to

end poverty. Implications for practice within the movement to end poverty, for Christianity in

America, and within adult education follow the conclusions. Finally, possibilities for future

research are explored.

Discussion of Findings

Multiple case study methodology affords the opportunity to draw analytic generalizations

from the single-case and multiple-case studies, particularly using theoretical propositions

analyzed within the cross-case analysis (Yin, 2018). The discussion of findings that follows

includes analytic generalizations drawn from the findings explored in chapter four. These

analytic generalizations include how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty

led by the poor in the U.S. (a) engage the Bible ideologically, materially, and spiritually, (b)

engage the Bible through the dialectical relationships of learning, education, organizing, and

leadership development, and (c) practice pedagogies analogous to those within the biblical text.

Engaging the Bible Ideologically, Materially, and Spiritually

The findings within the single case reports and cross-case analysis reveal how poor

people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the

Bible ideologically, materially, and spiritually. These three modes of engagement overlap and offer a holistic perspective into the way the organized poor are building the movement to end poverty led by the poor.

Because the Bible has been used throughout history and in the local contexts of the organizations to uphold ideological positions, the organizations determined the necessity of their own engagement with the Bible on an ideological front. Most often poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty confront how the Bible has been used justify and perpetuate ideologies that create and sustain poverty. Organizations confront this ideology on multiple levels, including internal and external to the organization.

Leaders within poor people's organizations understand the ideology which uses the Bible to perpetuate poverty and the blame the poor is the dominant, hegemonic ideology in the U.S., impacting culture and institutions such as churches, government, nonprofits, and the like. Poor people's organizations, therefore, intentionally engage the Bible to shape a counterhegemony or counternarrative. Efforts to build counterhegemonic narratives have been found within the work of other social movements of the poor and dispossessed and are understood as examples of Gramscian pedagogy (Holst, 2020a). Engaging the Bible ideologically within initial stages of building a counterhegemonic narrative begins with individual and organizational practices of unlearning and confronting hegemonic biblical interpretations about poverty and the poor. These ongoing processes of unlearning and building a counterhegemonic narrative are both incidental and strategic, developed through culture and community relationships, as well as through structured educational and leadership development processes. As theorized within the movement to end poverty literature, because of the power of hegemonic ideology and the insipient ways it invades even the minds of those who are oppressed by it, the poor and dispossessed must "first

end poverty in our minds" (Baptist & Theoharis, 2011, p. 163). A specific example of an internal ideological battle deals with the shame, as was expressed by each organization.

Shame, a common theme throughout each case, is one example of how the dominant ideology is internalized by the poor and dispossessed. Shame is the result of the hegemonic ideology that blames the poor for their poverty (Hribar, 2016; Theoharis, 2014). Feelings of shame were reported in other empirical studies of SML (Hamilton, 2016; Irving & English, 2011; Kluttz et al., 2020; Walker & Palacios, 2016). As Hamilton (2016) explained regarding the 1968 Poor People's Campaign, involvement of the poor in social movements can provide a way in which "poor people could shame America and force the pace of change" (p. 41). Poor people's organizations in this study engaged the Bible to counteract and end shame by confronting the internalized ideology that uses the Bible to justify poverty. They engaged on both individual and collective fronts, transforming the organization and the leaders within it. The process of confronting the harmful ways the Bible has been used to counteract shame appears to be an essential part of the organizing process through conscientization, leadership development, and building organizational culture. Unlearning "entrenched values and views" (Baptist & Theoharis, 2011, p. 163) is consistent with the theory and praxis of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a) and within SML literature (Colón-Rivera, 2017; Foley, 1999).

Poor people's organizations confronted hegemonic ideas of the Bible and poverty internally, both individually and collectively, as well as externally, as they encountered the harmful ideologies based in the Bible in churches and in the public sphere. The organizations confronted false moral narratives directly through building counter-narratives, culture, community, and consciousness in their integration of the Bible in their organizing. To do so is

counterhegemonic and in direct opposition to white Christian nationalism and other false moral

narratives which claim to be based in the Bible while justifying poverty and other injustices. In

engaging counterhegemonic expressions, the organizations exegeted from the scriptures, biblical

principles, such as God's preferential option for the poor, and found parallel material conditions

to guide the organizations' strategy and tactics in building a movement to end poverty led by the

poor.

In addition to engaging the Bible ideologically, poor people's organizations in the

movement to end poverty also engage the Bible materially. Each organization in this study found

within the biblical text characters and conditions parallel to their own. They explored the

material conditions in the Bible vis-à-vis the material conditions within their own context

through iterative processes. In exploring material conditions in their context they engaged in

processes of conscientization (Freire, 1970) through analysis and critique of neoliberal capitalism

and expressions of class struggle. Both Christians and non-Christians in the organizations

utilized the Bible to analyze material conditions in their context. Therefore, poor people's

organizations engage the Bible toward class consciousness as they build the movement to end

poverty. Further, poor people's organizations applied the Bible in material ways to their current

conditions through projects of survival such as feeding programs. Recall that projects of survival

are organizing tactics utilized within the movement to end poverty led by the poor through which

the poor organize to meet immediate basic human needs for purposes of survival, while also

exposing the contradictions of an economic and political system that fails to meet the basic needs

of the people (Baptist & Colangelo, 2021a; Baptist & Wider, 2000; Wessel-McCoy, 2017). Each

organization in this study engaged the Bible through projects of survival, indicating a critical

aspect of engagement with the Bible by the organized poor is through leading projects of survival to meet the material needs of the poor and dispossessed.

In addition to reflecting on the parallel characters and conditions, poor people's organizations engaged the Bible materially by utilizing the biblical text as an organizing guide, finding biblical strategies and tactics for building the movement to end poverty led by the poor. Poor people's organizations find within the biblical text material solutions to organizing to end poverty through forms such as art and music, informal conversations, exposing contradictions, leadership development, leadership of the poor, organizing as ministry, organizing exchanges, political education, projects of survival, resisting authority, ritual and prayer, and unlearning. The organizations are guided by the biblical text toward action to change material conditions.

Integrated with engaging the Bible ideologically and materially, poor people's organizations also engage the Bible spiritually.   The Bible is both moral authority and sacred text for leaders in poor people's organizations who are Christian and not Christian alike. Particularly for Christians the Bible provides a spiritual connection to their faith, ancestors, church community, and God. Leaders engage the Bible spiritually in song, artwork, daily devotional reading, Bible study, and prayer. The Bible as moral authority counteracts shame and offers joy and hope. The Bible, then, is not just a resource for organizing, but a sacred calling, inspiration, and motivation to do so. That poor people's organizations engage the Bible in their organizing is not just cerebral or strategic but embedded within the spirituality of many leaders in the movement. Therefore, engagement by poor people's organizations with the Bible offers not just a counternarrative for Christian leaders in the movement, but also for secular organizing which often separates communities' faith and spirituality from their material needs and demands. Instead, the poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor who

engage the Bible in their organizing do so in interconnected modes of the ideological, material, and spiritual, a powerful framework for understanding critical revolutionary practice (Holst, 2018) of the organized poor.

The Bible and Pedagogical Praxis in Social Movements

The SML literature review identified six concepts pertaining to learning and education within social movements: (a) informal or incidental learning, (b) systematic education, (c) knowledge production, (d) relationship of learning and education, (e) relationship of learning, education, and organizing, and (f) other. Most studies focused on either informal or incidental learning or on systematic education. A few studies discussed explicit connections between incidental learning and systematic education in social movements (Curnow, 2017; Hall, 2009; Melero & Gil-Jaurena, 2019; Thapliyal, 2019), while a few also made explicit connections to organizing and learning and education (Grayson, 2011; Kapoor, 2011; Meek, 2011; Murray, 2019; Sawan, 2020). The cross-case analysis results in this study suggest that poor people's organizations' engagement with the Bible is an example of processes within the movement of the dialectical relationships of learning, education, organizing, *and leadership development.* It is, therefore, necessary to explore the role of leadership development in relationship to learning, education, and organizing in the context of this study and the SML literature. Figure 26 was originally shown in the cross-case analysis as a finding of how poor people's organizations pedagogically engage the Bible. The figure is displayed again below, but this time under consideration as a model, which may illuminate the pedagogical praxis of the organized poor.

Figure 26 *Model of Dialectical Relationships of Pedagogical Praxis of the Organized Poor*

Within this model, each of the practices are dialectically linked to each other, providing a holistic perspective of the pedagogical practice of poor people's organizations. The organizations in this study embodied these dialectical relationships through their engagement with the Bible. The findings show that the organizations engaged the Bible in mutual processes of learning and unlearning, individual and collective learning, political education and leadership development, and organizing through the leadership of the poor. Poor people's organizations' engagement with the Bible is, therefore, an example of how the organizations embody these dialectical relationships in their practice of the poor organizing the poor. For example, in exploring the conditions in the Bible as well as in their context, and then taking action to change those conditions through projects of survival, the organizations embody this model of the dialectical relationships of learning, education, organizing, and leadership development.

Leadership Development

As outlined in the concept of the pedagogy of the poor in the movement to end poverty, leadership within the movement is conceived of through the 4 Cs of clarity, connectedness, commitment, and competency. The findings thus suggest that organizations engage the Bible to develop leaders who embody each of these 4 Cs. While the Bible was not the only source for leadership development, the organizations did engage the Bible as an aspect of leadership development strategy, curriculum, and pedagogical practice for leadership development. Within the organizations in this study, leadership development occurred through informal and incidental learning, systematic education, and through engaging in the processes of organizing. As described in the SML literature review, there are other empirical studies which make the connections between learning and education (Atta & Holst, 2020; Curnow, 2017; Foley, 1999; B. L. Hall, 2009; Melero & Gil-Jaurena, 2019; Thapliyal, 2019) and others between education and organizing within social movements (Choudry, 2015; Grayson, 2011, 2014; Kapoor, 2011; Meek, 2011; Murray, 2019; Sawan, 2020). This research confirms the dialectical relationships of learning, education, and organizing, while also expanding the literature to include leadership development as an additional aspect of pedagogical praxis of the organized poor. Each of these elements were dialectically connected to one another and to leadership development in processes that used the Bible for action, reflection, training, and organizing direct action. Leadership development was identified as an intentional and strategic process of developing leaders through engaging them in learning, education, and organizing. Leadership development, however, was not apparent within other studies of SML with the exception of Cardona and Choudry's (2019) research of worker organizations in Canada.

Holst (2018) offered a key challenge to SML research in calling for theories and examples of "education based in the real, lived realities of these social subjects making them aware of the revolutionary nature of their objective situation as a part of the development of a critical revolutionary practice" (p. 87-88). The poor people's organizations in this research utilized pedagogical praxis through the dialectical relationships of learning, education, organizing, and leadership development based in the lived experiences and analysis of the organized poor. Their practice of incorporating each of these four pedagogical elements serves as an example of the critical revolutionary practice for which Holst (2018) calls. Further, as was discussed in the SML literature review, there seems to be convergence among social movements with a class analysis, multi-organizational movement form, and revolutionary demands with those that link learning, education, and organizing. The poor people's organizations in this study confirm this possible convergence and add the practice of leadership development as an additional pedagogical practice. These connections must be further explored to learn more about movements of social subjects "whose simple demands for survival can no longer be met within prevailing capitalist relations" (Holst, 2018, p. 87). Together these linkages between the analysis of conditions, organizational forms, and pedagogical practices of movements of the poor may provide further examples of critical revolutionary practice.

Analogous Pedagogies to the Biblical Text

The findings show that poor people's organizations integrate the Bible in various ways including informal conversations, art and music, projects of survival, leadership of the poor, and more. Though no organization explicitly named these forms of integration as such, they each represent pedagogies analogous to that in the scripture text itself. Table 7 summarizes the various pedagogies used by each of the organizations to integrate the Bible and offers an example from

the Bible of an analogous pedagogy utilized within the biblical narratives to organize to change

conditions.

Table 7 *Analogous Pedagogies in Scripture*

	Analogous Pedagogies in Scripture
Art & Music	Mary's Magnificat
Informal Conversations	Jesus & Nicodemus
Leadership Development	Jesus calls and trains 12 disciples and sends them out to organize
Leadership of the Poor	Ministry of Jesus who was poor and homeless
Organizing as Ministry	Moses as a union organizer
Organizing Exchanges	Apostles travel to various Christian communities
Political Education	Parables
Projects of Survival	Manna in the wilderness; Jesus feeds the multitudes; Early church collecting and sharing resources; Healing miracles; Paul's collection
Resisting Authority	Jesus arrested
Ritual & Prayer	Fasting by prophets; Lord's Prayer
Unlearning	Jesus saying "You have heard it said; but I say to you"
Using Contradictions	Parables

The analogous pedagogies outlined above are just a sampling of scripture texts which depict the

ways that the organizations' integration of the Bible mirror the pedagogies in the biblical text

itself. Leaders within the organizations were sometimes conscious of how their efforts at

integrating the Bible were analogous to pedagogies of organizing in the Bible. For example, a

Union de Vecinos leader explained that the organizing work of the neighborhood committees is

similar to that of the apostles in the early Christian communities as they responded to the

conditions they faced. In other cases, leaders' integration of the Bible in ways that mirror the

Bible's own pedagogies were implicit. Another example occurred during the Observation of the

211

April 14 Freedom Church of the Poor service when I noticed that the Fed Up! Food Distribution sign in the background of the speaker was a project of survival similar to the sermon topic of the story in the biblical text of those in need of miracles because the empire was denying their basic human rights.

Whether explicit or implicit, the integration of pedagogies within the Bible itself into the pedagogies used by the organizations provides a deeper level of moral authority to the work of these organizations. The organizations stated that they drew upon the moral authority of the Bible to support their understanding of God's desire for there to be no poverty and for all to live in abundance. In using pedagogies analogous to those in the Bible, the organizations also have the moral authority of *how* to organize society around the needs of the poor and dispossessed. Further, in mirroring pedagogies within the biblical text, leaders affirm their understanding of organizing as ministry and the Bible as an organizing guide which leads them not only to new interpretations but also to action as exemplified in the Bible.

Implications for Practice

The findings and conclusions of this research provide implications for practice within the movement to end poverty in the U.S. led by the poor, social movement learning, adult education practice, and the Christian church in the U.S. Implications for each of these contexts will be explored next.

Implications for the Movement to End Poverty

The single case reports, cross-case analysis, and conclusions offer further resources for reflection and revision within the theory and praxis of the movement to end poverty in the U.S. led by the poor. As a form of activist research this study itself represents social movement praxis (Gutierrez & Lipman, 2016). The findings and discussion are now available to the organizations

who participated in the research, as well as other poor people's organizations, faith communities, and leaders who are part of the movement to end poverty. To that end they are a point in the ongoing knowledge production (Butterwick et al., 2011; Cardona & Choudry, 2019; Caruso, 2019; Choudry, 2009, 2014; Colón-Rivera, 2017) within the movement and can now be reflected upon and revised as conditions and praxis change. Further, organizations within the movement who have not previously engaged the Bible may find helpful tools, techniques, or justification to begin to incorporate the Bible into their organizing. The Biblical Passages Tables provide a lexicon directly from the experiences of the poor organizing the poor from which organizations and projects like Freedom Church of the Poor can draw to deepen their engagement of organizing with the Bible.

Additionally, the organizations in this research offer resources, examples, and lessons for engagement of the Bible with individuals and communities who are not Christian, with clergy and faith communities, and with the poor who have been harmed by faith communities. Such examples answer a call that emerged within the findings of the pilot study. Through analysis and reflection on their own contexts, other poor people's organizations can apply the lessons from Chaplains, Raise Up, and Union de Vecinos as they, too, engage the Bible in organizing across divisions and with various constituencies. The organizations in this study offer examples of the tension of meeting people where they are and facilitating conscientization (Freire, 1970) and leadership development when engaging the Bible in organizing. Each organization was clear they do not use the Bible to convert or proselytize. Yet they challenged Christians and non-Christians alike to engage the Bible and the ways the organizations integrated the Bible for the purposes of building a counternarrative, culture, community, and consciousness. The challenges, tensions, and victories in engaging the Bible for these purposes offer an opening for reflection

and analysis by other poor people's organizations about how they, too, might engage the complexities of using the Bible in their organizing.

Additional Biblical Passages

There are also implications for the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. through the Biblical Passages Tables (Appendices J-L, N-O) which display the breadth and depth of the passages utilized within poor people's organizations for organizing to end poverty. Yet, there are still other passages which were alluded to and could be further developed within the movement for use by poor people's organizations. For example, the organizations repeatedly referenced the impact of the pandemic on their communities. Within scripture are many stories of how disease, famine, and the like have decimated poor communities. Exploring such parallel conditions between these biblical stories and the COVID-19 pandemic could offer examples of how those in power failed poor and dispossessed communities, an analysis of the conditions which lead to such crises, and the response of poor communities, prophets, and God to conditions which end in death for the poor. Another example concerns the efforts of poor people's organizations toward multiracial organizing. While each of the organizations engage in organizing across racial lines and engage the Bible to do so, those efforts might be strengthened by the use of stories of multiracial organizing that can be found within the biblical text. For example, Jones (2021) offers a devotional reading on Exodus 12:33-42 explaining the mixed multitude which accompanied the Israelites in escaping slavery in Egypt.

> This mixed multitude came together at the bottom of the imperial hierarchy, across
> ethnic, cultural, and even religious boundaries. Together, they seized on the weakness of
> an empire weighed down by its own injustice. They took the opportunity to weave a new

and better society, not according to the whims of Pharaoh but according to the law and will of God." (Jones, 2021a, p. 110)

Additionally, in Acts and Paul's letters the apostles are organizing communities of Jesus followers in opposition to the Roman Empire and uniting these communities across lines of division set up by Rome, including race and ethnicity. Utilizing such examples of multiracial organizing in the Bible would allow for political education of the ancient, yet continuing, efforts to keep poor people divided and strategies to counteract such efforts. Leaders may consider further development of analysis and strategy to oppose white Christian nationalism through engagement with the parallel conditions in Rome, particularly the false narratives or propaganda expressed through each. The dangers of white Christian nationalism necessitate the plight, fight, and insight of the poor and dispossessed to overcome such destructive narratives and actions. Study of the ministry of Jesus in opposition to the false moral narrative proclaimed by Rome would provide moral authority, analogous pedagogy, and interpretation of parallel conditions for understanding the ministry of Jesus as a guide to organizing against false moral narratives like Christian nationalism.

Reading the Bible with the Poor Methodology

A method of textual study and interpretation, known as reading the Bible with the poor, has been utilized within the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. (Theoharis, 2014; Theoharis, 2015a, 2017; Theoharis & Baptist, 2015; Williams & Yelich Biniecki, 2021). The findings of how poor people's organizations engage the Bible exemplify the five important strategies Theoharis (2015a) identified in the reading the Bible with the poor methodology. The strategies include (a) critical analysis of the biblical text and historical and current context, (b) engagement of the Bible by the organized poor, (c) understanding the whole Bible as a text

concerned with poverty, (d) a focus on rights and justice, not charity, and (e) "a liberative ethics of interpretation" (p. 19). Poor people's organizations utilized historical-materialist and empire-critical analysis of the biblical text, beginning first with the lived experiences and analysis of current conditions of the organized poor. The Biblical Passages Tables show poor people's organizations' understanding and use of the whole Bible as a text concerned with poverty. The organizations focused on particular issues of justice for their communities and embodied the ethic found in the movement literature of the right to not be poor. Finally, poor people's organizations interpret the Bible through a liberative ethic.

Poor people's organizations' critical analysis of the biblical text may, however, be strengthened with further training and engagement with biblical scholarship and biblical scholars. The nuances of an historical-materialist and empire-critical understanding of the Bible ought to be democratized (Schüssler Fiorenza, 2009) to further empower the organized poor to apply the research of biblical scholars to the conditions and lived experiences of the poor today. To maintain the knowledge of the biblical text as a text of liberation within the walls of the academy perpetuates systems of poverty and oppression. Instead, the knowledge and experiences of the organized poor can be brought into conversation with the knowledge of biblical scholars concerned with historical-material and empire-critical analyses of the biblical text. Poor people's organizations and biblical scholars could, also, collaborate to develop trainings and resources to make historical-material and empire-critical biblical scholarship available for other poor people's organizations as they continue to engage the Bible in their organizing.

Additionally, the findings suggest another strategy that may be added to the reading the Bible with the poor methodology, namely how the liberative ethic is integrated into organizing for change through pedagogies that are analogous with pedagogies in the Bible. In other words,

the findings of this study show that poor people's organizations integrate their biblical interpretations into their organizing efforts, specifically through embodying the strategies and tactics outlined in the Bible as an organizing guide. This analogous pedagogy suggests that the understanding and application of reading the Bible with the poor might incorporate a sixth strategy: *embodiment of biblical organizing practices*. Examples of these practices include projects of survival, ritual and prayer, and political education. The full list can be found in Table 7. This research, thus, confirms that the reading the Bible with the poor methodology is not just one of Bible reading, study, or interpretation, but one of application, action, and engagement with organizing.

Implications for Social Movements

The findings of this research suggest social movements may be strengthened by opening space for individuals and collectivities to bring their spiritual selves to the work for social change. The leaders of social movements are holistic actors who carry spiritual experiences and wisdom, as well as possible trauma from past experiences with organized religion. Such contradictions are opportunities for social movements to expand their work, drawing upon religion or sacred texts in ideological, material, and spiritual ways. As these case studies show, such work is not without its challenges and tensions. Yet doing so provides opportunity for leaders and movements to grow in new ways and to challenge hegemonic discourses from sources of so-called moral authority. Interpretation and application of sacred texts could be extended beyond the Bible to texts of other faith and spiritual traditions. Such organizing could lead to interfaith alliances as well. Perhaps more importantly, incorporating spirituality into social movement organizing may reflect the powerful trinitarian expression suggested in this research which organizes along ideological, material, and spiritual fronts.

Additionally, social movements may reflect on their pedagogical practices through the dialectical relationships of learning, education, organizing, and leadership development modeled by poor people's organizations' engagement with the Bible. While Holst (2018) asks SML researchers to consider how to "understand pedagogically the objectively revolutionary demands that are not always understood subjectively as revolutionary" (p.87), social movement organizers may ask this question of themselves and their movements. In other words, how are social movements developing the poor and dispossessed to be conscious of itself as the poor and dispossessed. The Model of Dialectical Relationships of Pedagogical Praxis of the Organized Poor may provide a useful tool for reflection. For example, social movement leaders may inquire of their own collective practice how incidental or informal learning is in relationship with systematic education, organizing, and leadership development within the organization or movement. Continuing to inquire of one's practice with each of the dialectical relationships may reveal strategies social movement leaders might employ to further strengthen their critical revolutionary practice (Holst, 2018).

Implications for Anti-Racist & Interfaith Education & Praxis

White Christian nationalism poses a current and grave danger to democracy within the U.S. Each of the organizations in this study acknowledge the impact of white Christian nationalism and the need for more analysis and organizing to oppose it. The findings of this study, however, offer an implicit strategy, embedded in the organizing and pedagogy of organizations within the movement to end poverty, for opposing and overcoming white Christian nationalism. As shown in the literature review and the results of this research, the theory and praxis of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. seeks to build organizations of the poor and dispossessed across lines of division that are used to disorganize the poor, such as

218

race and religion. The movement to end poverty intentionally builds multiracial organizations and analysis as the path to overcoming white supremacy and white Christian nationalism. Building multiracial organizations occurs through praxis of the dialectical relationships of learning, education, organizing, and leadership development. Holst (2021) offered a theory of anti-racist education based upon poor people's organizations within the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S.

> In the United States, The Poor People's Campaign, the movements around access to water, and the Fight for $15, living-wage movements are all based in the growing, multiracial new class and these new movements fight for practical political demands of the most basic nature. These movements build racial unity while fighting for the practical political and economic demands held in common by the growing class of dispossessed. (Holst, 2021, p. 185)

Holst (2021) writes of what the poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. have practiced for some time: meaningful antiracist education requires engagement in multiracial organizations of the poor and dispossessed involved in political struggle. Multiracial poor people's organizations are building not only a counterhegemonic narrative but counterhegemonic praxis. The implications for the field of adult education, from higher education to nonformal community or congregational programs to theological education, are to engage with multiracial organizations of the poor and dispossessed toward not just antiracist education, but also active antiracist organizing to overcome the forces of white supremacy and white Christian nationalism.

The same example and line of reasoning can be applied to poor people's organizations' efforts to unite across historic lines of division around religion. Even though the organizations in

this research engaged the Bible in their organizing, each of them do so through means which not only honor but also organize people of other spiritual and faith traditions. As white Christian nationalism perverts the prospects of religious freedom in the U.S., interfaith organizing which unites people of various faiths in the political struggles of the poor and dispossessed may be a primary form of education and praxis to overcome white Christian nationalism.

Implications for the Christian Church in the U.S.

The findings of this study confirm what many already know regarding the extreme polarization in U.S. society, particularly at the intersections of religion and politics. White Christian nationalism poses a grave danger to religious freedom and democracy; the Christian church in the U.S. must respond. The battle for the Bible that poor people's organizations are waging is not a simple tension around biblical interpretation, but a conflict that puts the lives of the poor and other marginalized communities at risk. The insipient nature of white Christian nationalism pervades the mental terrain of the society and the ethos of many congregations. It is, therefore, essential for the sake of religious freedom, democracy, and the lives of the poor and people of color that clergy and people of faith join with the organized poor in the movement to end poverty toward a liberative biblical interpretation and praxis to counter the dangerous, dominant hegemonic narratives pervading Christian theologies and ministries.

That poor people's organizations recognize and claim their work as ministry ought to be considered both a challenge and a lifeline for the Christian church in the U.S. At a time when church attendance has been in decline and churches recognize they are on the precipice of perhaps another shift in the faith as seismic as the Reformation, poor people's organizations' engagement with the Bible offers a new way forward for Christian ministry. Instead of attempting to save dying churches and denominations, Christian clergy might consider the work

of poor people's organizations in ending poverty an embodiment of the ministry of Jesus and a renewal that echoes the mission of the early church. Paulo Freire suggested, "the traditionalist churches alienate the oppressed social classes by encouraging them to view the world as evil. The modernizing churches alienate them in a different way: by defending the reforms that maintain the status quo" (Freire, 1984, p. 540). Freire's descriptions of the traditionalist and modernizing churches reflect the tensions poor people's organizations experience with Christian faith communities. Freire (1984), also, describes another kind of church, the prophetic church, "as old as Christianity itself," which "rejects do-goodism and palliative reforms in order to commit itself to the dominated social classes and to radical social change" (p. 542). While Freire was referencing the response of the Catholic church to Latin American revolutionary movements, this research reveals the resonance of Freire's words for Christian churches in the U.S. today as they are faced with dangerous white Christian nationalism. The liberatory praxis of the organized poor in the movement to end poverty offers Christian churches a path toward embodying a prophetic church.

The call to be a prophetic church is also a challenge to institutions of theological education who are tasked with preparing faith leaders to be agents of change in a world of injustice. The findings of this study suggest theological education be evaluated in the context of a society mired in poverty and it's interlocking injustices of racism, militarism, ecological devastation, and Christian nationalism. A starting point for evaluation may be teaching biblical interpretation, church history, theology, ethics, and ministry praxis from the perspective of the organized poor. What is referenced within this research as unlearning, is described by Freire (1984) as miseducation. Institutions of theological education may begin to ask what embedded assumptions, pedagogies, and teachings have contributed to a miseducation of clergy that has

inspired rhetoric and action that degrades and dehumanizes the poor. The Bible as an organizing guide, organizing as ministry, interpretations of parallel characters and conditions, and the embodiment of biblical organizing practices of the organized poor today indicate that we must peel away centuries of assumptions about theological education and consider what practices of miseducation of clergy have contributed to the oppression of poor communities toward a liberatory framework for theological education.

Future Research

In addition to implications for practice, the findings of this study also provide implications for future research. The following sections will explore implications for future research within the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. and implications for social movement learning research.

Research within the Movement to End Poverty

Choudry (2015) highlights the importance of research within social movements, explaining how activist researchers suggest the "boundaries between research and organizing are sometimes blurred to the point of nonexistence" (p. 128). The movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. is no exception. The knowledge produced by activist researchers in the movement is primarily based in the lived experiences of the poor and dispossessed, as well as statistics and policy analysis. The findings presented here about how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty engage the Bible in their organizing adds to literature of the movement and offers implications for future research by and for the movement.

This research began to document and analyze how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. engage the Bible within their organizing. While providing examples from three organizations which can aid the movement in moving

forward in this work, there is more research to be done to help the movement in the work to end poverty. For example, there are other poor people's organizations across the U.S. within the movement to end poverty which could be studied as case studies to learn about their engagement with the Bible and specific Bible passages and pedagogical practices they use. Further, the movement is inter-faith and inter-spiritual. Future research could explore how poor people's organizations of other faiths use their sacred texts to organize to end poverty. For example, the Apache Stronghold, in their fight to save Oak Flat, would be provide a rich and meaningful case study to add to the lexicon of poor people's organizations who organize using spirituality and sacred texts. While this research utilized poor people's organizations as the unit of analysis, future research could explore the spiritual projects which unite the organizations such as the Freedom Church of the Poor and its sibling congregations, La Iglesia del Pueblo and Freedom Shul of the Poor. Additionally, research might explore other campaigns or projects within the movement to end poverty such as PPC:NCMR or the Nonviolent Medicaid Army. Research on how these organizations use faith and sacred texts in their organizing could provide further roadmaps for the movement and expand the lexicon and praxis by documenting the pedagogies and organizing tactics of various elements of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S.

Social Movement Learning Research

The findings of this study confirm the construction of the theoretical framework of the theory and praxis of the movement to end poverty led by the poor. The research of the three organizations confirms the concepts utilized by poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S., including (a) who are the poor and why are we poor, (b) the poor organizing the poor, and (c) the pedagogy of the poor. Further, through engagement

with the Bible, the organizations embodied dialectical relationships of learning, education, organizing, and leadership development. Therefore, the construction of the theory of the movement to end poverty led by the poor is a viable theoretical construct, confirmed by empirical research. Future research within SML can continue to utilize the framework for analysis. Further the framework is an answer to Holst's (2018) challenge to SML researchers for "a theory and examples of critical revolutionary practice in the service of new social subjects/movements" (p. 88). The theory and praxis of the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S., as well as the examples outlined in the case studies, provide theory and praxis emerging from a movement of the poor which can serve as a theoretical or conceptual framework for ongoing SML research.

The findings of this study and the review of SML literature also prompt further research to discern the expressions of analysis of conditions, social movement organizing, and the relationships of learning, education, and organizing. A comparative meta-analysis of case studies of SML which distinguish between movements of new social subjects and SML within the OSM/NSM framework may reveal further insights that may answer Holst's (2018) question: "do we see a qualitatively different pedagogical praxis [from movements of new social subjects] compared to OSMs and NSMs?" (87). This research offers three case studies of poor people's organizations to contribute to such a comparative analysis.

The three case studies of how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty in the U.S. engage the Bible offer SML more empirical studies based in an analysis of class struggle. As explored previously, however, there is a dearth of SML situated within a class analysis and class struggle, particularly in the U.S. Critical reflection by SML researchers on what we have learned and/or our own miseducation about poverty and the poor may invite a

process of unlearning past assumptions. Also, it is possible that SML researchers are too embedded in neoliberal educational institutions to feel that we can challenge such systems by researching organizations attempting to uproot the very systems our institutions perpetuate. This research shows that the dearth of research on SML within a class analysis in the U.S. is not due to a lack of movements and organizations operating within a class analysis and class struggle. Therefore, SML researchers have opportunity both to engage in research within class analysis and/or interrogate our own research practices which have ignored or excluded social movement organizations based in class analysis and class struggle in the U.S.

The SML literature review, also, found that there may be convergence among movements situated within a class analysis and those which seek to unite grassroots organizations into a multi-organizational movement. The findings of this research suggest this convergence as well. Additional research is needed to determine if there is, indeed, a correlation among social movements organized through class analysis and multi-organizational movements. Similarly, there seems to be convergence among movements that express objectively revolutionary demands and those who operate with in a class analysis and multi-organizational forms, as well as among movements that employ pedagogical practices which incorporate education and organizing. Future research can, also, explore these possible areas of convergence within SML.

In addition to implications for topics of SML research, there are also implications for methodologies employed within SML research. Future SML research should aim to ensure alignment of learning theories utilized and the research methodology employed. For example, much SML research has focused on individuals as the units of analysis for learning and education within movements. When theories of SML, however, posit collective or organizational learning, an individual unit of analysis is not appropriate. This points to the need for SML to

understand the organizational forms of the movement they are studying to ascertain the appropriate methodology for researching that movement. Methodologies which recognize and embody the dialectical relationship of individuals and collectivities in SML may represent the closet alignment.

Conclusion

In Matthew 16:5-12, the gospel writer records a story of an interaction between Jesus and the disciples in which the disciples forget to bring bread with them when they travel across the lake. While the disciples are worrying about not having the bread, Jesus warns them of the "yeast of the Pharisees and Sadducees" and reminds them of the times when Jesus and the disciples were able to feed masses of hungry people. Verse 12 concludes the story with the disciples understanding Jesus' warning to be aware of the teachings of the Pharisees and Sadducees. Jesus' reminder to the disciples of the projects of survival they had undertaken to feed many hungry people suffering under Roman imperial rule is a reminder to them of the power of movements of the poor, even when faced with religious leaders who colluded with power.

This research has illuminated the power and moral authority of poor people's organizations who are undertaking projects of survival and other organizing measures, based in biblical interpretation and application, to build the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. May these stories be the bread that nourishes and sustains our movement as we organize for liberation and abundant life for all people and all creation.

References

Agee, J. (2009). Developing qualitative research questions: A reflective process. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *22*(4), 431–447. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518390902736512

Alcocer, K. (2021). Las Posadas. In L. Theoharis (Ed.), *We Cry Justice: Reading the Bible with Poor People's Campaign* (pp. 185–187). Broadleaf Books.

Alcocer, K., Blaney, E., & Vilchis, L. (2021, November 4). "Where the most in need direct the work": Lessons from Union de Vecinos' first 25 years. *University of the Poor*. https://universityofthepoor.org/union-de-vecinos-first-25-years/

Algood, T. (2021). Fusion organizing and independent politics: An interview with Revered Tonny Algood. *The Journal of the University of the Poor*. https://universityofthepoor.org/fusion-organizing-and-independent-politics-an-interview-with-reverend-tonny-algood/

Alston, O. (2009). Breaking boundaries: 7 ways to build a movement that includes poor and rich. *Sojourners*, 2–4.

American Civil Liberties Union. (n.d.). *What you should know about the U.S. and human rights*. American Civil Liberties Union. https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/assets/121013-humanrightsfacts.pdf

Arribas Lozano, A. (2018). Knowledge co-production with social movement networks. Redefining grassroots politics, rethinking research. *Social Movement Studies*, *17*(4), 451–463. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2018.1457521

Atta, M., & Holst, J. D. (2020). Deriving a theory of learning from social movement practices: A

    systematic literature review. *Adult Education in Global Times: An International Research*

    Conference, 40–42.

Ayres, J. R. (2013). Lives worth living: Religious education and social movements. *Religious*

    Education, *108*(4), 367–377. https://doi.org/10.1080/00344087.2013.805030

Baptist, W. (2010). A new and unsettling force: The strategic relevance of Rev. Dr. Martin

    Luther King Jr.'s Poor People's Campaign. *Interface: A Journal for and about Social*

    Movements, *2*, 262–270.

Baptist, W. (2013). *P.I. Poverty Scholar's program's 4 C's in developing and uniting leaders*.

    Poverty Initiative.

Baptist, W. (2015). *It's not enough to be angry*. University of the Poor Press.

    https://universityofthepoor.org/wp-

    content/uploads/2021/12/ItsNotEnoughToBeAngry.pdf

Baptist, W. (2021). *Resource-less but resourceful: Building a new network of "Underground*

    Railroad" projects of survival. University of the Poor.

    https://universityofthepoor.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Resourceless-Resourceful-

    4.32.21.pdf

Baptist, W., Barnes, S., & Caruso, C. (2012). *The right to not be poor: The growing global*

    struggle for economic human rights. Kairos Center for Religions, Rights, and Social

    Justice.

Baptist, W., & Colangelo, K. (2021a). *"Mohammed must go to the mountain": Learn as we lead, teach as we fight, educate as we organize*. University of the Poor. https://universityofthepoor.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/MohammedtheMountain-4.25.21.pdf

Baptist, W., & Colangelo, K. (2021b, April 23). Power, not pity: The poor organizing the poor to abolish poverty. *University of the Poor*. https://universityofthepoor.org/power-not-pity-the-poor-organizing-the-poor-to-abolish-poverty/

Baptist, W., & Damico, N. (2005). Building the new freedom church of the poor. *CrossCurrents*, *55*(3), 352–363.

Baptist, W., Hribar, C., & Wessel-McCoy, J. (2020, July 4). Changing minds. *The Journal of the University of the Poor*. https://universityofthepoor.org/changing-minds-mental-terrain-and-the-art-of-political-strategy-and-tactics-part-1/

Baptist, W., & Jones, D. (2019). *"A new and unsettling force": The leadership of the poor*. University of the Poor. https://www.universityofthepoor.org/readings/a-new-and-unsettling-force-the-leadership-of-the-poor

Baptist, W., & Rehmann, J. (2011b). *Pedagogy of the poor: Building the movement to end poverty*. Teachers College Press.

Baptist, W., & Theoharis, L. (2011). Teach as we fight, learn as we lead: Lessons in pedagogy and the Poverty Initiative model. In W. Baptist & J. Rehmann (Eds.), *Pedagogy of the poor: Building the movement to end poverty* (pp. 160–177). Teachers College Press.

Baptist, W., & Theoharis, L. (2015). Reading the Bible in an age of crisis: Political exegesis for a

    new day. In B. Worthington (Ed.), *Critical Research on Religion* (pp. 21–52). Fortress

    Press.

Baptist, W., & Theoharis, L. (2016, January 8). *"Questions must be raised": Who are the poor?*

    Why are we poor? [Kairos Center for Religions, Rights, and Social Justice].

    https://kairoscenter.org/who-are-the-poor/

Baptist, W., & Wider, P. (1999). *The methods of building leadership and organizing: Five*

    ingredients in the poor organizing the poor. University of the Poor.

    https://universityofthepoor.org/poor-organizing-the-poor-resource-center/

Baptist, W., & Wider, P. (2000). *The 6 Panther Ps: Tools for the poor organizing the poor in the*

    fight to end poverty now! University of the Poor. https://universityofthepoor.org/poor-

    organizing-the-poor-resource-center/

Barber II, W. J. (2020). *We are called to be a movement*. Workman Publishing.

Barber II, W. J., & Wilson-Hartgrove, J. (2016). *The third reconstruction: How a moral*

    movement is overcoming the politics of division and fear. Beacon Press.

Barnes, A. (2020, May 23). Freedom church of the poor. *University of the Poor Resources*.

    https://universityofthepoor.org/freedom-church-of-the-poor/

Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and

    implementation for novice researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, *13*(4), 544–559.

Bhattacharya, K. (2017). *Fundamentals of qualitative research: A practical guide*. Routledge.

Blee, K. M., & Taylor, V. (2002). Semi-structured interviewing in social movement research. In B. Blandermans & S. Staggenborg (Eds.), *Method of Social Movement Research* (Vol. 16, pp. 92–117). University of Minnesota Press.

Bullard II, K. M. (2021). Resurrecting Hope. In *We Cry Justice: Reading the Bible with the Poor People's Campaign* (pp. 97–99). Broadleaf Books.

Butterwick, S., Chovanec, D., Palacios, C., Rubenson, K., & Walter, P. (2011). Knowledge production in social movement learning: Different lenses, different agendas, different knowledge claims. *Adult Education Research Conference Proceedings*,10.

Butterwick, S., & Elfert, M. (2014). Women social activists of Atlantic Canada: Stories of re-enchantment, authenticity, and hope. *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, *27*(1), 65–82.

Cain, M., & Seymour, S. (2011). *Understanding social justice learning in context: The usefulness of complexity thinking and social movement learning theories*. Adult Education Research Conference. https://newprairiepress.org/aerc/2011/papers/14

Cardenal, E. (1977). *The gospel in Solentiname* (D. D. Walsh, Trans.). Search Press.

Cardona, M. S., & Choudry, A. (2019). Activist learning and temporary agency workers in Quebec. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, *2019*(164), 37–48. https://doi.org/10.1002/ace.20354

Caruso, C. (2011). A case study on organizing: The struggle for water in postindustrial Detroit. In W. Baptist & J. Rehmann (Eds.), *Pedagogy of the poor: Building the movement to end poverty* (pp. 84–100). Teachers College Press.

Caruso, C. (2019). *A new and unsettling force: Information technology, popular education and the movement to end poverty*. [Doctoral dissertation, City University of New York]. CUNY Academic Works. https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/3103

Caruso, C., & Garland-Olaniran, S. (2021). Political polarization today. *University of the Poor Journal*. https://universityofthepoor.org/la-polarizacion-politica-hoy/

Chang, B. (2013). Education for social change: Highlander education in the Appalachian mountains and study circles in Sweden. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *32*(6), 705–723. https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370.2013.773571

Chaplains on the Harbor. (n.d.). *Leadership Development*. Chaplains on the Harbor. Retrieved October 7, 2022, from https://chaplainsontheharbor.org/our-work/leadership-development/

Chaplains on the Harbor. (2016, October 17). *Projects of Survival*. Chaplains on the Harbor. https://chaplainsontheharbor.org/projects-of-survival/

CHClosangeles. (2015, March 25). *Union de Vecinos—Neighborhood Committees* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wg3rsBulzFw

Choudry, A. (2009). Learning in social action: Knowledge production in social movements. *McGill Journal of Education*, *44*(1), 5. https://doi.org/10.7202/037769ar

232

Choudry, A. (2014). (Almost) everything you always wanted to know about activist researchers but were afraid to ask: What activist researchers say about theory and methodology. *Connection: The Multidisciplinary Journal of Social Protest*, *1*(2), 75–88.

Choudry, A. (2015). *Learning activism: The intellectual life of contemporary social movements*. University of Toronto Press.

Church, K., Landry, D., Frazee, C., Ignagni, E., Mitchell, C., Panitch, M., Patterson, J., Phillips, S., Terry, P., Yoshida, K., & Voronka, J. (2016). Exhibiting activist disability history in Canada: Out from under as a case study of social movement learning. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *48*(2), 194–209. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2016.1219479

Collins, C. (2021, August 23). *Updates: Billionaire wealth, U.S. job losses and pandemic profiteers*. Inequality.Org. https://inequality.org/great-divide/updates-billionaire-pandemic/

Colón-Rivera, E. (2017). *Learning in an environmental social movement: Walking and learning with the poor* [Doctoral dissertation, Northern Illinois University]. ProQuest. http://www.proquest.com/docview/2055693460/abstract/B82C7F6588044923PQ/1

Costa, A. L., Vaz, H., & Menezes, I. (2021). The activist craft: Learning processes and outcomes of professional activism. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *71*(3), 211–231. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713620988255

Cox, L., & Nilsen, A. G. (2014). *We make our own history: Marxism and social movements in the twilight of neoliberalism*. Pluto Press.

Curnow, J. (2017). *Politicization in practice: Learning the politics of racialization, patriarchy, and settler colonialism in the youth climate movement* [Thesis, The University of Toronto]. https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/98754

Daro, V. E. F. (2009). Global justice protest events and the production of knowledge about differences. *McGill Journal of Education / Revue Des Sciences de l'éducation de McGill*, *44*(1), https://mje.mcgill.ca/article/view/2950

DeMarrais, K. (2004). Qualitative interview studies: Learning through experience. In K. DeMarrais & S. D. Lapan (Eds.), *Foundations for Research: Methods of Inquiry in Education and Social Sciences* (pp. 51–85). Routledge.

Dewey, J. (1999). *Liberalism and social action* (2nd edition). Prometheus.

Douglas, T.-R., & Nganga, C. (2017). What's radical love got to do with it: Navigating identity, pedagogy, and positionality in pre-service education. In A. Darder, R.D. Torres, & M.P. Baltodano (Eds.), *The Critical Pedagogy Reader* (pp. 518-534). Routledge.

Earl, C. (2017). The researcher as cognitive activist and the mutually useful conversation. *Power and Education*, *9*(2), 129–144. https://doi.org/10.1177/1757743817714281

Edwards, B. (2018). We are the Poor! Three pieces on political economy. *University of the Poor Journal*.

Engaging vs. Studying Scripture. (2020, March 30). *Olive Tree Blog*. https://www.olivetree.com/blog/engaging-vs-studying-scripture/

Everett, S. S. (2018). Interfaith dialogue and faith-based social activism in a state of emergency: Laïcité and the crisis of religion in France. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, *31*(4), 437–454. http://dx.doi.org.er.lib.k-state.edu/10.1007/s10767-018-9291-0

Felluga, D. F. (2015). *Critical theory: The key concepts*. Routledge.

Foley, G. (1999). *Learning in social action: A contribution to understanding informal education*. Zed Books.

Forgacs, D. (Ed.). (2000). *The Antonio Gramsci reader: Selected writings, 1916-1935*. New York University Press Classics.

Freedom Church of the Poor. (2021, May 16). *Days of liberation: The battle for the Bible.* [Video]. Facebook Live. https://www.facebook.com/kairoscenternyc/videos/977181303092238

Freedom Church of the Poor. (2021, December 5). *Winter offensive: No room at the inn*. [Video]. Facebook Live. https://www.facebook.com/kairoscenternyc/videos/244081337817176

Freedom Church of the Poor. (2022a, January 30). *Learn as we Lead: Beastly Economics*. [Video]. Facebook. https://www.facebook.com/anewppc/videos/1611371382555488

Freedom Church of the Poor. (2022b, May 8). *Days of liberation: Organize!* [Video]. Facebook Live. https://www.facebook.com/kairoscenternyc/videos/718261922543971

Freedom Church of the Poor. (2022c, July 10). *Bible, empire, and the control of bodies*. [Video]. Facebook Live. https://www.facebook.com/kairoscenternyc/videos/620484299291243/

Freire, P. (1970). Pedagogy of the oppressed. *Bloomsbury*.

Freire, P. (1984). Education, liberation and the church. *Religious Education*, *79*(4), 524–545.

Gleason, B. (2013). #Occupy Wall Street: Exploring informal learning about a social movement on Twitter. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *57*(7), 966–982. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764213479372

Goldsmith, W., & Blakely, E. (2010). *Separate societies: Poverty and inequality in U. S. cities*. Temple University Press. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ksu/detail.action?docID=547382

Gouthro, P. A. (2012). Learning from the grassroots: Exploring democratic adult learning opportunities connected to grassroots organizations. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, *2012*(135), 51–59. https://doi.org/10.1002/ace.20026

Gramsci, A. (1999). *Selections from the prison notebooks* (Q. Hoare & N. Smith, Eds.). ElecBook, The Electric Book Co.

Grayson, J. (2011). Organising, educating, and training: Varieties of activist learning in left social movements in Sheffield (UK). *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *43*(2), 197–215. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2011.11661613

Grayson, J. (2014). Migration and adult education: Social movement learning and resistance in the UK. *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, *5*(2), 177–194. https://doi.org/10.3384/rela.2000-7426.rela9050

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1982). Epistemological and methodological bases of naturalistic inquiry. *Educational Communication and Technology*, *30*(4), 233–252.

Gupta Barnes, S., Anderson, S., Butehorn, J., Cavanaugh, J., Dolan, K., Iyob, N., Koshgarian, L., Petersen-Smith, K., Sen, B., Molinar Arvizo, K., & Siddique, A. (2019). *Poor people's moral budget: Everybody has the right to live*. Poor People's Camapign: A National Call for Moral Revival. https://www.poorpeoplescampaign.org/budget/

Gutierrez, G. (1971). *A theology of liberation*. Orbis Books.

Gutierrez, R. R., & Lipman, P. (2016). Toward social movement activist research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *29*(10), 1241–1254. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2016.1192696

Hale, C. R., & Calhoun, C. (2008). *Engaging contradictions: Theory, politics, and methods of activist scholarship*. University of California Press. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ksu/detail.action?docID=470852

Hall, B. L. (2009). A river of life: Learning and environmental social movements. *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements*, *1*(1), 46–78.

Hall, B., & Turray, T. (2006). *A review of the state of the field of adult learning: Social movement learning*. University of British Columbia.

Hamilton, R. (2013). Did the dream end there? Adult education and Resurrection City 1968. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *45*(1), 4–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2013.11661638

Hamilton, R. (2016). The mule train: Adult learning and the Poor People's Campaign 1968. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *48*(1), 38–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2016.1155848

Hamilton, R. (2018). «An idea unleashed in history»: Dr Martin Luther King Jr and the campaign to end poverty in America. *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación*, *5*(1), 13–40. https://doi.org/10.14516/ete.188

Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press.

Holford, J. (1995). Why social movements matter: Adult education theory, cognitive praxis, and the creation of knowledge. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *45*(2), 95–111. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713695045002003

Holst, J. D. (2003). Revolutionary critical education: In defense of a theory and a challenge to seek out those who practice it. *Journal of Transformative Education*, *1*(4), 341–348. https://doi.org/10.1177/1541344603257685

Holst, J. D. (2011). Frameworks for understanding the politics of social movements. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *43*(2), 117–127. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2011.11661608

Holst, J. D. (2014). Book Review: Pedagogy of the Poor: Building the movement to end poverty, by W. Baptist and J. Rehmann. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *64*(3), 261–263. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713614522403

Holst, J. D. (2018). From radical adult education to social movement learning. In *Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning* (pp. 75–92). The Palgrave International. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_5

Holst, J. D. (2020a). Challenging neoliberalism through radical adult education in a Chilean union school. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 00(0), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1177/074173620923743

Holst, J. D. (2020b). Toward a theory of race, change, and antiracist education. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *70*(2), 175–192. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713619884580

Holst, J. D. (2021, June). Towards a political economy of adult education and globalization: Theoretical insights for confronting wicked problems in global times. *Adult Education in Global Times: An International Research Conference*, 264-268.

Horton, M., & Freire, P. (1990). *We Make the Road by Walking: Conversations on Education and Social Change* (B. Bell, J. Gaventa, & J. Peters, Eds.). Temple University Press.

House Budget Committee. (2019, June 19). *Poverty in America: Economic realities of struggling families* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=83775Wf8sGQ&t=1s

Hribar, C. (2016). *Poverty in the midst of plenty: Structural violence, liberationist ethics, and the right to not be poor* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. *Drew University*.

Irving, C. J., & English, L. M. (2011). Community in cyberspace: Gender, social movement learning, and the internet. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *61*(3), 262–278.

Jackson, K., & Bazeley, P. (2019). *Qualitative Data Analysis with NVivo* (3rd ed.). Sage.

Johnson-Bailey, J. (2002). Enjoining positionality and power in narrative work: Balancing

    contentious and modulating forces. In K. DeMarrais & S. D. Lapan (Eds.), *Foundations*

    for Research: Methods of Inquiry in Education and the Social Sciences (pp. 123–138).

    Routledge.

Jones, D. (2021a). A Mixed Multitude. In L. Theoharis (Ed.), *We Cry Justice: Reading the Bible*

    with the Poor People's Campaign (pp. 109–111). Broadleaf Books.

Jones, D. (2021b, May 21). The Ability to Act for Ourselves. *University of the Poor*.

    https://universityofthepoor.org/defining-political-independence/

Kairos Center. (2016, March 26). Stations of the Cross from Grays Harbor County. *Kairos*

    Center. https://kairoscenter.org/stations-cross-grays-harbor-county /

Kapoor, D. (2011). Adult learning in political (un-civil) society: Anti-colonial subaltern social

    movement (SSM) pedagogies of place. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *43*(2), 128–

    146. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2011.11661609

Kell, D. (2020, April 27). *We cried power* [Video]. Vimeo.

    https://vimeo.com/ondemand/wecriedpower

Kilgore, D. (1999). Understanding learning in social movements: A theory of collective learning.

    International Journal of Lifelong Education, *18*(3), 191–202.

    https://doi.org/10.1080/026013799293784

Kim, J. (2011). The characteristics of learning in social movements: A pilot study of an environmental organization. *Adult Education Research Conference Proceedings*, 320–325.

Kim, J. (2016). The nature of adult learning in social movements. *PAACE Journal of Lifelong Learning*, *25*, 29–50.

King, Jr, M. L. (1967, December). *Nonviolence and social change*. Massey Lecture, Canada. https://www.jacobinmag.com/2018/04/martin-luther-king-jr-nonviolence-direct-action

King, Jr, M. L. (1968a). *The trumpet of conscience*. Harper & Row.

King, Jr, M. L. (1968b). *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?* Beacon Press.

King, Jr, M. L. (1968c, April 3). *I see the promised land (I've been to the mountaintop)*.[Speech audio recording]. American Rhetoric. https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkivebeentothemountaintop.htm

Kleiber, P. B. (2002). Focus groups: More than a method of qualitative inquiry. In K. DeMarrais & S. D. Lapan (Eds.), *Foundations for Research: Methods of Inquiry in Education and the Social Sciences* (pp. 87–102). Routledge.

Kluttz, J., Walker, J., & Walter, P. (2020). Unsettling allyship, unlearning and learning towards decolonising solidarity. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *52*(1), 49–66. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2019.1654591

Kluttz, J., & Walter, P. (2018). Conceptualizing learning in the climate justice movement. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *68*(2), 91–107. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713617751043

Langdon, J. (2009). Learning to sleep without perching: Reflections by activist-educators on

   learning in social action in Ghanian social movements. *McGill Journal of Education*,

   44(1), 79–105.

Langdon, J. (2010). *Democracy and social movement learning in Ghana: Reflections on 15 years*

   of learning in the democratic terrain by Ghanaian activist-educators [Doctoral

   dissertation, McGill University]. ProQuest Dissertations.

   https://search.proquest.com/docview/807679836?pq-origsite=primo

Langdon, J. (2011). Democracy re-examined: Ghanian social movement learning and the re-

   articulation of learning in struggle. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *43*(2), 147–163.

   https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2011.11661610

Langdon, J., & Garbary, R. (2017). Restor(y)ing hope: Stories as social movement learning in

   Ada Songor salt movement. *Education as Change*, *21*(3), 1–18.

   https://doi.org/10.17159/1947-9417/2017/2125

Larri, L., & Whitehouse, H. (2019). Nannagogy: Social movement learning for older women's

   activism in the gas fields of Australia. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, *59*(1), 27–

   53.

Livingstone, D. W., & Sawchuk, P. H. (2005). Hidden knowledge: Working-class capacity in the

   'knowledge-based economy.' *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *37*(2), 110–122.

   https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2005.11661511

Lowan-Trudeau, G. (2017). Protest as pedagogy: Exploring teaching and learning in Indigenous environmental movements. *The Journal of Environmental Education*, *48*(2), 96–108. https://doi.org/10.1080/00958964.2016.1171197

Manborde, I. (2019). Learning renewal: The intellectual life of organized labor. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, *2019*(164), 95–107. https://doi.org/10.1002/ace.20359

McLellan, D. (2000). *Karl Marx: Selected writings* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.

McVicar, L. (2021, June). *Social movement learning in a prison abolitionist advocacy organization* [Poster presentation]. Adult Education in Global Times.

Meek, D. (2011). Propaganda, collective participation and the 'war of position' in the Brazilian Landless Workers' Movement. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *43*(2), 164–180. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2011.11661611

Melero, H. S., & Gil-Jaurena, I. (2019). Learning by participating in social movements: Ethnographic research in Madrid (Spain). *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, *59*(3), 319–342.

Mellor, J., Ingram, N., Abrahams, J., & Beedell, P. (2014). Class matters in the interview setting? Positionality, situatedness and class. *British Educational Research Journal*, *40*(1), 135–149. https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3035

Mercea, D., & Yilmaz, K. E. (2018). Movement social learning on Twitter: The case of the

    People's Assembly. *The Sociological Review*, *66*(1), 20–40.

    https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026117710536

Merriam, S. B. (2001). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. Jossey-

    Bass Publishers.

Merriam, S. B., & Tisdell, E. J. (2015). Qualitative data analysis. In *Qualitative research: A*

    guide to design and implementation (pp. 195–236). John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated.

Monroe, S. (2021). Survival economics. In L. Theoharis (Ed.), *We Cry Justice: Reading the*

    Bible with the Poor People's Campaign (pp. 203–205). Broadleaf Books.

Moyers, B., & Horton, M. (1982). The adventures of a radical hillbilly: An interview with Myles

    Horton. *Appalachian Journal*, *9*(4), 248–285.

Murray, A. T. (2019). *Contention and class: Social movements and public services in South*

    Africa. University of Ottawa.

Nesbit, T. (2005). *Class concerns: Adult education and social class*. Jossey-Bass.

New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition. (2021). BibleGateway.

    https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/New-Revised-Standard-Version-Updated-

    Edition-NRSVue-Bible/

Niesz, T., Korora, A. M., & Walkuski, C. B. (2018). Social movements and educational research:

    Toward a united Field of scholarship. *Teachers College Record*, *120*(3), 1–41.

Ollis, T. (2011). Learning in social action: The informal and social learning dimensions of circumstantial and lifelong activists. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, *51*(2), 248–268.

Ollis, T., & Hamel-Green, M. (2015). Adult education and radical habitus in an environmental campaign: Learning in the coal seam gas protests in Australia. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, *55*(2), 204–222.

Patterson, W. M. (1972). Walter Rauschenbush: Baptist exemplar of social concern. *Baptist History and Heritage*, *7*, 130-137.

Perrault, E. K., & Keating, D. M. (2018). Seeking ways to inform the uninformed: Improving the informed consent process in online social science research. *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics*, *13*(1), 50–60. https://doi.org/10.1177/1556264617738846

Peshkin, A. (1988). In search of subjectivity—One's own. *Educational Researcher*, *17*(7), 17–21.

Piven, F. F., & Cloward, R. A. (1979). *Poor people's movements: Why they succeed, how they fail*. Vintage books.

Poe, N. (2021, October 11). What is Scripture Engagement? *Bible Connection*. https://www.bibleconnection.com/what-is-scripture-engagement/

Poor People's Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival covenant of nonviolence. (n.d.).

      Poor People's Campaign. Retrieved October 4, 2021, from

      https://www.poorpeoplescampaign.org/covenant-of-nonviolence /

Poverty Initiative. (2008). *Who are the poor? Why are we poor? The current economic crisis: 4*

      theories of impoverishment. [Unpublished document].

Put People First! PA. (2016). [University of the Poor Course Handout]. *A leadership*

      development path in PPF! PA.

Richards, L. (2015). *Handling Qualitative Data: A Practical Guide* (2nd ed.). Sage.

Roberts, J. K., Pavlakis, A. E., & Richards, M. P. (2021). It's more complicated than it seems:

      Virtual qualitative research in the COVID-19 era. *International Journal of Qualitative*

      Methods, *20*, 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069211002959

Roulston, K., & Shelton, S. A. (2015). Reconceptualizing bias in teaching qualitative research

      methods. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *21*(4), 332–342.

      https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800414563803

Saldaña, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.

Salvatierra, R. A., & Heltzel, P. (2013). *Faith-rooted organizing: Mobilizing the church in*

      service to the world (1st edition). IVP Books.

Sandlin, J. A., & Walther, C. S. (2009). Complicated simplicity: Moral identity formation and

      social movement learning in the voluntary simplicity movement. *Adult Education*

      Quarterly, *59*(4), 298–317. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713609334137

Sarkar, S., Gupta Barnes, S., & Noffke, A. (2018, April). *The souls of poor folk: Auditing America 50 years after the Poor People's Campaign challenged racism, poverty, the War economy/militarism and our national morality*. https://www.poorpeoplescampaign.org/audit /

Sawan, J. E. (2020). *Understanding (de)alienation in social movements: Resident activism and anti-poverty organizing in the Toronto-area* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto (Canada)]. Proquest. http://www.proquest.com/docview/2467623852/abstract/77A1AB94494C42D3PQ/1

Scandrett, E., Crowther, J., Hemmi, A., Mukherjee, S., Shah, D., & Sen, T. (2010). Theorising education and learning in social movements: Environmental justice campaigns in Scotland and India. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *42*(2), 124–140. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2010.11661593

Schüssler Fiorenza, E. (2009). *Democratizing biblical studies: Toward an emancipatory educational space*. Westminster John Knox Press.

Scott, A. (2019a, April 20). Stations of the cross: Aberdeen reality rour in Grays Harbor County, WA. *Kairos Center*. https://kairoscenter.org/stations-of-the-cross-aberdeen/

Scott, A. (2019b, May 8). "No shelter but heaven over our heads": News from Grays Harbor County, WA. *Kairos Center*. https://kairoscenter.org/news-from-grays-harbor/

Scott, A. (2021). Walking off the job to help God. In L. Theoharis (Ed.), *We Cry Justice: Reading the Bible with the Poor People's Campaign* (pp. 105–107). Broadleaf Books.

Shenk, T. (2021). Becoming a new and unsettling force: The role of leadership development in

building political independence. *University of the Poor Journal*.

https://universityofthepoor.org/becoming-a-new-and-unsettling-force-the-role-of-

leadership-development-in-building-political-independence/

Skærlund Risager, B. (2016, July 23). *Neoliberalism Is a Political Project*.

https://jacobinmag.com/2016/07/david-harvey-neoliberalism-capitalism-labor-crisis-

resistance/

Snow, D. A., & Trom, D. (2002). The case study and the study of social movements. In B.

Klandermans & S. Staggenborg, (Eds.), *Methods of Social Movement Research*, (pp.

146–172). Regents of the University of Minnesota.

Stake, R. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Sage Publications.

Thapliyal, N. (2019). "Legitimate but not legal": Learning power in the Landless Workers

Movement (MST), Brazil. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*,

2019(164), 11–22. https://doi.org/10.1002/ace.20352

Theoharis, E. (2014). *Will "the poor be with you always?": Towards a methodological approach

of reading the Bible with the poor* [Doctoral dissertation, Union Theological Seminary].

https://doi.org/10.7916/D85Q4T7D

Theoharis, L. (2015a). Reading the Bible with the poor: A biblical hermeneutic for social

transformation. In *The spirit of struggle: Writings on religion and human rights* (pp. 15–

24). Kairos Center for Religions, Rights, and Social Justice.

Theoharis, L. (2015b, February 23). *Reading the Bible with the Poor*. Kairos: The Center for

    Religions, Rights, and Social Justice. https://kairoscenter.org/reading-the-bible-with-the-

    poor/

Theoharis, L. (2017). *Always with us? : What Jesus really said about the poor*. Eerdmans.

Theoharis, L. (2019, January 30). *#BibleLiteracy, Jerry Falwell Jr., and the battle for the bible*

    today. Kairos Center for Religions, Rights and Social Justice.

    https://kairoscenter.org/theoharis-bible-literacy-battle/

Theoharis, L. (Ed.). (2021). *We Cry Justice: Reading the Bible with the Poor People's*

    Campaign. Broadleaf Books.

Theoharis, L., & Baptist, W. (2015). Reading the Bible with the poor: Building a social

    movement, led by the poor, as a united social front. In B. Worthington (Ed.), *Reading the*

    Bible in an age of crisis: Political exegesis for a new day (pp. 21–51). Fortress Press.

Theoharis, L., Riley, S., Williams, J. C., Williams, E., & Wessel-McCoy, C. (2019). *Jesus led a*

    Poor People's Campaign: Sermons from the movement to end poverty. Kairos Center for

    Religions, Rights, and Social Justice.

Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight "big-tent" criteria for excellent qualitative

    research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *16*(10), 837–851.

    https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800410383121

Ueti, P. (2015, March 19). *Contextual bible study—Popular reading of the bible*. Kairos Center

    for Religions, Rights and Social Justice. https://kairoscenter.org/contextual-bible-study/

Underhill, H. (2019). Learning in social movements: Emotion, identity and Egyptian diaspora becoming "logically and emotionally invested" in the continuing struggle. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, *59*(3), 365–388.

University of the Poor. (n.d.). *Annie Smart glossary: A working definition of key terms*. University of the Poor.

University of the Poor. (2019). *Studying political economy*. [Unpublished manuscript].

University of the Poor. (2021). Political independence and the movement to end slavery. *The Journal of the University of the Poor*. https://universityofthepoor.org/political-independence-and-the-movement-to-end-slavery/

University of the Poor. (2022, May 6). Raise Up: Organizing Low-Wage Workers Across the South. *University of the Poor*. https://universityofthepoor.org/raise-up-organizing-low-wage-workers-across-the-south/

Unroe, C. (2020). Education and learning to support a just transition in central Appalachia. *Adult Education in Global Times Conference Proceeding*, 711–717.

Vanner, C. (2015). Positionality at the center: Constructing an epistemological and methodological approach for a western feminist doctoral candidate conducting research in the postcolonial. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *14*(4), 135–149. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406915618094

Vilchis, L. (2021). Don't You Want to Improve Your Community? In L. Theoharis (Ed.), *We Cry Justice: Reading the Bible with the Poor People's Campaign* (pp. 93–96). Broadleaf Books.

Walker, J., & Palacios, C. (2016). A pedagogy of emotion in teaching about social movement learning. *Teaching in Higher Education*, *21*(2), 175–190. https://doi.org/10.1080/13562517.2015.1136280

Walker, J., & Walter, P. (2018). Learning about social movements through news media: Deconstructing New York Times and Fox News representations of Standing Rock. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *37*(4), 401–418. https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370.2018.1485184

Wallis, J. (2019). *Christ in crisis: Why we need to reclaim Jesus*. HarperOne.

Wallis, J., & Stevenson, B. (2017). *America's original sin: Racism, white privilege, and the bridge to a new America* (Reprint edition). Brazos Press.

Walter, P. (2007a). Activist forest monks, adult learning and the Buddhist environmental movement in Thailand. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *26*(3), 329–345. https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370701362333

Walter, P. (2007b). Adult learning in new social movements: Environmental protest and the struggle for the Clayoquot Sound Rainforest. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *57*(3), 248–263. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713606297444

Walter, P. (2013). Theorising community gardens as pedagogical sites in the food movement. *Environmental Education Research*, *19*(4), 521–539. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504622.2012.709824

Webb, D. (2019). Here we stand: The pedagogy of Occupy Wall Street. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, *59*(3), 342–364.

Welton, M. (1993). Social revolutionary learning: The new social movements as learning sites. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *43*(3), 152–164. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713693043003002

Wessel-McCoy, C. (2017). *"Freedom Church of the Poor": Martin Luther King Jr.'s vision for a Poor People's Campaign and its lessons for today*. [Doctoral dissertation, Union Theological Seminary]. Proquest. https://search.proquest.com/docview/1904400562/?pq-origsite=primo

Wessel-McCoy, C. (2021). *Freedom Church of the Poor: Martin Luther King Jr's Poor People's Campaign*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Wessel-McCoy, J. (2020, October 9). *John Brown's body*. University of the Poor Cadre Course: Mental Terrain 3, Online.

West, G. O. (1999). *The academy of the poor: Towards a dialogical reading of the Bible*. Cluster Publications.

Williams, J. C. (2019, October 10). *Financial shame among adult graduate students: Possibilities for transformative learning and social change* [Poster]. American Association of Adult and Continuing Education Conference, St. Louis, Missouri.

Williams, J. C., & Yelich Biniecki, S. M. (2021). Historic and contemporary influences on reading the Bible with the poor: Liberation theology and poor people's movements. *Dialogues in Social Justice: An Adult Education Journal*, *6*(1), 50-64.

Wilson-Hartgrove, J. (2019). *Revolution of values: Reclaiming public faith for the common good*. IVP Books.

Wilson-Hartgrove, J., & II, T. R. D. W. J. B. (2020). *Reconstructing the gospel: Finding freedom from slaveholder religion*. IVP.

Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). Sage Publications.

Zielińska, M., Kowzan, P., & Prusinowska, M. (2011). Social movement learning: From radical imagination to disempowerment? *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *43*(2), 251–267. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2011.11661616

Appendix A - Initial Informed Consent Form

The Struggle is Our School Informed Consent

1. Please select how you would like to review this form. *

○ Read it in English

○ Read it in Spanish

○ Listen in English

○ Listen in Spanish

Thank you for taking the time to read or listen to this form.

My name is Rev. Jessica Williams and I am a Tri-Chair of the Kansas Poor People's Campaign and a leader in the Freedom Church of the Poor. I am working on a research project to understand how organizations, like yours, in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. are using the Bible in their work to organize in their communities and in the movement. Your organization has agreed to participate in the study and this interview is part of the study.

Below is important information about this interview. Please read or listen to each part carefully.

- Your participation in the interviews is voluntary and you can stop the interview at any time by telling me or by leaving the Zoom room.
- There is no penalty if you choose not to participate in the interviews.
- I will keep what you say in the interviews anonymous. I will only use the name of the organization, but not your name, in the research report.
- The interviews will be recorded. I am the only one that will have access to the recordings.
- This research project has been approved by the Institutional Review Board at Kansas State University. For questions about the review of this research or to report concerns, please contact _____.
- Before we begin the interview, please be sure to ask any questions you might have about the research or the process.
- If you agree to participate in the interviews and you clearly understand this information, please type your name, then sign, and then press submit.

Thank you,

Rev. Jessica Chadwick Williams

2. First and Last Name *

[   ]

3. Sign here if you agree to participate in this research project as explained above. *

[Clear]

Sign name using mouse or touch pad

Signature of [   ]

[Submit]

0%

Appendix B - Approved Informed Consent Form

The Struggle is Our School Informed Consent

(untitled)

1. Please select how you would like to review this form. *

   ○ Read it in English

   ○ Read it in Spanish

   ○ Listen in English

   ○ Listen in Spanish

Thank you for taking the time to read or listen to this form. My name is Rev. Jessica Williams and I am a Tri-Chair of the Kansas Poor People's Campaign and a leader in the Freedom Church of the Poor. I am working on a research project to understand how organizations, like yours, in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. are using the Bible in their work to organize in their communities and in the movement. Your organization has agreed to participate in the study and this interview is part of the study. Please read the information below which explains more about the study and your possible participation in it. After reading the information if you would like to participate in the study please enter your name and signature.

Project Title: The Struggle is our School: A Multiple Case Study of the Use of the Bible in the Movement to End Poverty Led by the Poor

Project Approval Date: _____ **Project Expiration Date:** _____ **Length of Study:** 6 months

Principal Investigator: Susan Yelich Biniecki

Co-Investigator: Jessica C. Williams

Contact Details for Problems/Questions: jessicalynchadwick@gmail.com

Kansas State University Institutional Review Board Chair Contact Information: Rich Scheidt, Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects, 203 Fairchild Hall, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas 66506, (785)532-3224

Purpose of the Research: The purpose of this study is to understand how poor people's organizations in the movement to end poverty led by the poor in the U.S. use the Bible in their organizing.

Procedures or Methods to be Used: This study includes individual and group interviews with leaders of poor people's organizations who use the Bible in their organizing. These interviews will be conducted through zoom and recorded. The recordings will then be transcribed and the video recording deleted. Names of individuals will not be used. Along with interviews, each organization has agreed to allow me to observe Freedom Church of the Poor services in which they participate and to view or read other information produced by the organization that includes how the Bible is used in your organizing work.

Risks or Discomforts Anticipated: There is minimal risk to you in participating. The potential risk is that you might be identified as a participant. I will work to maintain your confidentiality by not storing or using the names of individuals. Only the name of your organization will be stored and used. The information collected for this study will not be used or distributed for future research studies without additional informed consent.

Benefits Anticipated: Organizations will have the opportunity to reflect on their own motivations for the organization work, as well as their use of the Bible in their organizing, benefiting both individuals and the entire organization. Further, organizations will receive a written follow up summary of their involvement in the study that can be used for organizational reflection and planning.

Extent of Confidentiality: After the interviews are transcribed from the zoom recording, I will delete the video recording. The transcribed records will not contain the names of individuals and individuals' names will not be used in any reports or publications. The transcription of the interview will be stored on the researcher's password protected computer. After one year, the transcription of the interview will be archived to the researcher's password protected external hard drive. The information that will be collected as part of this research could be used for future research studies by the co-investigators without additional consent.

Terms of participation: I understand this project is research, and that my participation is voluntary. I also understand that if I decide to participate in this study, I may withdraw my consent at any time, and stop participating at any time without explanation, or loss of benefits, or academic standing to which I may otherwise be entitled.

I verify that my signature below indicates that I have read and understand this consent form, and willingly agree to participate in this study under the terms described, and that my signature acknowledges that I can receive a signed and dated copy of this

consent form. (To receive a copy of this signed form, enter your email address below.)

2. First and Last Name *

[   ]

3. Email
address

[   ]

4. Sign here if you agree to participate in this research project as explained above. *

| Clear |

Sign name using mouse or touch pad

Signature of [   ]

Thank You!

Thank you for participating in this important research project! I hope it will benefit you and your organization! FORWARD TOGETHER!

Appendix C - Institutional Review Board Approval Letter

KANSAS STATE | University Research
UNIVERSITY | Compliance Office

TO: Susan Yelich Biniecki   Proposal Number IRB-11001
        Educational Leadership
        Manhattan, KS 66506

FROM: Rick Scheidt, Chair
        Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects

DATE: 02/20/2022

RE: Approval of Proposal Entitled, "The Struggle is Our School: A Multiple Case Study of the Use of
        the Bible in the Movement to End Poverty Led by the Poor."

The Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects has reviewed your proposal and has granted full
approval. This proposal is **approved for <u>three years</u> from the date of this correspondence.**

APPROVAL DATE: 02/19/2022

EXPIRATION DATE: 02/18/2025

In giving its approval, the Committee has determined that:

        No more than minimal risk to subjects

This approval applies only to the proposal currently on file as written. Any change or modification affecting
human subjects must be approved by the IRB prior to implementation. All approved proposals are subject to
continuing review, which may include the examination of records connected with the project. Announced
post-approval monitoring may be performed during the course of this approval period by URCO staff. Injuries,
unanticipated problems or adverse events involving risk to subjects or to others must be reported immediately
to the Chair of the IRB and / or the URCO.

Electronically signed by Rick Scheidt on 02/21/2022 9:11 AM ET

203 Fairchild Hall, Manhattan, KS 66502 | (785) 532-3224 | fax: (785) 532-3278

Appendix D - Example Letter of Invitation

February 21, 2022

Dear Chaplains on the Harbor Leaders,

It is an honor to be writing to you today. I have long admired your work and have partnered with Aaron Scott and Sarah Monroe on various organizing projects through the Poor People's Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival, the Reading the Bible with the Poor Cohort, and Freedom Church of the Poor. I also served as a Tri-Chair for the Kansas Poor People's Campaign. I am writing today to invite your organization to consider being part of a research project that I am doing on organizations within the movement to end poverty led by the poor that use the Bible in their organizing work. The title of the research is "The Struggle is Our School: A Multiple Case Study of the Use of the Bible in the Movement to End Poverty Led by the Poor in the U.S." Aaron participated in a smaller research project I did in Spring 2021, and I hope to expand on that project to learn more about your organization and how the use of the Bible fits in with how your organization educates and trains others for the movement. I am inviting three organizations to be involved in this research project. I hope that the findings will be helpful to each organization and others in the movement as we continue our work together to fight poverty, not the poor!

If your organization chooses to participate in this research project it would mean that for about 6 months in 2022, I would use the information that your organization produces publicly, such as your website, newsletter, and social media, to learn more about your organization and how faith and the Bible play a role in your work. This would include observing the participation of your leaders in Freedom Church of the Poor services, as well. During that time, I would also like to have at least two interviews, using Zoom, with the leaders of your organization and 3-5 group interviews with others in your organization, also using Zoom. These interviews will be recorded but will be available only to me so I can review them after the interview. I have chosen to conduct this project virtually because of the ongoing pandemic and wanting to protect all of us by limiting my travel to multiple parts of the country.

Each individual who participates in an interview will be asked to complete a consent form. It will be brief, available in English and Spanish, and accessible online. This form helps to protect the people participating in the interviews and lets them know that their information will be kept confidential and their name will not be used in the research report. Spanish language translation will also be available during the interviews.

If your organization chooses to be part of this research project, I will use the name of your organization in the research report. Your organization can choose to stop being part of the research project at any time and without any penalty. This research project has been approved by the Institutional Review Board at Kansas State University. The name and contact information for the review board is listed below.

The report will be to help others understand your organization and the work you do in your community and with the movement to end poverty, specifically using the Bible. I hope that the report will be helpful for many others in the movement, especially the PPC:NCMR and the Freedom Church of the Poor. Your organization has been lifted up as an excellent example of organizing and using the Bible in your organizing and so I hope to share the lessons you have learned and the great work you do with others.

I hope that you will carefully consider this opportunity to be part of this research project. I know that in our movement decisions like this must be collective so please take the time you need as an organization to talk about this possibility. I am available to answer any questions that you have. If your organization decides to participate in this study, please have an organizational representative sign the bottom of this letter and return it to me. Thank you for your consideration!

Forward Together,

Rev. Jessica C. Williams
jessicalynchadwick@gmail.com
515-423-8819 (cell)

_____

Rick Scheidt, Chair, Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects
203 Fairchild Hall, Kansas State University
Manhattan, KS 66506
785-532-3224

_____

I, _____ (your name), as a representative of
_____ (your organization), declare that the leaders of the organization have received and understand the information provided about participation in the research study "The Struggle is Our School: A Multiple Case Study of the Use of the Bible in the Movement to End Poverty Led by the Poor in the U.S." As an organization we agree to participate in this study.

_____

Your Signature   Date

Appendix E - Complete List of Data Collected

Data Name	Data Type	Organization(s)	Source
Days of Liberation: Organize	Observation	Raise Up the South	Kairos Center Facebook page
Don't You Want to Improve Your Community?	Artifact	Union de Vecinos	We Cry Justice, 21
If Not Us, Who?	Artifact	Chaplains on the Harbor	We Cry Justice, Ch 40
Interview 1	Interview	Chaplains on the Harbor	NA
Interview 2	Interview	Chaplains on the Harbor	NA
Interview 3	Interview	Chaplains on the Harbor	NA
Interview 4	Interview	Raise Up the South	NA
Interview 5	Interview	Raise Up the South	NA
Interview 6	Group Interview	Chaplains on the Harbor	NA
Interview 7	Interview	Raise Up the South	NA
Interview 8	Interview	Union de Vecinos	NA
Interview 9	Interview	Union de Vecinos	NA
Is It Really All That Bad?	Artifact	Chaplains on the Harbor	We Cry Justice, Ch 30
Las Posadas	Artifact	Union de Vecinos	We Cry Justice, Ch 43
Leadership Development	Artifact	Chaplains on the Harbor	Chaplains on the Harbor website
Learn as We Lead: Beastly Economics	Observation	Raise Up the South	Kairos Center Facebook page
Poor People's and Low-Wage Workers; Assembly and Moral March on Washington	Observation	All	Poor People's Campaign YouTube Channel
Maundy Thursday	Observation	Raise Up the South	Kairos Center Facebook page

Neighborhood Committees	Artifact	Union de Vecinos	CHClosangeles YouTube Channel
"No shelter but heaven over our heads": News from Grays Harbor County, WA	Artifact	Chaplains on the Harbor	Kairos Center Blog
Potere Al Popolo Presentation in LA	Observation	Union de Vecinos	Union de Vecinos East Side Local YouTube Channel
Raise Up: Organizing Low-Wage Workers Across the South	Artifact	Raise Up the South	University of the Poor Journal
Resurrecting Hope	Artifact	Raise Up the South	We Cry Justice, Ch 22
Same Sin, Different Day	Artifact	Chaplains on the Harbor	We Cry Justice, Ch 51
Season of Jubilee: Bible, Empire, & the Control of Bodies	Observation	Chaplains on the Harbor	Kairos Center Facebook page
Season of Jubilee: Where do we Go From Here?	Observation	Union de Vecinos	Kairos Center Facebook page
Stations of the Cross: Aberdeen Reality Tour in Grays Harbor County, WA	Artifact	Chaplains on the Harbor	Kairos Center Blog
Stations of the Cross from Grays Harbor County	Artifact	Chaplains on the Harbor	Kairos Center Blog
Struggle and Lament Lenten Study Series	Artifact	Raise Up the South	Kairos Center Email
Struggle & Lament: Let Us Wail	Observation	Raise Up the South	Kairos Center Facebook page
Survival Economics	Artifact	Chaplains on the Harbor	We Cry Justice, Ch 47
Tough Lessons into Blessings	Artifact	Raise Up the South	Text Message from Leader
Walking Off the Job to Help God	Artifact	Chaplains on the Harbor	We Cry Justice, Ch 24
We are Fed Up	Artifact	Raise Up the South	Raise Up YouTube Channel
We Cry Justice Arts + Culture Companion Project	Artifact	All	Kairos Center webpage
"Where the most in need direct the work": Lessons from Union de Vecinos' first 25 years	Artifact	Union de Vecinos	University of the Poor Journal

| Winter Offensive: No Room at the Inn | Observation | Union de Vecinos | Kairos Center Facebook page |

Appendix F - Data Collection & Analysis Protocol

1. Schedule data collection session.

2. Prepare for session by reviewing protocol for the specific data source.

3. If data source is semi-structured interviews, collect informed consent via email or Signal prior to interview.

4. Conduct data collection utilizing the specific protocol for that data source.

5. At conclusion of data collection session, record reflections in Researcher Journal and/or specific data source memo during transcription process.

6. Transcribe interviews or write observation report in a reasonable period of time following data collection.

7. First cycle coding after data collection session.

8. Record all dates of data collection and analysis in Research Log Memo in NVivo.

Appendix G - Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

1. Welcome, introductions, and thank you

2. Collect Informed Consent, if not already submitted by participant

3. Ask if there are any questions about the study or about informed consent

4. State the recording and interview will begin

5. START RECORDING to record to cloud.

6. Begin interview with another thank you.

7. Use the following questions as guiding discussion starters. Other follow up questions may emerge through the course of the interviews, depending on how the participants direct the conversations.

   - Tell me about your organization and what role the Bible plays in it.

   - How do you use biblical passages in your organizing?

   - What passages have you used and for what purposes?

   - How did you integrate those passages into your organizing?

     o Do you have a specific story of when the Bible or a biblical passage played an important role in your organization?

   - I intended to conduct the interviews in person but wasn't able to due to the pandemic. If I had been able to visit your community and organization in person, what would I learn that I can't learn through zoom interviews?

   - Logistics:

     o What is the mission/purpose of your organization.

     o Who else in your organization should I speak to about these questions?

                        ■ Would these individuals prefer to do the interview in a language

                             other than English?

                o Do you have any articles or videos in which you used the Bible in your

                    organization that you could point me to?

8. End recording.

9. Thank participant.

10. End Zoom meeting.

11. Record interview date and participant name in Research Log Memo.

12. Record reflections in the specific data source memo.

13. When recording has finished processing in the cloud, download the recording to password protected external hard drive and delete from cloud.

14. Upload recording into NVivo Transcription.

15. Review and correct transcription while watching interview video.

16. Add reflections to Researcher Journal and/or specific data source memo during transcription process.

17. Save transcription document to password protected computer.

18. Upload transcribed document to NVivo into the organization's case.

19. Code transcribed document using concept coding.

20. Add reflections to Researcher Journal and/or specific data source memo during coding process.

21. Document any references to biblical passages in the Biblical Passages Table.

Appendix H - Observation Protocol

1. When possible, observations will take place synchronously. When necessary observations will include watching the Freedom Church of the Poor service after it is posted to social media.

2. Researcher will take notes on each of the following:

    a. Physical/virtual setting & context

        i. Screenshots will be taken when helpful/appropriate

    b. Participants

    c. Activities and Interactions

    d. Conversation

    e. Subtleties

    f. Researcher reaction and behavior

3. At the conclusion of the observation, researcher will immediately compose Field Notes from the notes taken during the observation.

4. Field Notes will be saved on password protected external hard drive and uploaded to NVivo.

5. Services posted to social media may be viewed later for clarification and editing of field notes, if needed.

6. Observation will be coded using concept coding.

7. Any references to biblical passages will be documented in the Biblical Passages Table.

8. Data collected, including organization name, date, and source, will be recorded in Observation List Memo.

Appendix I - Document & Artifact Protocol

1. Data will be collected from each organization's website, newsletter, and social media each month during 6-months of data collection. Further, interviewees will be asked to provide any organization documents that contain biblical references.

   a. Data will be collected using NCapture and saved in NVivo.

   b. Data collected, including organization name, date, and source, will be recorded in Data Collection & Analysis Memo.

   c. Any references to biblical passages will be documented in the Biblical Passages Table.

   d. Data will be coded using concept coding.

2. Devotional entries from *We Cry Justice* will be uploaded to NVivo as PDF and coded using concept coding prior to any group interviews.

   a. The date the chapters are coded will be recorded in Data Collection & Analysis Memo.

   b. Any references to biblical passages will be documented in the Biblical Passages Table.

Appendix J - Biblical Passages Table – Chaplains on the Harbor

Ordered by Books of the Bible

Scripture Passage	Con/Text of Our Lives	Data Source	Interpretation	Integration	Liturgical Season
Genesis 1:28, 2:24	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Passage represents the religious and cultural tradition of the ANE to trace political genealogy	The text is not a biblical statement of when life begins. Nation-building is related to reproduction but not abortion.	Learn As We Lead
Genesis 38	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Biblical understanding of reproduction places responsibility on the man, not solely on the woman.	Complicates how we understand how ancient cultures understood reproduction and how we apply that to today.	Learn As We Lead
Exodus 21:22-25	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Biblical laws about miscarriage differ from biblical laws about murder	There is no biblical law that states that life begins at conception.	Learn As We Lead
Joshua	US doctrine of discovery	Interview	Has been used to promote oppression	Need to discuss and interrogate how the bible has been used to oppress & collude with empire to thwart class solidarity	Learn As We Lead
Ruth 2-3	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	Ruth and Naomi made "morally ambiguous decisions to survive & are leaders in the faith	Today's poor, esp women, should not be judged for their decisions but lifted up for their leadership	*Birth of a Movement*
Job 5:10-27		We Cry Justice, Ch 40 & Interview	Outlines what God intends for all people to have	NA	Advent of a Revolution

Job 24		We Cry Justice, Ch 40 & Interview	"people are poor because systems have been set up to benefit the few and exploit the many"	Call to action to change those exploitive systems (WCJ) & liturgy before entering courtroom (interview)	*Advent of a Revolution*
Psalm 147:1-6		We Cry Justice, Ch 51 & Interview	God is on the side of the poor.	NA	*Birth of a Movement*
Isaiah 5:8-10	Sweep of the Chehalis River homeless encampment	We Cry Justice, Ch 51 & Interview	(1) Isaiah declares that to rebuild a broken society it must be from the bottom up. (2) God's preferential option for the poor.	Prayer liturgy before court case.	Advent of a Revolution
Isaiah 5:8-10	Sweep of the Chehalis River homeless encampment	We Cry Justice, Ch 51 & Interview	(1) Isaiah declares that to rebuild a broken society it must be from the bottom up. (2) God's preferential option for the poor.	Prayer liturgy before court case.	*Birth of a Movement*
Isaiah 58	False Biblical narrative of personal responsibility	Interview	Materialist reading of the Bible	Proclaim a counter biblical narrative	Days of Liberation
Jeremiah 1:1-5	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Passage represents the religious and cultural tradition of the ANE to trace political genealogy	The text is not a biblical statement of when life begins but a reminder that God has set apart prophets to preach against empire.	Learn As We Lead
Ezekiel 12:2	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead

Amos 8:1-12	Sweep of the Chehalis River homeless encampment	We Cry Justice, Ch 30 & Interview	Amos heard the cries of the real prophets, the poor, about their conditions	We must listen to the prophets of our day, the poor, about their conditions.	*Learn As We Lead*
Malachi 3	Hunger	We Cry Justice, Ch 24	*"God creates a world of abundance and considers it robbery when people lack food."*	WCJ - distributed publicly	*Days of Liberation*
Matthew 9:20-22	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Matthew 14:12-23	Working conditions & need for living wage	We Cry Justice, Ch 24 & Interview	Jesus calls leaders from the bottom to create change.	Discussed with staff, preached at a church, published in WCJ.	*Days of Liberation*
Matthew 21-28	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
Matthew 25:31-46	Supported employment at CoH	Interview	We are called to take care of the oppressed	CoH's shelter, jail ministry, street ministry	Jubilee
Matthew 26:6-13	Organizing school for CoH leaders	Interview	Bethany = Felony Flats	Conditions of poverty in Bible are analogous to current conditions	Jubilee
Mark 1:40-45	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Mark 4:9, 23	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead

Mark 5:25-34	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Mark 8:18	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Mark 10:41-45		We Cry Justice, Ch 30	Jesus' perspective on power.	NA	*Learn As We Lead*
Mark 10:46-52	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Mark 11-16	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
Luke 1:46-55	False Biblical narrative of personal responsibility	Interview	Materialist reading of the Bible	Proclaim a counter biblical narrative	Days of Liberation
Luke 2:1-7	CoH leaders encountering pushback to feeding and shelter programs	Interview	"Baby Jesus was homeless!"	If you worship a homeless man on Sunday, you should serve the homeless all the time	Birth of a Movement
Luke 4:14-44	intersections with work of CoH	Interview	Jesus announces bringing good news and then begins organizing	Parallel to CoH's work; informs the work of CoH	Learn As We Lead
Luke 5:12-16	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead

Luke 6:20-26	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	The demeaned and outcast who are judged by others are blessed by God.	Therefore we ought not to judge but to lift up as leaders those struggling to survive	Birth of a Movement
Luke 7:36-50	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	The demeaned and outcast who are judged by others are blessed by God.	Therefore we ought not to judge but to lift up as leaders those struggling to survive	Birth of a Movement
Luke 8:8	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Luke 8:42b-48	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Luke 14:35	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Luke 15	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	The demeaned and outcast who are judged by others are blessed by God.	Therefore we ought not to judge but to lift up as leaders those struggling to survive	Birth of a Movement
Luke 17:11-19	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Luke 18:1-8	Federal court case over sweep of Chehalis River encampment	Interview	Judge relented but not because he sided with poor/widow	parallels to court case	Days of Liberation
Luke 18:9-14	Sermon at conservative Episcopal church re: drug economy	Interview	Tax collectors = drug dealers (social and economic parallels	Preached at churches to teach how they can better "serve" the poor by having less "security in the system"	Struggle & Lament

Luke 18:35-42	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Luke 19:28-24	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
John 5:1-15	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
John 11:45-21	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
John 21:1-14	Working conditions & need for living wage	We Cry Justice, Ch 24 & Interview	Jesus calls leaders from the bottom to create change.	Discussed with staff, preached at a church, published in WCJ.	*Days of Liberation*
Ephesians 6:10-20	Poor confronting power	Interview	The Bible as armor when the poor confront power.	NA	*Birth of a Movement*
James 5:1-6	Churches engaged in acts of charity	Interview	"Explicit condemnation of wealth"	Preached at churches to teach about ending poverty	Struggle & Lament
Revelation 2:7-3:22	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead

Ordered by Liturgical Seasons

Scripture Passage	Con/Text of Our Lives	Data Source	Interpretation	Integration	Liturgical Season
Isaiah 5:8-10	Sweep of the Chehalis River homeless encampment	We Cry Justice, Ch 51 & Interview	(1) Isaiah declares that to rebuild a broken society it must be from the bottom up. (2) God's preferential option for the poor.	Prayer liturgy before court case.	Advent of a Revolution
Job 5:10-27		We Cry Justice, Ch 40 & Interview	Outlines what God intends for all people to have	NA	Advent of a Revolution
Job 24		We Cry Justice, Ch 40 & Interview	"people are poor because systems have been set up to benefit the few and exploit the many"	Call to action to change those exploitive systems (WCJ) & liturgy before entering courtroom (interview)	*Advent of a Revolution*
Ruth 2-3	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	Ruth and Naomi made "morally ambiguous decisions to survive & are leaders in the faith	Today's poor, esp women, should not be judged for their decisions but lifted up for their leadership	*Birth of a Movement*
Psalm 147:1-6		We Cry Justice, Ch 51 & Interview	God is on the side of the poor.	NA	*Birth of a Movement*
Isaiah 5:8-10	Sweep of the Chehalis River homeless encampment	We Cry Justice, Ch 51 & Interview	(1) Isaiah declares that to rebuild a broken society it must be from the bottom up. (2) God's preferential option for the poor.	Prayer liturgy before court case.	*Birth of a Movement*
Luke 2:1-7	CoH leaders encountering pushback to feeding and shelter programs	Interview	"Baby Jesus was homeless!"	If you worship a homeless man on Sunday, you should serve the homeless all the time	Birth of a Movement

Luke 6:20-26	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	The demeaned and outcast who are judged by others are blessed by God.	Therefore we ought not to judge but to lift up as leaders those struggling to survive	Birth of a Movement
Luke 7:36-50	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	The demeaned and outcast who are judged by others are blessed by God.	Therefore we ought not to judge but to lift up as leaders those struggling to survive	Birth of a Movement
Luke 15	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	The demeaned and outcast who are judged by others are blessed by God.	Therefore we ought not to judge but to lift up as leaders those struggling to survive	Birth of a Movement
Ephesians 6:10-20	Poor confronting power	Interview	The Bible as armor when the poor confront power.	NA	*Birth of a Movement*
Isaiah 58	False Biblical narrative of personal responsibility	Interview	Materialist reading of the Bible	Proclaim a counter biblical narrative	Days of Liberation
Malachi 3	Hunger	We Cry Justice, Ch 24	*"God creates a world of abundance and considers it robbery when people lack food."*	WCJ - distributed publicly	*Days of Liberation*
Matthew 14:12-23	Working conditions & need for living wage	We Cry Justice, Ch 24 & Interview	Jesus calls leaders from the bottom to create change.	Discussed with staff, preached at a church, published in WCJ.	*Days of Liberation*
Luke 1:46-55	False Biblical narrative of personal responsibility	Interview	Materialist reading of the Bible	Proclaim a counter biblical narrative	Days of Liberation
Luke 18:1-8	Federal court case over sweep of Chehalis River encampment	Interview	Judge relented but not because he sided with poor/widow	parallels to court case	Days of Liberation

John 21:1-14	Working conditions & need for living wage	We Cry Justice, Ch 24 & Interview	Jesus calls leaders from the bottom to create change.	Discussed with staff, preached at a church, published in WCJ.	*Days of Liberation*
Matthew 25:31-46	Supported employment at CoH	Interview	We are called to take care of the oppressed	CoH's shelter, jail ministry, street ministry	Jubilee
Matthew 26:6-13	Organizing school for CoH leaders	Interview	Bethany = Felony Flats	Conditions of poverty in Bible are analogous to current conditions	Jubilee
Genesis 1:28, 2:24	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Passage represents the religious and cultural tradition of the ANE to trace political genealogy	The text is not a biblical statement of when life begins. Nation-building is related to reproduction but not abortion.	Learn As We Lead
Genesis 38	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Biblical understanding of reproduction places responsibility on the man, not solely on the woman.	Complicates how we understand how ancient cultures understood reproduction and how we apply that to today.	Learn As We Lead
Exodus 21:22-25	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Biblical laws about miscarriage differ from biblical laws about murder	There is no biblical law that states that life begins at conception.	Learn As We Lead
Joshua	US doctrine of discovery	Interview	Has been used to promote oppression	Need to discuss and interrogate how the bible has been used to oppress & collude with empire to thwart class solidarity	Learn As We Lead
Jeremiah 1:1-5	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Passage represents the religious and cultural tradition of the ANE to trace political genealogy	The text is not a biblical statement of when life begins but a reminder that God has set apart prophets to preach against empire.	Learn As We Lead

Ezekiel 12:2	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Amos 8:1-12	Sweep of the Chehalis River homeless encampment	We Cry Justice, Ch 30 & Interview	Amos heard the cries of the real prophets, the poor, about their conditions	We must listen to the prophets of our day, the poor, about their conditions.	*Learn As We Lead*
Amos 8:1-12	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Matthew 9:20-22	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Mark 1:40-45	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Mark 4:9, 23	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Mark 5:25-34	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Mark 8:18	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Mark 10:41-45		We Cry Justice, Ch 30	Jesus' perspective on power.	NA	*Learn As We Lead*
Mark 10:46-52	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead

Luke 4:14-44	intersections with work of CoH	Interview	Jesus announces bringing good news and then begins organizing	Parallel to CoH's work; informs the work of CoH	Learn As We Lead
Luke 5:12-16	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Luke 8:8	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Luke 8:42b-48	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Luke 14:35	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Luke 17:11-19	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Luke 18:35-42	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
John 5:1-15	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Revelation 2:7-3:22	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead

Matthew 21-28	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
Mark 11-16	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
Luke 18:9-14	Sermon at conservative Episcopal church re: drug economy	Interview	Tax collectors = drug dealers (social and economic parallels	Preached at churches to teach how they can better "serve" the poor by having less "security in the system"	Struggle & Lament
Luke 19:28-24	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
John 11:45-21	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
James 5:1-6	Churches engaged in acts of charity	Interview	"Explicit condemnation of wealth"	Preached at churches to teach about ending poverty	Struggle & Lament

Appendix K - Biblical Passages Table – Raise Up the South

Ordered by Books of the Bible.

Scripture Passage	Con/Text of Our Lives	Data Source	Interpretation	Integration	Liturgical Season
Exodus	Organizing workers	Interview	The Israelites persevered in their pursuit of liberation.	Like the Israelites, workers are searching for the promised land and can see hope in the story of the exodus when they grow weary	Days of Liberation
Exodus	Workers organizing in the south	Interview	Liberation of Israelites	Important narrative in southern freedom struggles in history and today	Days of Liberation
Exodus 3:14	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview	God is the I AM	Affirmation for workers that the I AM sends them	Birth of a Movement
Exodus 5:1-23, 6:1-2	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Moses organized one of the first general strikes	Moses provides a biblical guide to organizing strategy for workers today	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 5:1-3	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Moses & Aaron bring concerns of workers to Pharoah	Lessons for workers to March on the Boss	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 5:4-18	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Pharoah retaliates against the workers' demands	Lesson for workers to expect management retaliation as a scare tactic	*Days of Liberation*

Exodus 5:6-17	Organizing workers	Interview	Moses was the greatest union leader who led the greatest strike.	Bible as organizing guide.	Learn as We Lead
Exodus 5:19-21	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Some workers give into Pharoah's scare tactic	Organizers and workers must help the workers see the actual conditions, not the fear	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 5:22-23	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Moses goes back to the Teacher	Organizers don't have all the answers and need to rely on others for help, emphasizing the need for collectivity in the movement.	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 6:1-2	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	God reminds Moses of God's promises for the people of Israel	In our most difficult struggles we can find hope and strength that God has and will fulfill God's promises. This is witness through worker victories.	*Days of Liberation*
Proverbs 18:21	Organizing meeting	Interview	Speaking words of hope and prophecy	Such words prophecy the justice workers seek	Days of Liberation
Isaiah 41:10	Struggles of workers	We Cry Justice, Ch 22	God is faithful even in the struggles.	In challenges, be reminded that God is ever faithful.	Struggle & Lament
Isaiah 65:23	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview	God does not want anyone to labor in vain	Encouragement to continue the fight for workers because God honors the labor of all	Advent of a Revolution
Amos 5:11-12, 16	Workers unable to afford food or rent while CEOs make record profits in a pandemic	Freedom Church of the Poor Feb 27	Amos points out similar contradictions of conditions.	Workers as professional mourners.	*Struggle & Lament*

Jonah	Struggles and victories	Interview	Jonah was surrounded by darkness but was resurrected to find his way and fulfill his assignment.	When surrounded by the darkness of our struggles, we are resurrected when we work for justice.	Birth of a Movement
Matthew 6:9-13	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview	Not discernable	Comfort for the workers	Struggle & Lament
Matthew 26:69-75	Overcoming shame and lack of self-worth	Interview	Peter denied Jesus but continued to "get back up" because of his faith	Organizing as ministry is helping people "get back up" and not be ashamed	Birth of a Movement
Luke 4:17-19	Organizing to end poverty	Interview	Jesus is poor and ministers with the poor.	Our ministry must be with the poor as well with the Bible as our organizing guide.	Learn as We Lead
Luke 11:2-4	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview	Not discernable	Comfort for the workers	Struggle & Lament
Luke 22:54-62	Overcoming shame and lack of self-worth	Interview	Peter denied Jesus but continued to "get back up" because of his faith	Organizing as ministry is helping people "get back up" and not be ashamed	Birth of a Movement
Luke 24:1-6	Organized poor	We Cry Justice, Ch 22	Leadership of "the least of these" brings hope which is "the good news"	Hope of Jesus is revealed in the organized poor.	*Days of Liberation*
John 10:10	Shame and depression often experienced by the poor	Interview	The enemy brings death in the form of systems that create poverty whereas Jesus brings abundant life.	Organizing is a ministry which shines a light on conditions and God's desire for all to have abundant life.	Birth of a Movement
John 12:1-8	Contradictions of working conditions and	Freedom Church of the Poor April 14	Though Judas says he cares for the poor he has other intentions	Workers expose similar contradictions in their working conditions	Advent of a Revolution

	employers' rhetoric				
John 12:9-11	Fed Up Food Distribution	Freedom Church of the Poor April 14	Crowds of people were seeking miracles from Jesus because their survival needs were not being met in the unjust system.	Fed Up Food Distribution is an example of crowds coming for food because needs not being met by the system. Miracles and food distribution are projects of survival.	Advent of a Revolution
1 Corinthians 10:14-18	Fed Up Food Distribution	Fed Up Food Distribution promo video	communion = breaking bread	Breaking bread with others and feeding them is integrated with organizing	Jubilee
Galatians	Organizing to end poverty	Interview	What does it mean to be saved?	"What does it mean to be saved?" is an organizing question.	Learn as We Lead
Philippians 4:13	Workers and organizers beaten down by daily poverty and low wages	Raise Up Leader Text Message, Aug 5	Not discernable	Through God's strength the organizers and workers carry on.	Advent of a Revolution
Revelation 13:11-17	Organizing workers	Freedom Church of the Poor Jan 31; We Cry Justice Cultural Arts Project	Revelation is an empire critical text and the mark of the beast is about unjust economic systems.	Organizing against "beastly economics" is collective, is supported by political education, and crosses lines of division.	*Learn as We Lead*

Ordered by Liturgical Seasons

Scripture Passage	Con/Text of Our Lives	Data Source	Interpretation	Integration	Liturgical Season
Isaiah 65:23	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview	God does not want anyone to labor in vain	Encouragement to continue the fight for workers because God honors the labor of all	Advent of a Revolution
John 12:1-8	Contradictions of working conditions and employers' rhetoric	Freedom Church of the Poor April 14	Though Judas says he cares for the poor he has other intentions	Workers expose similar contradictions in their working conditions	Advent of a Revolution
John 12:9-11	Fed Up Food Distribution	Freedom Church of the Poor April 14	Crowds of people were seeking miracles from Jesus because their survival needs were not being met in the unjust system.	Fed Up Food Distribution is an example of crowds coming for food because needs not being met by the system. Miracles and food distribution are projects of survival.	Advent of a Revolution
Philippians 4:13	Workers and organizers beaten down by daily poverty and low wages	Raise Up Leader Text Message, Aug 5	Not discernable	Through God's strength the organizers and workers carry on.	Advent of a Revolution
Exodus 3:14	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview	God is the I AM	Affirmation for workers that the I AM sends them	Birth of a Movement
Jonah	Struggles and victories	Interview	Jonah was surrounded by darkness but was resurrected to find his way and fulfill his assignment.	When surrounded by the darkness of our struggles, we are resurrected when we work for justice.	Birth of a Movement

285

Matthew 26:69-75	Overcoming shame and lack of self-worth	Interview	Peter denied Jesus but continued to "get back up" because of his faith	Organizing as ministry is helping people "get back up" and not be ashamed	Birth of a Movement
Luke 22:54-62	Overcoming shame and lack of self-worth	Interview	Peter denied Jesus but continued to "get back up" because of his faith	Organizing as ministry is helping people "get back up" and not be ashamed	Birth of a Movement
John 10:10	Shame and depression often experienced by the poor	Interview	The enemy brings death in the form of systems that create poverty whereas Jesus brings abundant life.	Organizing is a ministry which shines a light on conditions and God's desire for all to have abundant life.	Birth of a Movement
Exodus	Organizing workers	Interview	The Israelites persevered in their pursuit of liberation.	Like the Israelites, workers are searching for the promised land and can see hope in the story of the exodus when they grow weary	Days of Liberation
Exodus	Workers organizing in the south	Interview	Liberation of Israelites	Important narrative in southern freedom struggles in history and today	Days of Liberation
Exodus 5:1-23, 6:1-2	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Moses organized one of the first general strikes	Moses provides a biblical guide to organizing strategy for workers today	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 5:1-3	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Moses & Aaron bring concerns of workers to Pharoah	Lessons for workers to March on the Boss	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 5:4-18	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Pharoah retaliates against the workers' demands	Lesson for workers to expect management retaliation as a scare tactic	*Days of Liberation*

Exodus 5:19-21	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Some workers give into Pharoah's scare tactic	Organizers and workers must help the workers see the actual conditions, not the fear	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 5:22-23	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Moses goes back to the Teacher	Organizers don't have all the answers and need to rely on others for help, emphasizing the need for collectivity in the movement.	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 6:1-2	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	God reminds Moses of God's promises for the people of Israel	In our most difficult struggles we can find hope and strength that God has and will fulfill God's promises. This is witness through worker victories.	*Days of Liberation*
Proverbs 18:21	Organizing meeting	Interview	Speaking words of hope and prophecy	Such words prophecy the justice workers seek	Days of Liberation
Luke 24:1-6	Organized poor	We Cry Justice, Ch 22	Leadership of "the least of these" brings hope which is "the good news"	Hope of Jesus is revealed in the organized poor.	*Days of Liberation*
1 Corinthians 10:14-18	Fed Up Food Distribution	Fed Up Food Distribution promo video	communion = breaking bread	Breaking bread with others and feeding them is integrated with organizing	Jubilee
Exodus 5:6-17	Organizing workers	Interview	Moses was the greatest union leader who led the greatest strike.	Bible as organizing guide.	Learn as We Lead
Luke 4:17-19	Organizing to end poverty	Interview	Jesus is poor and ministers with the poor.	Our ministry must be with the poor as well with the Bible as our organizing guide.	Learn as We Lead

Galatians	Organizing to end poverty	Interview	What does it mean to be saved?	"What does it mean to be saved?" is an organizing question.	Learn as We Lead
Revelation 13:11-17	Organizing workers	Freedom Church of the Poor Jan 31; We Cry Justice Cultural Arts Project	Revelation is an empire critical text and the mark of the beast is about unjust economic systems.	Organizing against "beastly economics" is collective, is supported by political education, and crosses lines of division.	*Learn as We Lead*
Isaiah 41:10	Struggles of workers	We Cry Justice, Ch 22	God is faithful even in the struggles.	In challenges, be reminded that God is ever faithful.	Struggle & Lament
Amos 5:11-12, 16	Workers unable to afford food or rent while CEOs make record profits in a pandemic	Freedom Church of the Poor Feb 27	Amos points out similar contradictions of conditions.	Workers as professional mourners.	*Struggle & Lament*
Matthew 6:9-13	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview	Not discernable	Comfort for the workers	Struggle & Lament
Luke 11:2-4	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview	Not discernable	Comfort for the workers	Struggle & Lament

Appendix L - Biblical Passages Table – Union de Vecinos

Scripture Passage	Con/Text of Our Lives	Data Source	Interpretation	Integration	Liturgical Season
Exodus	Organizing for liberation	Interview	"God fights against Empire"	"Gives our people ways to fight back against Empire"	Days of Liberation
Leviticus 19:18	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Deuteronomy 10:17-20	Las Posadas	We Cry Justice, Ch 43	God is on the side of the poor		*The Advent of a Revolution*
Isaiah 58	Ongoing organizing after June 18th	Freedom Church of the Poor July 31	The work of poor people's organizations is what this passage calls true religion.	We are Ants - going back to the ant hill to deepen organizing, analysis, and commitment before next struggle.	Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 2	Migrating for better life but finding poor conditions	We Cry Justice, Ch 43	The experience of Mary and Joseph is analogous to that of immigrants living in Boyle Heights	Planning and enacting Las Posadas which encompasses teaching and organizing	*The Advent of a Revolution*
Matthew 2	Migrants coming to U.S. looking for a better life	Interview	Wise men looked for Mary & Joseph. Who are Mary and Joseph in our community? Who is Herod?	Las Posadas organizing ritual which teaches conditions, builds community, develops leaders.	Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 2:1-15	Community's values are in opposition to authority's values	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	Implicit interpretation that Herod's actions were opposed to that of Mary & Joseph. UdV finds similar opposition with local authorities.	Organizing Las Posadas is an act of resistance to values of authorities and builds community through rituals of remembrance and educational processes.	*Advent of a Revolution*

Matthew 2:1-15	Organizing Las Posadas	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	We see ourselves in the stories of Mary and Joseph.	We see our shared humanity and organize to have our needs fulfilled.	*Advent of a Revolution*
Matthew 5:43	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Matthew 9:10-17	Violence in neighborhood, perceived to be from gangs	Interview	Jesus ate with sinners, we should eat with gang members.	Organized community meals and invited gang members to come eat; learned they weren't dangerous and built community	Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 9:35-38	Mobilizing and organizing for change	Interview	A few committed leaders can move the work forward	Securing commitment of leaders	The Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 10:1-4	Mobilizing and organizing for change	Interview	Jesus had 12 disciple to begin the movement	Securing commitment of leaders	The Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 14:13-21	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee
Matthew 14:22-23	Women in community not going out at night for fear of gangs	Interview	Peter walked on water in a storm. Our storm is that we are afraid to go out at night.	Came outside at night together and say it wasn't dangerous. Challenged media narrative of gang violence.	Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 19:19	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead

Matthew 22:15-22	Local power holders try to shame community residents	We Cry Justice, Ch 21 & Interview	Jesus subverted the questions of the local power holders and challenged the status quo.	Local power holders maintain status quo by shaming community residents while residents subvert the questions.	*Days of Liberation*
Matthew 22:36-40	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Mark 2:13-17	Violence in neighborhood, perceived to be from gangs	Interview	Jesus ate with sinners, we should eat with gang members.	Organized community meals and invited gang members to come eat; learned they weren't dangerous and built community	Advent of a Revolution
Mark 6:30-44	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee
Mark 6:45-52	Women in community not going out at night for fear of gangs	Interview	Peter walked on water in a storm. Our storm is that we are afraid to go out at night.	Came outside at night together and say it wasn't dangerous. Challenged media narrative of gang violence.	Advent of a Revolution
Mark 12:31	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Luke 2:1-7	Migrants coming to U.S. looking for a better life	Interview	Wise men looked for Mary & Joseph. Who are Mary and Joseph in our community? Who is Herod?	Las Posadas organizing ritual which teaches conditions, builds community, develops leaders.	Advent of a Revolution

Luke 2:1-7	Community's values are in opposition to authority's values	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	Implicit interpretation that Herod's actions were opposed to that of Mary & Joseph. UdV finds similar opposition with local authorities.	Organizing Las Posadas is an act of resistance to values of authorities and builds community through rituals of remembrance and educational processes.	*Advent of a Revolution*
Luke 2:1-7	Organizing Las Posadas	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	We see ourselves in the stories of Mary and Joseph.	We see our shared humanity and organize to have our needs fulfilled.	*Advent of a Revolution*
Luke 5:29-32	Violence in neighborhood, perceived to be from gangs	Interview	Jesus ate with sinners, we should eat with gang members.	Organized community meals and invited gang members to come eat; learned they weren't dangerous and built community	Advent of a Revolution
Luke 6:12-16	Mobilizing and organizing for change	Interview	Jesus had 12 disciple to begin the movement	Securing commitment of leaders	The Advent of a Revolution
Luke 6:20-23	Dealing with problems in community such as hunger, homelessness, jail	Interview	Jesus blessed those who were experiencing similar conditions.	Therefore, can address and solve problems in community and not wait for authorities to do so.	Jubilee
Luke 9:10-17	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee
Luke 10:25-37	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Our neighbors are those in other communities who are also suffering	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead

Luke 10:27	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
John 6:1-15	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee
John 6:16-21	Women in community not going out at night for fear of gangs	Interview	Peter walked on water in a storm. Our storm is that we are afraid to go out at night.	Came outside at night together and say it wasn't dangerous. Challenged media narrative of gang violence.	Advent of a Revolution
Acts	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Romans 12:15	Organizations and leaders in movement to end poverty are connected	Freedom Church of the Poor July 31	NA	"we feel the suffering [of each other] but we also need to start feeling the joy of all these organizations"	*Days of Liberation*
Romans 13:9	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Galatians	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee

Galatians 2	Local power holders try to shame community residents	We Cry Justice, Ch 21	"Status and high-esteem does not justify. Expulsion and division have nothing to do with God."	"Status and high-esteem does not justify. Expulsion and division have nothing to do with God."	*Days of Liberation*
Galatians 5:14	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Ephesians	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Philippians	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Colossians	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
James 2:7	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead

Ordered by Liturgical Seasons

Scripture Passage	Con/Text of Our Lives	Data Source	Interpretation	Integration	Liturgical Season
Isaiah 58	Ongoing organizing after June 18th	Freedom Church of the Poor July 31	The work of poor people's organizations is what this passage calls true religion.	We are Ants - going back to the ant hill to deepen organizing, analysis, and commitment before next struggle.	Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 2	Migrants coming to U.S. looking for a better life	Interview	Wise men looked for Mary & Joseph. Who are Mary and Joseph in our community? Who is Herod?	Las Posadas organizing ritual which teaches conditions, builds community, develops leaders.	Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 2:1-15	Community's values are in opposition to authority's values	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	Implicit interpretation that Herod's actions were opposed to that of Mary & Joseph. UdV finds similar opposition with local authorities.	Organizing Las Posadas is an act of resistance to values of authorities and builds community through rituals of remembrance and educational processes.	*Advent of a Revolution*
Matthew 2:1-15	Organizing Las Posadas	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	We see ourselves in the stories of Mary and Joseph.	We see our shared humanity and organize to have our needs fulfilled.	*Advent of a Revolution*
Matthew 9:10-17	Violence in neighborhood, perceived to be from gangs	Interview	Jesus ate with sinners, we should eat with gang members.	Organized community meals and invited gang members to come eat; learned they weren't dangerous and built community	Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 14:22-23	Women in community not going out at night for fear of gangs	Interview	Peter walked on water in a storm. Our storm is that we are afraid to go out at night.	Came outside at night together and say it wasn't dangerous. Challenged media narrative of gang violence.	Advent of a Revolution

Mark 2:13-17	Violence in neighborhood, perceived to be from gangs	Interview	Jesus ate with sinners, we should eat with gang members.	Organized community meals and invited gang members to come eat; learned they weren't dangerous and built community	Advent of a Revolution
Mark 6:45-52	Women in community not going out at night for fear of gangs	Interview	Peter walked on water in a storm. Our storm is that we are afraid to go out at night.	Came outside at night together and say it wasn't dangerous. Challenged media narrative of gang violence.	Advent of a Revolution
Luke 2:1-7	Migrants coming to U.S. looking for a better life	Interview	Wise men looked for Mary & Joseph. Who are Mary and Joseph in our community? Who is Herod?	Las Posadas organizing ritual which teaches conditions, builds community, develops leaders.	Advent of a Revolution
Luke 2:1-7	Community's values are in opposition to authority's values	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	Implicit interpretation that Herod's actions were opposed to that of Mary & Joseph. UdV finds similar opposition with local authorities.	Organizing Las Posadas is an act of resistance to values of authorities and builds community through rituals of remembrance and educational processes.	*Advent of a Revolution*
Luke 2:1-7	Organizing Las Posadas	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	We see ourselves in the stories of Mary and Joseph.	We see our shared humanity and organize to have our needs fulfilled.	*Advent of a Revolution*
Luke 5:29-32	Violence in neighborhood, perceived to be from gangs	Interview	Jesus ate with sinners, we should eat with gang members.	Organized community meals and invited gang members to come eat; learned they weren't dangerous and built community	Advent of a Revolution
John 6:16-21	Women in community not going out at night for fear of gangs	Interview	Peter walked on water in a storm. Our storm is that we are afraid to go out at night.	Came outside at night together and say it wasn't dangerous. Challenged media narrative of gang violence.	Advent of a Revolution

Deuteronomy 10:17-20	Las Posadas	We Cry Justice, Ch 43	God is on the side of the poor		*Advent of a Revolution*
Matthew 2	Migrating for better life but finding poor conditions	We Cry Justice, Ch 43	The experience of Mary and Joseph is analogous to that of immigrants living in Boyle Heights	Planning and enacting Las Posadas which encompasses teaching and organizing	*Advent of a Revolution*
Matthew 9:35-38	Mobilizing and organizing for change	Interview	A few committed leaders can move the work forward	Securing commitment of leaders	Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 10:1-4	Mobilizing and organizing for change	Interview	Jesus had 12 disciple to begin the movement	Securing commitment of leaders	Advent of a Revolution
Luke 6:12-16	Mobilizing and organizing for change	Interview	Jesus had 12 disciple to begin the movement	Securing commitment of leaders	Advent of a Revolution
Exodus	Organizing for liberation	Interview	"God fights against Empire"	"Gives our people ways to fight back against Empire"	Days of Liberation
Matthew 22:15-22	Local power holders try to shame community residents	We Cry Justice, Ch 21 & Interview	Jesus subverted the questions of the local power holders and challenged the status quo.	Local power holders maintain status quo by shaming community residents while residents subvert the questions.	*Days of Liberation*
Romans 12:15	Organizations and leaders in movement to end poverty are connected	Freedom Church of the Poor July 31	NA	"we feel the suffering [of each other] but we also need to start feeling the joy of all these organizations"	*Days of Liberation*
Galatians 2	Local power holders try to shame community residents	We Cry Justice, Ch 21	"Status and high-esteem does not justify. Expulsion and division have nothing to do with God."	"Status and high-esteem does not justify. Expulsion and division have nothing to do with God."	*Days of Liberation*

Matthew 14:13-21	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee
Mark 6:30-44	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee
Luke 6:20-23	Dealing with problems in community such as hunger, homelessness, jail	Interview	Jesus blessed those who were experiencing similar conditions.	Therefore, can address and solve problems in community and not wait for authorities to do so.	Jubilee
Luke 9:10-17	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee
John 6:1-15	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee
Acts	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Galatians	Neighborhood committees leading change	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee

	and building community.		community and had various approaches to do so.		
Ephesians	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Philippians	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Colossians	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Leviticus 19:18	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Matthew 5:43	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Matthew 19:19	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead

Matthew 22:36-40	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Mark 12:31	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Luke 10:25-37	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Our neighbors are those in other communities who are also suffering	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Luke 10:27	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Romans 13:9	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Galatians 5:14	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
James 2:7	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead

Appendix M - Liturgical Seasons

Jubilee – Characterized by biblical stories and historical and contemporary examples in which every need is supplied, such as the garden of Eden, manna in the wilderness, the practice of jubilee, and the early Christian communities, this theme describes the anti-poverty programs that run throughout the Bible. The season of "Jubilee" parallels Pentecost, when God's Spirit was poured out on a multiracial movement of Jesus followers, as well as the season just after, often known as Ordinary time. These biblical narratives provide not just our moral justification that everybody has a right to live, but also how that reality can be achieved, which ought to be ordinary in our lives and world.

Struggle & Lament – Our faith traditions and the Bible lift up expressions of longing, mourning, even anger at the way things are. Over 700 people die every day in the United States due to poverty. Millions of people in the U.S. die each year from inadequate healthcare. Crises of pandemics, state sanctioned violence, storms and other disasters disproportionately affect the poor and people of color. In the richest country in human history, there are 140 million people who are poor or one emergency from economic ruin. These are our people, our leaders, our families and we must mourn and wail and cry out to God for justice. The season of "Struggle & Lament" parallels the season of Lent in many Christian traditions and, also, is a season in which the poor and dispossessed lament our struggles and call for the repentance of those who pursue policies and systems that are killing us.

The Days of Liberation – The story of Jesus' death and resurrection is the story of the state execution of an insurrectionist, which ends in the triumph of God over the powers of death and destruction. This story of resurrection recalls the history of the Israelite people in the exodus and other passages of liberation and salvation. In the season of "The Days of Liberation", we celebrate the many examples when the liberation of the oppressed has triumphed over forces of evil. This time celebrates the many ways that the poor today and throughout history have been victorious over the forces of oppression and death.

Learn as We Lead – Integral to the organizing and social change work of this movement is an understanding of praxis and leadership. As leaders of poor people's organizations, we learn through leading and lead through learning, knowing that our actions in movements for justice teach, learn and develop other leaders. Jesus led in much the same way. As the leader of a poor people's movement, Jesus linked teaching, leadership, and action. The liturgical season of "Learn as We Lead" acknowledges the necessity of education and leadership in building movements of the poor and dispossessed, throughout Scripture, throughout history, and in our work today. The biblical passages and devotional reflections offered in this liturgical season exemplify the organizing work of learning as we lead.

The Advent of Revolution – Social movements and revolutions are built in stages. We see this throughout the Israelites struggle for liberation and in the life and in ministry of Jesus as he built a movement of the poor against the Empire of Rome. Texts that exemplify the stages of building a social movement characterize our season of "The Advent of Revolution" especially the calls of the prophets, both biblical and contemporary, who call for radical revolution of values.

The Birth of a Movement – There are moments in every movement that mark the start of a new creation, a new process, a new organization, the birth of a movement. In this season, we celebrate those moments in our collective histories when we see clearly a rebirth toward liberation taking shape. In these times we retell, again and again, of freedom stories and the emergence of a moral movement that unites people across difference from the history of the Israelite people and in the Jesus movement.

Appendix N - Complete Biblical Passages Table by Book Order

Scripture Passage	Con/Text of Our Lives	Data Source	Interpretation	Integration	Liturgical Season
Genesis 1:28, 2:24	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Passage represents the religious and cultural tradition of the ANE to trace political genealogy	The text is not a biblical statement of when life begins. Nation-building is related to reproduction but not abortion.	Learn As We Lead
Genesis 38	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Biblical understanding of reproduction places responsibility on the man, not solely on the woman.	Complicates how we understand how ancient cultures understood reproduction and how we apply that to today.	Learn As We Lead
Exodus	Organizing workers	Interview	The Israelites persevered in their pursuit of liberation.	Like the Israelites, workers are searching for the promised land and can see hope in the story of the exodus when they grow weary	Days of Liberation
Exodus	Workers organizing in the south	Interview	Liberation of Israelites	Important narrative in southern freedom struggles in history and today	Days of Liberation
Exodus	Organizing for liberation	Interview	"God fights against Empire"	"Gives our people ways to fight back against Empire"	Days of Liberation
Exodus 3:14	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview	God is the I AM	Affirmation for workers that the I AM sends them	Birth of a Movement
Exodus 5:1-23, 6:1-2	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Moses organized one of the first general strikes	Moses provides a biblical guide to organizing strategy for workers today	*Days of Liberation*

Exodus 5:1-3	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Moses & Aaron bring concerns of workers to Pharoah	Lessons for workers to March on the Boss	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 5:4-18	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Pharoah retaliates against the workers' demands	Lesson for workers to expect management retaliation as a scare tactic	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 5:6-17	Organizing workers	Interview	Moses was the greatest union leader who led the greatest strike.	Bible as organizing guide.	Learn as We Lead
Exodus 5:19-21	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Some workers give into Pharoah's scare tactic	Organizers and workers must help the workers see the actual conditions, not the fear	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 5:22-23	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Moses goes back to the Teacher	Organizers don't have all the answers and need to rely on others for help, emphasizing the need for collectivity in the movement.	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 6:1-2	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	God reminds Moses of God's promises for the people of Israel	In our most difficult struggles we can find hope and strength that God has and will fulfill God's promises. This is witness through worker victories.	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 21:22-25	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Biblical laws about miscarriage differ from biblical laws about murder	There is no biblical law that states that life begins at conception.	Learn As We Lead
Leviticus 19:18	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead

Deuteronomy 10:17-20	Las Posadas	We Cry Justice, Ch 43	God is on the side of the poor		*The Advent of a Revolution*
Joshua	US doctrine of discovery	Interview	Has been used to promote oppression	Need to discuss and interrogate how the bible has been used to oppress & collude with empire to thwart class solidarity	Learn As We Lead
Ruth 2-3	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	Ruth and Naomi made "morally ambiguous decisions to survive & are leaders in the faith	Today's poor, esp women, should not be judged for their decisions but lifted up for their leadership	*Birth of a Movement*
Job 5:10-27		We Cry Justice, Ch 40 & Interview	Outlines what God intends for all people to have	NA	Advent of a Revolution
Job 24		We Cry Justice, Ch 40 & Interview	"people are poor because systems have been set up to benefit the few and exploit the many"	Call to action to change those exploitive systems (WCJ) & liturgy before entering courtroom (interview)	*Advent of a Revolution*
Psalm 147:1-6		We Cry Justice, Ch 51 & Interview	God is on the side of the poor.	NA	*Birth of a Movement*
Proverbs 18:21	Organizing meeting	Interview	Speaking words of hope and prophecy	Such words prophecy the justice workers seek	Days of Liberation
Isaiah 5:8-10	Sweep of the Chehalis River homeless encampment	We Cry Justice, Ch 51 & Interview	(1) Isaiah declares that to rebuild a broken society it must be from the bottom up. (2) God's preferential option for the poor.	Prayer liturgy before court case.	*Birth of a Movement*

Isaiah 5:8-10	Sweep of the Chehalis River homeless encampment	We Cry Justice, Ch 51 & Interview	(1) Isaiah declares that to rebuild a broken society it must be from the bottom up. (2) God's preferential option for the poor.	Prayer liturgy before court case.	Advent of a Revolution
Isaiah 41:10	Struggles of workers	We Cry Justice, Ch 22	God is faithful even in the struggles.	In challenges, be reminded that God is ever faithful.	Struggle & Lament
Isaiah 58	False Biblical narrative of personal responsibility	Interview	Materialist reading of the Bible	Proclaim a counter biblical narrative	Days of Liberation
Isaiah 58	Ongoing organizing after June 18th	Freedom Church of the Poor July 31	The work of poor people's organizations is what this passage calls true religion.	We are Ants - going back to the ant hill to deepen organizing, analysis, and commitment before next struggle.	Advent of a Revolution
Isaiah 65:23	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview	God does not want anyone to labor in vain	Encouragement to continue the fight for workers because God honors the labor of all	Advent of a Revolution
Jeremiah 1:1-5	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Passage represents the religious and cultural tradition of the ANE to trace political genealogy	The text is not a biblical statement of when life begins but a reminder that God has set apart prophets to preach against empire.	Learn As We Lead
Ezekiel 12:2	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Amos 5:11-12, 16	Workers unable to afford food or rent while CEOs make record profits in a pandemic	Freedom Church of the Poor Feb 27	Amos points out similar contradictions of conditions.	Workers as professional mourners.	*Struggle & Lament*

Amos 8:1-12	Sweep of the Chehalis River homeless encampment	We Cry Justice, Ch 30 & Interview	Amos heard the cries of the real prophets, the poor, about their conditions	We must listen to the prophets of our day, the poor, about their conditions.	*Learn As We Lead*
Jonah	Struggles and victories	Interview	Jonah was surrounded by darkness but was resurrected to find his way and fulfill his assignment.	When surrounded by the darkness of our struggles, we are resurrected when we work for justice.	Birth of a Movement
Malachi 3	Hunger	We Cry Justice, Ch 42	*"God creates a world of abundance and considers it robbery when people lack food."*	WCJ - distributed publicly	*Days of Liberation*
Matthew 2	Migrating for better life but finding poor conditions	We Cry Justice, Ch 43	The experience of Mary and Joseph is analogous to that of immigrants living in Boyle Heights	Planning and enacting Las Posadas which encompasses teaching and organizing	*The Advent of a Revolution*
Matthew 2	Migrants coming to U.S. looking for a better life	Interview	Wise men looked for Mary & Joseph. Who are Mary and Joseph in our community? Who is Herod?	Las Posadas organizing ritual which teaches conditions, builds community, develops leaders.	Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 2:1-15	Community's values are in opposition to authority's values	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	Implicit interpretation that Herod's actions were opposed to that of Mary & Joseph. UdV finds similar opposition with local authorities.	Organizing Las Posadas is an act of resistance to values of authorities and builds community through rituals of remembrance and educational processes.	*Advent of a Revolution*
Matthew 2:1-15	Organizing Las Posadas	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	We see ourselves in the stories of Mary and Joseph.	We see our shared humanity and organize to have our needs fulfilled.	*Advent of a Revolution*
Matthew 5:43	Overcoming divisions,	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as	Learn as We Lead

				blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	
Matthew 6:9-13	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview	Not discernable	Comfort for the workers	Struggle & Lament
Matthew 9:10-17	Violence in neighborhood, perceived to be from gangs	Interview	Jesus ate with sinners, we should eat with gang members.	Organized community meals and invited gang members to come eat; learned they weren't dangerous and built community	Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 9:20-22	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Matthew 9:35-38	Mobilizing and organizing for change	Interview	A few committed leaders can move the work forward	Securing commitment of leaders	The Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 10:1-4	Mobilizing and organizing for change	Interview	Jesus had 12 disciple to begin the movement	Securing commitment of leaders	The Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 14:12-23	Working conditions & need for living wage	We Cry Justice, Ch 24 & Interview	Jesus calls leaders from the bottom to create change.	Discussed with staff, preached at a church, published in WCJ.	*Days of Liberation*
Matthew 14:13-21	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee
Matthew 14:22-23	Women in community not going out at night for fear of gangs	Interview	Peter walked on water in a storm. Our storm is that we are afraid to go out at night.	Came outside at night together and say it wasn't dangerous. Challenged media narrative of gang violence.	Advent of a Revolution

Matthew 19:19	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Matthew 21-28	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
Matthew 22:15-22	Local power holders try to shame community residents	We Cry Justice, Ch 21 & Interview	Jesus subverted the questions of the local power holders and challenged the status quo.	Local power holders maintain status quo by shaming community residents while residents subvert the questions.	*Days of Liberation*
Matthew 22:36-40	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Matthew 25:31-46	Supported employment at CoH	Interview	We are called ot take care of the oppressed	CoH's shelter, jail ministry, street ministry	Jubilee
Matthew 26:6-13	Organizing school for CoH leaders	Interview	Bethany = Felony Flats	Conditions of poverty in Bible are analogous to current conditions	Jubilee
Matthew 26:69-75	Overcoming shame and lack of self-worth	Interview	Peter denied Jesus but continued to "get back up" because of his faith	Organizing as ministry is helping people "get back up" and not be ashamed	Birth of a Movement
Mark 1:40-45	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Mark 2:13-17	Violence in neighborhood, perceived to be from gangs	Interview	Jesus ate with sinners, we should eat with gang members.	Organized community meals and invited gang members to come eat; learned they weren't dangerous and built community	Advent of a Revolution

Mark 4:9, 23	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Mark 5:25-34	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Mark 6:30-44	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee
Mark 6:45-52	Women in community not going out at night for fear of gangs	Interview	Peter walked on water in a storm. Our storm is that we are afraid to go out at night.	Came outside at night together and say it wasn't dangerous. Challenged media narrative of gang violence.	Advent of a Revolution
Mark 8:18	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Mark 10:41-45		We Cry Justice, Ch 30	Jesus' perspective on power.	NA	*Learn As We Lead*
Mark 10:46-52	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Mark 11-16	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
Mark 12:31	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead

Luke 1:46-55	False Biblical narrative of personal responsibility	Interview	Materialist reading of the Bible	Proclaim a counter biblical narrative	Days of Liberation
Luke 2:1-7	CoH leaders encountering pushback to feeding and shelter programs	Interview	"Baby Jesus was homeless!"	If you worship a homeless man on Sunday, you should serve the homeless all the time	Birth of a Movement
Luke 2:1-7	Migrants coming to U.S. looking for a better life	Interview	Wise men looked for Mary & Joseph. Who are Mary and Joseph in our community? Who is Herod?	Las Posadas organizing ritual which teaches conditions, builds community, develops leaders.	Advent of a Revolution
Luke 2:1-7	Community's values are in opposition to authority's values	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	Implicit interpretation that Herod's actions were opposed to that of Mary & Joseph. UdV finds similar opposition with local authorities.	Organizing Las Posadas is an act of resistance to values of authorities and builds community through rituals of remembrance and educational processes.	*Advent of a Revolution*
Luke 2:1-7	Organizing Las Posadas	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	We see ourselves in the stories of Mary and Joseph.	We see our shared humanity and organize to have our needs fulfilled.	*Advent of a Revolution*
Luke 4:14-44	intersections with work of CoH	Interview	Jesus announces bringing good news and then begins organizing	Parallel to CoH's work; informs the work of CoH	Learn As We Lead
Luke 4:17-19	Organizing to end poverty	Interview	Jesus is poor and ministers with the poor.	Our ministry must be with the poor as well with the Bible as our organizing guide.	Learn as We Lead
Luke 5:12-16	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead

Luke 5:29-32	Violence in neighborhood, perceived to be from gangs	Interview	Jesus ate with sinners, we should eat with gang members.	Organized community meals and invited gang members to come eat; learned they weren't dangerous and built community	Advent of a Revolution
Luke 6:12-16	Mobilizing and organizing for change	Interview	Jesus had 12 disciple to begin the movement	Securing commitment of leaders	The Advent of a Revolution
Luke 6:20-23	Dealing with problems in community such as hunger, homelessness, jail	Interview	Jesus blessed those who were experiencing similar conditions.	Therefore, can address and solve problems in community and not wait for authorities to do so.	Jubilee
Luke 6:20-26	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	The demeaned and outcast who are judged by others are blessed by God.	Therefore we ought not to judge but to lift up as leaders those struggling to survive	Birth of a Movement
Luke 7:36-50	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	The demeaned and outcast who are judged by others are blessed by God.	Therefore we ought not to judge but to lift up as leaders those struggling to survive	Birth of a Movement
Luke 8:8	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Luke 8:42b-48	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Luke 9:10-17	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee

Luke 10:25-37	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Our neighbors are those in other communities who are also suffering	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Luke 10:27	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Luke 11:2-4	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview		Comfort for the workers	Struggle & Lament
Luke 14:35	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Luke 15	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	The demeaned and outcast who are judged by others are blessed by God.	Therefore we ought not to judge but to lift up as leaders those struggling to survive	Birth of a Movement
Luke 17:11-19	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Luke 18:1-8	Federal court case over sweep of Chehalis River encampment	Interview	Judge relented but not because he sided with poor/widow	parallels to court case	Days of Liberation
Luke 18:9-14	Sermon at conservative Episcopal church re: drug economy	Interview	Tax collectors = drug dealers (social and economic parallels	Preached at churches to teach how they can better "serve" the poor by having less "security in the system"	Struggle & Lament
Luke 18:35-42	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead

Luke 19:28-24	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
Luke 22:54-62	Overcoming shame and lack of self-worth	Interview	Peter denied Jesus but continued to "get back up" because of his faith	Organizing as ministry is helping people "get back up" and not be ashamed	Birth of a Movement
Luke 24:1-6	Organized poor	We Cry Justice, Ch 22	Leadership of "the least of these" brings hope which is "the good news"	Hope of Jesus is revealed in the organized poor.	*Days of Liberation*
John 5:1-15	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
John 6:1-15	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee
John 6:16-21	Women in community not going out at night for fear of gangs	Interview	Peter walked on water in a storm. Our storm is that we are afraid to go out at night.	Came outside at night together and say it wasn't dangerous. Challenged media narrative of gang violence.	Advent of a Revolution
John 10:10	Shame and depression often experienced by the poor	Interview	The enemy brings death in the form of systems that create poverty whereas Jesus brings abundant life.	Organizing is a ministry which shines a light on conditions and God's desire for all to have abundant life.	Birth of a Movement
John 11:45-21	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
John 12:1-8	Contradictions of working conditions and employers' rhetoric	Freedom Church of the Poor April 14	Though Judas says he cares for the poor he has other intentions	Workers expose similar contradictions in their working conditions	Advent of a Revolution

John 12:9-11	Fed Up Food Distribution	Freedom Church of the Poor April 14	Crowds of people were seeking miracles from Jesus because their survival needs were not being met in the unjust system.	Fed Up Food Distribution is an example of crowds coming for food because needs not being met by the system. Miracles and food distribution are projects of survival.	Advent of a Revolution
John 21:1-14	Working conditions & need for living wage	We Cry Justice, Ch 24 & Interview	Jesus calls leaders from the bottom to create change.	Discussed with staff, preached at a church, published in WCJ.	*Days of Liberation*
Acts	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Romans 12:15	Organizations and leaders in movement to end poverty are connected	Freedom Church of the Poor July 31	NA	"we feel the suffering [of each other] but we also need to start feeling the joy of all these organizations"	*Days of Liberation*
Romans 13:9	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
1 Corinthians 10:14-18	Fed Up Food Distribution	Fed Up Food Distribution promo video	communion = breaking bread	Breaking bread with others and feeding them is integrated with organizing	Jubilee
Galatians	Organizing to end poverty	Interview	What does it mean to be saved?	"What does it mean to be saved?" is an organizing question.	Learn as We Lead

Galatians	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Galatians 2	Local power holders try to shame community residents	We Cry Justice, Ch 21	"Status and high-esteem does not justify. Expulsion and division have nothing to do with God."	"Status and high-esteem does not justify. Expulsion and division have nothing to do with God."	*Days of Liberation*
Galatians 5:14	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Ephesians	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Ephesians 6:10-20	Poor confronting power	Interview	The Bible as armor when the poor confront power.	NA	*Birth of a Movement*
Philippians	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Philippians 4:13	Workers and organizers beaten down by daily poverty and low wages	Raise Up Leader Text Message, Aug 5	Not discernable	Through God's strength the organizers and workers carry on.	Advent of a Revolution

Colossians	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
James 2:7	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
James 5:1-6	Churches engaged in acts of charity	Interview	"Explicit condemnation of wealth"	Preached at churches to teach about ending poverty	Struggle & Lament
Revelation 2:7-3:22	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Revelation 13:11-17	Organizing workers	Freedom Church of the Poor Jan 31; We Cry Justice Cultural Arts Project	Revelation is an empire critical text and the mark of the beast is about unjust economic systems.	Organizing against "beastly economics" is collective, is supported by political education, and crosses lines of division.	*Learn as We Lead*

Appendix O - Complete Biblical Passages Table by Seasons

Scripture Passage	Con/Text of Our Lives	Data Source	Interpretation	Integration	Liturgical Season
Isaiah 5:8-10	Sweep of the Chehalis River homeless encampment	We Cry Justice, Ch 51 & Interview	(1) Isaiah declares that to rebuild a broken society it must be from the bottom up. (2) God's preferential option for the poor.	Prayer liturgy before court case.	Advent of a Revolution
Job 5:10-27		We Cry Justice, Ch 40 & Interview	Outlines what God intends for all people to have	NA	Advent of a Revolution
Job 24		We Cry Justice, Ch 40 & Interview	"people are poor because systems have been set up to benefit the few and exploit the many"	Call to action to change those exploitive systems (WCJ) & liturgy before entering courtroom (interview)	*Advent of a Revolution*
Isaiah 58	Ongoing organizing after June 18th	Freedom Church of the Poor July 31	The work of poor people's organizations is what this passage calls true religion.	We are Ants - going back to the ant hill to deepen organizing, analysis, and commitment before next struggle.	Advent of a Revolution
Isaiah 65:23	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview	God does not want anyone to labor in vain	Encouragement to continue the fight for workers because God honors the labor of all	Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 2	Migrants coming to U.S. looking for a better life	Interview	Wise men looked for Mary & Joseph. Who are Mary and Joseph in our community? Who is Herod?	Las Posadas organizing ritual which teaches conditions, builds community, develops leaders.	Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 2:1-15	Community's values are in opposition to authority's values	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	Implicit interpretation that Herod's actions were opposed to that of Mary & Joseph. UdV finds similar opposition with local authorities.	Organizing Las Posadas is an act of resistance to values of authorities and builds community through rituals of remembrance and educational processes.	*Advent of a Revolution*

Matthew 2:1-15	Organizing Las Posadas	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	We see ourselves in the stories of Mary and Joseph.	We see our shared humanity and organize to have our needs fulfilled.	*Advent of a Revolution*
Matthew 9:10-17	Violence in neighborhood, perceived to be from gangs	Interview	Jesus ate with sinners, we should eat with gang members.	Organized community meals and invited gang members to come eat; learned they weren't dangerous and built community	Advent of a Revolution
Matthew 14:22-23	Women in community not going out at night for fear of gangs	Interview	Peter walked on water in a storm. Our storm is that we are afraid to go out at night.	Came outside at night together and say it wasn't dangerous. Challenged media narrative of gang violence.	Advent of a Revolution
Mark 2:13-17	Violence in neighborhood, perceived to be from gangs	Interview	Jesus ate with sinners, we should eat with gang members.	Organized community meals and invited gang members to come eat; learned they weren't dangerous and built community	Advent of a Revolution
Mark 6:45-52	Women in community not going out at night for fear of gangs	Interview	Peter walked on water in a storm. Our storm is that we are afraid to go out at night.	Came outside at night together and say it wasn't dangerous. Challenged media narrative of gang violence.	Advent of a Revolution
Luke 2:1-7	Migrants coming to U.S. looking for a better life	Interview	Wise men looked for Mary & Joseph. Who are Mary and Joseph in our community? Who is Herod?	Las Posadas organizing ritual which teaches conditions, builds community, develops leaders.	Advent of a Revolution
Luke 2:1-7	Community's values are in opposition to authority's values	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	Implicit interpretation that Herod's actions were opposed to that of Mary & Joseph. UdV finds similar opposition with local authorities.	Organizing Las Posadas is an act of resistance to values of authorities and builds community through rituals of remembrance and educational processes.	*Advent of a Revolution*
Luke 2:1-7	Organizing Las Posadas	Freedom Church of the Poor Dec 5	We see ourselves in the stories of Mary and Joseph.	We see our shared humanity and organize to have our needs fulfilled.	*Advent of a Revolution*

Luke 5:29-32	Violence in neighborhood, perceived to be from gangs	Interview	Jesus ate with sinners, we should eat with gang members.	Organized community meals and invited gang members to come eat; learned they weren't dangerous and built community	Advent of a Revolution
John 6:16-21	Women in community not going out at night for fear of gangs	Interview	Peter walked on water in a storm. Our storm is that we are afraid to go out at night.	Came outside at night together and say it wasn't dangerous. Challenged media narrative of gang violence.	Advent of a Revolution
John 12:1-8	Contradictions of working conditions and employers' rhetoric	Freedom Church of the Poor April 14	Though Judas says he cares for the poor he has other intentions	Workers expose similar contradictions in their working conditions	Advent of a Revolution
John 12:9-11	Fed Up Food Distribution	Freedom Church of the Poor April 14	Crowds of people were seeking miracles from Jesus because their survival needs were not being met in the unjust system.	Fed Up Food Distribution is an example of crowds coming for food because needs not being met by the system. Miracles and food distribution are projects of survival.	Advent of a Revolution
Philippians 4:13	Workers and organizers beaten down by daily poverty and low wages	Raise Up Leader Text Message, Aug 5	Not discernable	Through God's strength the organizers and workers carry on.	Advent of a Revolution
Deuteronomy 10:17-20	Las Posadas	We Cry Justice, Ch 43	God is on the side of the poor		*Advent of a Revolution*
Matthew 2	Migrating for better life but finding poor conditions	We Cry Justice, Ch 43	The experience of Mary and Joseph is analogous to that of immigrants living in Boyle Heights	Planning and enacting Las Posadas which encompasses teaching and organizing	*Advent of a Revolution*
Matthew 9:35-38	Mobilizing and organizing for change	Interview	A few committed leaders can move the work forward	Securing commitment of leaders	Advent of a Revolution

Matthew 10:1-4	Mobilizing and organizing for change	Interview	Jesus had 12 disciple to begin the movement	Securing commitment of leaders	Advent of a Revolution
Luke 6:12-16	Mobilizing and organizing for change	Interview	Jesus had 12 disciple to begin the movement	Securing commitment of leaders	Advent of a Revolution
Exodus 3:14	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview	God is the I AM	Affirmation for workers that the I AM sends them	Birth of a Movement
Ruth 2-3	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	Ruth and Naomi made "morally ambiguous decisions to survive & are leaders in the faith	Today's poor, esp women, should not be judged for their decisions but lifted up for their leadership	*Birth of a Movement*
Psalm 147:1-6		We Cry Justice, Ch 51 & Interview	God is on the side of the poor.	NA	*Birth of a Movement*
Isaiah 5:8-10	Sweep of the Chehalis River homeless encampment	We Cry Justice, Ch 51 & Interview	(1) Isaiah declares that to rebuild a broken society it must be from the bottom up. (2) God's preferential option for the poor.	Prayer liturgy before court case.	*Birth of a Movement*
Jonah	Struggles and victories	Interview	Jonah was surrounded by darkness but was resurrected to find his way and fulfill his assignment.	When surrounded by the darkness of our struggles, we are resurrected when we work for justice.	Birth of a Movement
Matthew 26:69-75	Overcoming shame and lack of self-worth	Interview	Peter denied Jesus but continued to "get back up" because of his faith	Organizing as ministry is helping people "get back up" and not be ashamed	Birth of a Movement
Luke 2:1-7	CoH leaders encountering pushback to feeding and shelter programs	Interview	"Baby Jesus was homeless!"	If you worship a homeless man on Sunday, you should serve the homeless all the time	Birth of a Movement

Luke 6:20-26	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	The demeaned and outcast who are judged by others are blessed by God.	Therefore we ought not to judge but to lift up as leaders those struggling to survive	Birth of a Movement
Luke 7:36-50	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	The demeaned and outcast who are judged by others are blessed by God.	Therefore we ought not to judge but to lift up as leaders those struggling to survive	Birth of a Movement
Luke 15	Struggle of the poor to survive	We Cry Justice, Ch 47	The demeaned and outcast who are judged by others are blessed by God.	Therefore we ought not to judge but to lift up as leaders those struggling to survive	Birth of a Movement
Luke 22:54-62	Overcoming shame and lack of self-worth	Interview	Peter denied Jesus but continued to "get back up" because of his faith	Organizing as ministry is helping people "get back up" and not be ashamed	Birth of a Movement
John 10:10	Shame and depression often experienced by the poor	Interview	The enemy brings death in the form of systems that create poverty whereas Jesus brings abundant life.	Organizing is a ministry which shines a light on conditions and God's desire for all to have abundant life.	Birth of a Movement
Ephesians 6:10-20	Poor confronting power	Interview	The Bible as armor when the poor confront power.	NA	*Birth of a Movement*
Exodus	Organizing workers	Interview	The Israelites persevered in their pursuit of liberation.	Like the Israelites, workers are searching for the promised land and can see hope in the story of the exodus when they grow weary	Days of Liberation
Exodus	Workers organizing in the south	Interview	Liberation of Israelites	Important narrative in southern freedom struggles in history and today	Days of Liberation
Exodus	Organizing for liberation	Interview	"God fights against Empire"	"Gives our people ways to fight back against Empire"	Days of Liberation
Exodus 5:1-23, 6:1-2	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Moses organized one of the first general strikes	Moses provides a biblical guide to organizing strategy for workers today	*Days of Liberation*

Exodus 5:1-3	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Moses & Aaron bring concerns of workers to Pharoah	Lessons for workers to March on the Boss	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 5:4-18	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Pharoah retaliates against the workers' demands	Lesson for workers to expect management retaliation as a scare tactic	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 5:19-21	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Some workers give into Pharoah's scare tactic	Organizers and workers must help the workers see the actual conditions, not the fear	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 5:22-23	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	Moses goes back to the Teacher	Organizers don't have all the answers and need to rely on others for help, emphasizing the need for collectivity in the movement.	*Days of Liberation*
Exodus 6:1-2	Workers organizing for better wages and working conditions	Freedom Church of the Poor May 8	God reminds Moses of God's promises for the people of Israel	In our most difficult struggles we can find hope and strength that God has and will fulfill God's promises. This is witness through worker victories.	*Days of Liberation*
Proverbs 18:21	Organizing meeting	Interview	Speaking words of hope and prophecy	Such words prophecy the justice workers seek	Days of Liberation
Isaiah 58	False Biblical narrative of personal responsibility	Interview	Materialist reading of the Bible	Proclaim a counter biblical narrative	Days of Liberation
Malachi 3	Hunger	We Cry Justice, Ch 24	*"God creates a world of abundance and considers it robbery when people lack food."*	WCJ - distributed publicly	*Days of Liberation*

Matthew 14:12-23	Working conditions & need for living wage	We Cry Justice, Ch 24 & Interview	Jesus calls leaders from the bottom to create change.	Discussed with staff, preached at a church, published in WCJ.	*Days of Liberation*
Matthew 22:15-22	Local power holders try to shame community residents	We Cry Justice, Ch 21 & Interview	Jesus subverted the questions of the local power holders and challenged the status quo.	Local power holders maintain status quo by shaming community residents while residents subvert the questions.	*Days of Liberation*
Luke 1:46-55	False Biblical narrative of personal responsibility	Interview	Materialist reading of the Bible	Proclaim a counter biblical narrative	Days of Liberation
Luke 18:1-8	Federal court case over sweep of Chehalis River encampment	Interview	Judge relented but not because he sided with poor/widow	parallels to court case	Days of Liberation
Luke 24:1-6	Organized poor	We Cry Justice, Ch 22	Leadership of "the least of these" brings hope which is "the good news"	Hope of Jesus is revealed in the organized poor.	*Days of Liberation*
John 21:1-14	Working conditions & need for living wage	We Cry Justice, Ch 24 & Interview	Jesus calls leaders from the bottom to create change.	Discussed with staff, preached at a church, published in WCJ.	*Days of Liberation*
Romans 12:15	Organizations and leaders in movement to end poverty are connected	Freedom Church of the Poor July 31	NA	"we feel the suffering [of each other] but we also need to start feeling the joy of all these organizations"	*Days of Liberation*
Galatians 2	Local power holders try to shame community residents	We Cry Justice, Ch 21	"Status and high-esteem does not justify. Expulsion and division have nothing to do with God."	"Status and high-esteem does not justify. Expulsion and division have nothing to do with God."	*Days of Liberation*
Matthew 25:31-46	Supported employment at CoH	Interview	We are called to take care of the oppressed	CoH's shelter, jail ministry, street ministry	Jubilee

Matthew 26:6-13	Organizing school for CoH leaders	Interview	Bethany = Felony Flats	Conditions of poverty in Bible are analogous to current conditions	Jubilee
1 Corinthians 10:14-18	Fed Up Food Distribution	Fed Up Food Distribution promo video	communion = breaking bread	Breaking bread with others and feeding them is integrated with organizing	Jubilee
Matthew 14:13-21	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee
Mark 6:30-44	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee
Luke 6:20-23	Dealing with problems in community such as hunger, homelessness, jail	Interview	Jesus blessed those who were experiencing similar conditions.	Therefore, can address and solve problems in community and not wait for authorities to do so.	Jubilee
Luke 9:10-17	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee
John 6:1-15	Homeless community members coming to church to ask for food	Interview	Jesus feed multitudes by asking "what do you have?" What do we have to help our community?	Women bring what they have to feed the homeless. Over 100 a fed. It is a miracle.	Jubilee

Acts	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Galatians	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Ephesians	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Philippians	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Colossians	Neighborhood committees leading change and building community.	Interview	The early Christian communities responded to their problems within their community and had various approaches to do so.	UdV Neighborhood Committees have various priorities and responses to the issues of concern to them.	Jubilee
Genesis 1:28, 2:24	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Passage represents the religious and cultural tradition of the ANE to trace political genealogy	The text is not a biblical statement of when life begins. Nation-building is related to reproduction but not abortion.	Learn As We Lead
Genesis 38	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Biblical understanding of reproduction places responsibility on the man, not solely on the woman.	Complicates how we understand how ancient cultures understood reproduction and how we apply that to today.	Learn As We Lead

Exodus 5:6-17	Organizing workers	Interview	Moses was the greatest union leader who led the greatest strike.	Bible as organizing guide.	Learn as We Lead
Exodus 21:22-25	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Biblical laws about miscarriage differ from biblical laws about murder	There is no biblical law that states that life begins at conception.	Learn As We Lead
Leviticus 19:18	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Joshua	US doctrine of discovery	Interview	Has been used to promote oppression	Need to discuss and interrogate how the bible has been used to oppress & collude with empire to thwart class solidarity	Learn As We Lead
Jeremiah 1:1-5	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Passage represents the religious and cultural tradition of the ANE to trace political genealogy	The text is not a biblical statement of when life begins but a reminder that God has set apart prophets to preach against empire.	Learn As We Lead
Ezekiel 12:2	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Amos 8:1-12	Sweep of the Chehalis River homeless encampment	We Cry Justice, Ch 30 & Interview	Amos heard the cries of the real prophets, the poor, about their conditions	We must listen to the prophets of our day, the poor, about their conditions.	*Learn As We Lead*
Amos 8:1-12	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Matthew 5:43	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead

Matthew 9:20-22	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Matthew 19:19	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Matthew 22:36-40	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Mark 1:40-45	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Mark 4:9, 23	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Mark 5:25-34	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Mark 8:18	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Mark 10:41-45		We Cry Justice, Ch 30	Jesus' perspective on power.	NA	*Learn As We Lead*
Mark 10:46-52	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Mark 12:31	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead

Luke 4:14-44	intersections with work of CoH	Interview	Jesus announces bringing good news and then begins organizing	Parallel to CoH's work; informs the work of CoH	Learn As We Lead
Luke 4:17-19	Organizing to end poverty	Interview	Jesus is poor and ministers with the poor.	Our ministry must be with the poor as well with the Bible as our organizing guide.	Learn as We Lead
Luke 5:12-16	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Luke 8:8	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Luke 8:42b-48	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Luke 10:25-37	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Our neighbors are those in other communities who are also suffering	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Luke 10:27	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Luke 14:35	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Luke 17:11-19	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Luke 18:35-42	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead

John 5:1-15	Dobbs decision	Freedom Church of the Poor July 10	Jesus never heals someone who doesn't want to be healed.	Jesus models consent in healthcare.	Learn As We Lead
Romans 13:9	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Galatians	Organizing to end poverty	Interview	What does it mean to be saved?	"What does it mean to be saved?" is an organizing question.	Learn as We Lead
Galatians 5:14	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
James 2:7	Overcoming divisions, particularly gender and race	Interview	Love your neighbor	Used to teach about overcoming divisions such as blaming other groups for stealing jobs or homes	Learn as We Lead
Revelation 2:7-3:22	the ignorance of those not impacted by poverty	Interview	Those who open their eyes and ears will see injustice happening in their community	Teaching of conditions to those not affected by them	Learn As We Lead
Revelation 13:11-17	Organizing workers	Freedom Church of the Poor Jan 31; We Cry Justice Cultural Arts Project	Revelation is an empire critical text and the mark of the beast is about unjust economic systems.	Organizing against "beastly economics" is collective, is supported by political education, and crosses lines of division.	*Learn as We Lead*
Isaiah 41:10	Struggles of workers	We Cry Justice, Ch 22	God is faithful even in the struggles.	In challenges, be reminded that God is ever faithful.	Struggle & Lament
Amos 5:11-12, 16	Workers unable to afford food or rent while CEOs make record profits in a pandemic	Freedom Church of the Poor Feb 27	Amos points out similar contradictions of conditions.	Workers as professional mourners.	*Struggle & Lament*

Matthew 6:9-13	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview	Not discernable	Comfort for the workers	Struggle & Lament
Matthew 21-28	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
Mark 11-16	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
Luke 11:2-4	Workers discouraged by ongoing struggles	Interview		Comfort for the workers	Struggle & Lament
Luke 18:9-14	Sermon at conservative Episcopal church re: drug economy	Interview	Tax collectors = drug dealers (social and economic parallels	Preached at churches to teach how they can better "serve" the poor by having less "security in the system"	Struggle & Lament
Luke 19:28-24	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
John 11:45-21	death and incarceration rates with CoH base	Interview	Jesus' arrest, incarceration, and execution were state violence	Stations of the Cross ritual	Struggle & Lament
James 5:1-6	Churches engaged in acts of charity	Interview	"Explicit condemnation of wealth"	Preached at churches to teach about ending poverty	Struggle & Lament